



Medieval Italy

**Medieval Italy An
Encyclopedia (Retail)**

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Christopher Kleinhenz, Editor

MEDIEVAL ITALY

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA



MEDIEVAL ITALY
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MEDIEVAL ITALY

An Encyclopedia

Volume 1-2

A to Z

Index

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Government: The Effects of Good Government in the City, 1338—1340.

Volume 2: Detail from Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *The Allegory of Good*

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INTRODUCTION

Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia provides an introduction to the many and diverse facets of Italian civilization from the late Roman empire to the end of the fourteenth century. To speak of "Italy" is, of course, anachronistic—a geographical rather than a political designation—given that Italy did not become a nation until the second half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the idea of "Italy" was present in the mind of Dante and Petrarch and many others who longed for the peace and stability that they presumed and hoped a nation-state would provide. The two volumes of this encyclopedia present articles, both long and short, on a wide range of topics that concern the civilization of medieval Italy: history, literature, art, music, urban development, commerce and economics, social and political institutions, religion and hagiography, philosophy, science, and so on. We have attempted to bring together in one convenient reference work all these aspects of Italian civilization; however, given the vastness and the complexity of the subject matter, we make no claim for completeness. We hope to have provided a well-balanced, informative, and up-to-date reference work that will serve the interests of students and the general public, as well as those of scholars in a variety of disciplines.

The entries in this encyclopedia range in length from about 100 words to more than 10,000. Shorter entries usually treat very specific topics; longer entries are intended to trace the history and development of individual cities and to explain and interpret major institutions, writers and works, cultural movements, and monuments. As much as possible, we have tried to provide an interdisciplinary focus, for that sort of integrative approach not only will make a topic more accessible to a larger audience but also will enable readers to see relationships and connections that might not be immediately apparent. Although scholars will generally be familiar with the basic information and bibliographies found in those articles in their own areas of expertise, they should find articles in other areas valuable for critical orientation, interpretation, and bibliography. The analytical index at the end of Volume 2 and the cross-references at the end of most articles will serve as indispensable

aids to using the work.

Entries are arranged alphabetically, and individual entry titles are in either English or Italian, depending on what we considered the more common usage. The works of a specific author are usually discussed in the entry devoted to that author, although some general entries (e.g., Italian Poetry: Lyric) discuss in a chronological, topical, or synthetic way numerous authors, each of whom has a separate entry. Some problems emerged in the alphabetizing of personal names, and some inconsistencies may have been unavoidable. The guiding principle has been to list the person under the name that would be most natural or most familiar to most readers; thus Dante Alighieri is listed under D and Cino da Pistoia under C, while Giovanni Boccaccio is found under B and Guido Cavalcanti under C; Peter Damian is found under D, but Peter Lombard is listed under P. The bibliographies were prepared for specialists and nonspecialists alike and include, when appropriate, indications of primary sources (editions), translations, and a wide variety of secondary sources and critical studies, all of which provide a wealth of material for further reading and study. This encyclopedia also includes maps, illustrations for many entries, and an appendix listing popes and rulers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A work of this size (almost 1,000 entries) requires the cooperation and collaboration of many persons, and over the years—too many years, I should probably add, and our contributors will undoubtedly agree—I have accumulated many debts. I am very grateful to the many colleagues (192 in all) who gave generously of their time and expertise to write the articles that make up these two volumes. Their names are listed both at the beginning of the encyclopedia and after each of their entries. In particular, I thank my associate editors—John Barker, Gail Geiger, and Richard Lansing—who have provided invaluable assistance in the recruiting of contributors, in the editing of their articles, and in the writing of original entries for the encyclopedia. I also thank those colleagues who provided photographs: John Barker, Teresa Gualtieri Clarke, Gail Geiger, and Richard Lansing. I am very grateful to Lou Jordan and his staff (in particular, Christian Du Pont and Sara Weber) in the Department of Special Collections for placing at my disposal their very rich holdings during my several photographic expeditions to the Hesburgh Library at the University of Notre Dame. I am similarly indebted to the former and present curators—Robin Rider and Geraldine Laudati—of the Department of Special Collections of Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, for allowing me to take photographs of materials in their wonderful collection.

Work on the encyclopedia began with the encouragement and sure guidance of Gary Kuris at Garland Publishing and proceeded under the editorial supervision of Marianne Lown, Joanne Daniels, and Richard Steins. Most recently the project has benefited enormously from the support of Sylvia Miller and the expert editorial hand of Susan Gamer and their many assistants at Routledge. On a more personal note, I owe more than words can say to the support always generously given me by my wife Marge and our sons Steven and Michael, who can now, I believe, breathe a great sigh of relief, in the knowledge that this project is indeed truly and finally done. It is to them, for their love of Italy both medieval and modern, that I dedicate these volumes.

Publisher's Note

The Routledge Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages

Formerly the Garland Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages, this comprehensive series began in 1993 with the publication of *Medieval Scandinavia*. A major enterprise in medieval scholarship, the series brings the expertise of scholars specializing in myriad aspects of the medieval world together in a reference source accessible to students and the general public as well as to historians and scholars in related fields. Each volume focuses on a geographical area or theme important to medieval studies and is edited by a specialist in that field, who has called on a board of consulting or associate editors to establish the list of articles and review the articles. Each article is contributed by a scholar and, typically, is followed by a bibliography and cross-references to guide further research.

Routledge is proud to carry on the tradition established by the first volumes in this important series. As the series continues to grow, we hope that it will provide the most comprehensive and detailed view of the medieval world in all its aspects ever presented in encyclopedia form.

Vol. 1 *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Phillip Pulsiano.

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Vol. 6 *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by John M. Jeep.

Vol. 7 *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Norman Roth.

Vol. 8 *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Michael Gerli.

Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia, edited by Christopher Kleinhenz, is Volume 9 in the series.

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A

Acciaiuoli Family

The Acciaiuoli, a great Florentine banking family, originated in Bergamo. They migrated to the Borgo Santi Apostoli, in the Florentine quarter of Santa Maria Novella, in the early twelfth century and obtained property in the Val di Pesa. The Acciaiuoli were *popolani* ("of the common people") and Guelf by political tradition, and they joined the Black Guelfs after the schism. Leone di Riccomanno, a doctor of law and one of Florence's fourteen *buoniuomini* of 1282, founded the bank and international commercial enterprise that soon ranked among the city's greatest. These businesses had branches throughout the Mediterranean and in England, France, and Germany. The Acciaiuoli served as papal bankers, and Acciaiuolo Acciaiuoli (d. 1341) began a fiscal and political relationship with the king of Naples that led to commercial monopolies, the post of seneschal for his famous son Niccolo (or Niccola, 1310-1365), and feudal lordships in Greece that the family finally lost in 1460 to the invading Turks. Angelo Acciaiuoli (1349-1408) rose quickly in the church to become bishop of Rapallo (1375), bishop of Florence (1383), and a cardinal (1385).

The bankruptcies of Edward III of England led to financial disaster for the family in Florence in 1345, and their fortunes and prestige never fully recovered, although they remained influential in the later trecento. Before that, however, they had been very active politically. Between 1282 and 1341, the family contributed seven standard-bearers of justice and five *buoniuomini* to the Florentine state and three consuls to the Calimala guild. From 1310 to 1342, family members served in the Signoria twenty-five times; Dardano di Tirigo (d. 1335), for one, was elected ten times between 1302 and 1334. Angelo Acciaiuoli (b. 1298) was bishop of Florence from 1342 to 1355 and was a leader in the overthrow of Walter of Brienne.

See also Acciaiuoli, Niccola; Florence

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Acciaiuoli, Niccola

The Florentine Niccola Acciaiuoli (1310-1365), a friend of Boc-caccio, became grand seneschal of the kingdom of Naples. Although writers sometimes refer to him as Niccolò, he himself used the spelling Niccola. He was born in the Val di Pesa to Acciaiolo Acciaiuoli and Guglielmina de' Pazzi. Although his father was of illegitimate birth, the Acciaiuoli, a family of Black Guelfs, were one of the most prominent lineages in Florence, with thriving commercial interests throughout the Mediterranean.

At eighteen, Niccola Acciaiuoli married Margherita degli Spini, and

in 1331 he was sent to represent his father's business in Naples. He entered the service of Catherine of Valois-Courtenay, princess of Taranto; became her lover; and was sent to administer her lands in Greece (1338-1341), where he won for himself the barony of Calamata. After the death of King Robert of Naples, Acciaiuoli arranged the marriage of Prince Luigi of Taranto to Queen Giovanna, possibly after assisting in the assassination of Giovanna's first husband, Andrew of Hungary. In 1348, Acciaiuoli was named grand seneschal ("grand" to distinguish him from other seneschals) and count of Terlizzi; and, after Giovanna's flight to Provence and return to Naples, he helped Luigi to establish control over the kingdom. In 1349, he traded Terlizzi for the county of Melfi and was also named captain general of the duchy of Calabria. An unsuccessful attempt on his life by followers of the queen in 1350 was followed by the liberation of Giovanna by the Marseillais. Giovanna and her husband were being taken back to Provence when Acciaiuoli engineered their return. This proved definitive, and it put an end to the resistance of the queen's partisans. With Luigi of Taranto the sole holder of power, the grand seneschal in effect ran the kingdom. In 1354, he took back most of Sicily, although Messina resisted until 1356 and Catania held out successfully. Luigi of Taranto's defeat at the battle of Arcireale (20 June 1357) was unfairly blamed on Acciaiuoli by his enemies, but in 1359 Acciaiuoli was sent on a successful embassy to defend the kingdom against the claims to papal sovereignty that were being made by Pope Innocent VI. Innocent chose Acciaiuoli to negotiate the departure of the Milanese from Bologna in 1360, when he met Petrarch in Milan. Acciaiuoli returned to Naples in 1361 to find the kingdom threatened by marauding mercenary captains. Although he showed considerable personal bravery in surmounting this crisis—at one point he gave himself, his children, and his friends as hostages to a company of Hungarian mercenaries—Acciaiuoli continued to have enemies at court. In 1364, they accused him before Pope Urban V of having taken so many gifts that there was no money to make the usual payments to the papacy. The charges prompted Acciaiuoli to write a long autobiographical letter defending his actions to Angelo Soderini (26 December 1364).

Acciaiuoli died on 8 November 1365. His body was buried in a splendid tomb (attributed to Orcagna) in the Carthusian monastery of

San Lorenzo (known today simply as the Certosa) outside Florence, whose construction he had sponsored after first mentioning it in an early autograph testament of 1338.

See also Acciaiuoli Family; Naples

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Accounting

See Banks and Banking; Bookkeeping, Double-Entry

Accursius

Many biographical details are in dispute regarding the greatest medieval glossator of Roman law. Accursius (also Acursius, Accurxius, or Acurxius; c. 1182-c. 1263) was born at Bagnoio near Montebuoni in the *contado* (district) of Florence to a family in modest social circumstances, perhaps even of recent peasant origin, that was nevertheless economically secure enough to pay for his legal education at the university in Bologna. Two brothers are mentioned in the sources: Bonus (or Donus, a notary) and Bonajutus. Accursius was also known as A. Fiorentino or A. da Bagnoio, but the sometimes alleged forename Francesco is without historical foundation. In a *Digesta* gloss he later jestingly explained "that it is an apposite name, because he [Accursius] hurries forward and assists against the darkness of civil law" (*quod est honestum nomen, dictum quia accurrit et succurrit contra tenebras iuris civilis*).

In Bologna, he studied mainly under the great jurist Azo; Jacobus Balduini was perhaps another of his chief teachers, a supposition that would place some of Accursius's studies in the years after 1213. Tradition places Accursius's promotion and the beginning of his teaching career c. 1215, and more specifically before 1221, when he was identified as *doctor legum* and a colleague of Azo and Hugolinus in a legal consultation. The dating of this collaboration has recently, however, been questioned, for it could have occurred as late as 1230. Considering Accursius's contemporary eminence among law professors, the number of his distinguished students was small: his own son Francesco; the canonists Vincentius Hispanus and—perhaps—Sinnibaldo Fieschi (later Pope Innocent IV); and probably his younger contemporary Odofredus, also a Romanist. During a teaching career that spanned forty years, Accursius also found time to be a practicing advocate who gave his clients expert legal opinions. There is some dispute regarding whether or when he became a citizen of Bologna; one later historian identifies him in 1252 as an associate of the *podestà* (podesta), a post held only by noncitizens. But Accursius's attested membership in 1248 in the *Societas Tuscorum*, a club comprising Bolognese citizens born in Tuscany, more plausibly indicates his

possession of this status at least as of that date. His descendants certainly had Bolognese citizenship. Reports of Accursius's hostile rivalry with contemporary colleagues (e.g., Hugolinus and Odofredus) are fictions created later.

Accursius married twice; his first wife bore his eldest son Francesco (1225-1293), his second his remaining sons Cervotto (c. 1240-1287 at latest), Guglielmo (1246-1314 at latest), and Corsino (b. 1254). The disparaging rumors regarding Corsino's paternity were probably due only to the fact that Accursius was about seventy years old at the time. All the sons but Corsino became doctors of law, and two of them (Francesco and Guglielmo) also taught at Bologna. Accursius himself once expressed the opinion that sons of university doctors should receive preference in the filling of vacant chairs, a view that was sometimes put into effect at Bologna after the mid-thirteenth century.

During his career Accursius became quite prosperous. Part of his wealth certainly derived from his professorial stipend and the income from his legal practice. His town house in Bologna was eventually acquired by the city government and later integrated into the Palazzo Comunale. His country villa, "La Riccardina," was near Budrio; it was the center of an estate so large (271 hectares, or 670 acres) as to permit his sons and grandsons to receive portions of it upon his death. It later became a Franciscan convent. In later times, Accursius's great wealth earned him a bad reputation as a usurer and receiver of bribes from aspiring academic examinees, a charge also made against his son Francesco. Some modern observers remain unconvinced of these charges, citing a lack of trustworthy evidence especially as regards Accursius himself.

Accursius retired from his university post after four decades, that is, c. 1255 or thereafter. One tradition, noting that a ruined house at Bagnolo was subsequently known as the *studium Accursii*, holds that he returned to the vicinity of his native city. Other historians more plausibly suggest that he retired to his property at Riccardina. Although portions of his masterpiece, the *Ordinary Gloss* (*Glossa ordinaria*) on the *Corpus iuris civilis*, had already been published decades before, it is almost certain that he continued to revise this work throughout his lifetime. As for his other pursuits during these years, one historian (Kantorowicz 1929) has suggested that Accursius now embarked on

another monumental, albeit never completed, project: the preparation of a great encyclopedia of both laws, a *speculum iuris* predating that ultimately written by Guillelmus (William) Durandus. This suggestion rests, however, on an unconvincing reconstruction of the contents of Accursius's library, and at this point must remain an interesting conjecture.



Tomb of Accursius, Bologna. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

Accursius's final years gave rise to another story—that in early 1263

he served in Florence as a resident "judge and assessor" subordinate to the podesta, dying there later that same year during his term in office. This account is inherently implausible, for why would an already rich and very famous man accept such a modest and modestly paid job? A simple confusion of names lies at the bottom of the problem—the Florentine judge and assessor was another jurisconsult, Accursius Reginus (of Reggio Emilia). The date 1263 does, however, provide a *terminus ad quern* for Accursius's death, for in May of that year a document referred to his son Francesco as *condam Domini Accursi*. In documents, Accursius was last listed as alive in 1259; a Bolognese chronicle placed his death in 1260, but a document of 1262 listed Cervotto's name in a manner suggesting that his father was still alive. The early fourteenth-century historian Villani wrote that Accursius lived to be seventy-eight. Taken together with reports regarding his birth date, the time frame 1259-1263 for his death is the best available. It is presumed that Accursius died in or near Bologna; he was first interred near San Domenico, but his remains were later moved—at his son Francesco's request—to a monumental sepulcher at the apse of San Francesco, where this son was also ultimately interred. The gravestone there is probably from the original grave with the later addition (1293) of Francesco's name: *Sepulchrum Accursii Glossatoris legum [et] Francisci eius filii*.

Descriptions of Accursius's personal appearance and habits note his tall powerful build, pensive and serious facial expression, affability, modest lifestyle, fine manners, and taste for good but not ostentatious dress. He was a heartfelt Ghibelline, but his posthumous fame was such as to release his entire family, eventually, from the penalties enacted in 1274 by Bologna's triumphant Guelf government for adherents of that defeated party. The amnesty statute of 1306 identified him and Francesco as men "who have conferred such great honor of the city of Bologna, fathers and teachers of all scholars and students of civil law throughout the entire world" (*patrum et dominorum omnium scolarium et studentium in iure civili per universum mundum, qui tantum honorem fecerunt civitati Bononie*).

Accursius's fame as a scholar rests squarely on his *Ordinary Gloss* on the constituent parts of Justinian's *Corpus iuris emitts*. His other works are of far less consequence. The *Summa authen-tici* and *Summa*

feudorum attributed to him by some scholars are considered by others to be the work of, respectively, Johannes Bassianus and Hugolinus. Also, the *Tractatus de arbitris* attributed to him is a work of his teacher Azo. Accursius edited several extravagant texts to the *Librifeudorum*, and (at least) eight expert legal opinions (*cortsilia*) of which he was the author or a coauthor are extant from the period 1230-1258. A letter written to Piero della Vigna is of doubtful authenticity, and various *quaestiones* are reported secondhand.

See abo Azo; Francesco d'Accorso; Glossa Ordinaria: Roman Law; Innocent IV, Pope

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Adelaide

Adelaide (931-998) was the daughter of Rudolf II of Burgundy. Her intelligence and beauty—in addition to a tenuous Carolingian connection through descent from Welf (Wulf, Wolf)» the brother of Judith, wife of Louis the Pious—made her a desirable marriage prospect. When Rudolf died in 937, Hugh of Provence, who dominated northern Italy and had earlier clashed with Rudolf, obliged Adelaide to marry Lothar, Hugh's son. By 945, Hugh's power declined and Berengar of Ivrea, another warlord, forced him from Italy. Berengar tried to marry Adelaide to his son, Adalbert, when Lothar died in 950. Otto of Saxony rescued and married her (951). This match was successful, and Adelaide

was crowned empress with Otto in 962. She accompanied her husband during his six years in Italy (966–972). She was regent for her son, Otto II, and despite some friction when he became emperor, was his viceroy in Italy. When Otto III's mother, Theophano, died, Adelaide assumed the regency for her grandson. She spent her last years in Germany.

See also Otto I

MARTIN ARBAGI

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Adimari Family

The Adimari were one of the noblest and most powerful of Tuscany's great medieval families. Originally Franks who took over Lombard land around Florence, the family stemmed directly from Count Adimaro (mid-tenth century), son of Marquis Bonifazio and brother of Tedaldo, founder of the Alberti clan. From their castle of Gangalandi and other strongholds, they controlled traffic on the Arno River, and Florence battled them to submission. By 1178, Bernardo Adimari was serving as communal consul in Florence. The Adimari had become leading urban nobles as well, with a group of towers and houses centered on Via Calzaiuoli, near the Baptistry; one tower, Guardamorto, reached a height of 70 meters (230 feet). They were active in commerce and banking, with offices in Genoa by the 1260s and in Treviso somewhat later.

By the thirteenth century, the Adimari were powerful politically, as Ghibelline-hating Guelfs, and members of the family served as podestàs (a *podestà* is a mayor or peacekeeper) in Tuscan towns such as Arezzo,

Pistoia, and San Gimignano, as well as captains of the *parte Guelfa* (Guelf party) in Florence. Their continual feuding brought about their denunciation as magnates under the Ordinances of Justice in 1293.

Branches of the family included the Aldobrandini, Argenti, and Cavicciuli, who, in the later thirteenth century, were usually among the White Guelfs. A rare Black Cavicciuli took over the property of the exiled Florentine poet Dante Alighieri and opposed his return. Dante placed Tegghiaio Aldobrandi among the sodomites (*Inferno*, 6.79-81, 16.40-42) and, likewise, placed Filippo Argenti, of the "arrogant race," *oltracotata schiatta* (*Paradiso*, 17.115), in hell (8.32-63).

Despite their decline in political power, the family remained large and rather wealthy (with thirty-three taxable households in 1378) through the fourteenth century.

See also Florence

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Aëtius, Flavius

Flavius Aëtius (d. 454), sometimes called the "last of the Romans," was born at the end of the fourth century in the Roman province of Lower Moesia on the Danube River. He was the son of the master of soldiers Gaudentius and an Italian noblewoman. He pursued a military career, and in his youth he served as a hostage first to the Visigoths and then to the Huns. Under the western usurper Johannes (423-425) he held the office of overseer of the palace. He was sent to recruit a large army of Huns, but he did not return to Italy with them until after the fall of

Johannes, at which time he was able to make his peace with the new emperor, Valentinian III. Aetius then served as master of soldiers, primarily in Gaul, during which time he became involved in a quarrel with another western general, Count Boniface. In 432, Aetius was defeated at Rimini by his rival, who himself was mortally wounded. Aëtius then took refuge with the Huns, and with their aid he soon was restored to power. In 433, he became supreme master of soldiers; the title "patrician" was added in 435.

Aëtius spent most of his remaining years campaigning in Gaul. In spite of the virtual disappearance of the Roman army, he was generally successful in keeping the barbarians out of Italy by masterfully playing one barbarian group off against another. In 451, he used a coalition of Romans, Visigoths, and Franks to defeat the invasion of Attila and the Huns. In 452, however, he inexplicably failed to defend the Alpine passes against Attila's return, and only after the Huns had captured Milan and destroyed Aquileia were they compelled to withdraw.

Aëtius exemplifies the powerful generalissimos who, in the fifth century, truly controlled the western empire. During most of the second quarter of that century, Aëtius was the most powerful Roman of the west, the real "power behind the throne." He held the consulate no fewer than three times, in 432, 437, and 446. Around 440, the senate in Rome honored him with a statue; its inscription is still extant. He was married twice, first to a daughter of the count of the domestics, Carpilio (her name has not survived), and second to Pelagia, the widow of Boniface. In the early 450s, his status was enhanced by the betrothal of his son Gaudentius to Valentinian's daughter, Placidia.

Eventually, however, Aëtius's preeminent position was his own undoing. In 454 Aetius was murdered in the imperial palace by the emperor Valentinian himself: a Roman aristocrat later told the emperor that he "had cut off his left hand with his right."

It may be that Aëtius's efforts delayed, for a time, the eventual fall of the western Roman empire. After his death, the western empire rapidly disintegrated and soon shriveled to an Italian core, which itself fell under barbarian control in 476.

See also **Valentinian III**

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Agilulf

Agilulf (d. 616) was king of the Lombards from 590 until his death, following Authari. He had been duke of Turin before his accession and legitimized his position by marrying his predecessor's widow, Theodolinda.

During his reign, Agilulf solidified the Lombard conquest of large portions of northern Italy by making peace with the Franks and establishing a fairly stable boundary with the exarchate of Ravenna. The relative independence of the more southern duchies of Spoleto and Benevento was also confirmed. Thus the Lombard kingdom was established essentially as it was to remain until the eighth century.

Agilulf's court was increasingly influenced by Roman and Catholic forms, and a Roman historian, Secundus of Non (from the Trentino),

resided there. He welcomed the Irish Columbanus and granted him land at Bobbio, where a monastery was established.

Agilulf was succeeded by his son Adaloald, whose reign inaugurated a period of dynastic strife that had both national and religious overtones.

See also Authari; Benevento; Lombards; Ravenna; Spoleto

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Agriculture

In medieval Italy, as elsewhere in Europe, farming practices were constrained by basic ecological facts that people found extremely hard to overcome. The uncultivated world of forest, marsh, and heath, although often feared as "wild," had to be exploited for all the food and building materials it could provide because the success of agriculture was very uncertain. Medieval farmers, like farmers in all premodern societies, found it difficult to cope with the almost randomly occurring "good years" and "bad years" for crops. Cultivation methods were often too rudimentary to produce much in the way of a surplus, and if any surplus could be accumulated, storage techniques were often inadequate to prevent rotting and insect damage. Climate was the most unpredictable natural element. Abnormally low winter and summer temperatures (as in the cold period between a.d. 600 and 800) could

have disastrous effects on even the most carefully tended crops, but comparatively warm times (as between 1000 and 1250) helped farmers to increase yields. Obvious regional differences in climate— as between Lombardy and Apulia—determined what crops could be attempted in the first place; but it is likely that microclimatic peculiarities, which are now becoming better understood as a result of archaeological investigations involving analyses of pollen and other plant remains, helped to define the agricultural character of a given area at a much more local level. Exploiting difficult terrain was also problematic, since it was hard to drain and dig large forested, marshy, or steep areas with hoes, spades, and very simple plows. The labor required was phenomenal; this explains why the vast majority of medieval people had to be agriculturists. Consequently, agricultural life was harsh and remained so between the millennium 400 and 1400, despite the changes in farming practices, technology, and economic organization that were taking place in Italy. (Real improvements in conditions had hardly taken place before the twentieth century.)

Still, agriculture was in many ways more richly diverse in medieval Italy than it had been in Roman times. This can be seen from the very wide variety of crops, many of which had not been cultivated in Italy in the Roman period. Most descriptions of medieval Italian agriculture stress, rightly, that its basis was cereals, vines, and olives, the classics of Mediterranean farming and diet. Cereals were widely grown, the choice of grain depending on the soil quality, terrain, rainfall, and so on. Predominantly, the farmers of the early Middle Ages grew the so called poorer cereals (barley, rye, oats, millet, and sorghum); but olives were also common—in fact, they were present almost everywhere.

Cereals, vines, and olives may have been the most characteristic crops, but many other plants, edible and nonedible, were raised. Of staples, the chestnut was particularly important in hilly regions, especially in the Appennines; it was not a "wild" plant but was carefully cultivated and highly valued. Vegetables and fruits are not mentioned so commonly in the historical sources, but that may be because their presence was taken for granted. Certainly orchards were prized, and they were common near the northern lakes, in Romagna and the Marches. New citrus fruits—lemons, bitter and sweet oranges—were introduced into southern Italy from the east in the later medieval

period. Other new exotics, like sugarcane, also appeared at that time. Important plants grown for textiles and dyes included flax, hemp, madder, and woad in the north, and cotton and saffron in the south.

Stock raising has received rather less attention from historians than plant cultivation, but there can be little doubt that it had a crucial place in the medieval Italian economy. Animals provided fertilizer and energy for farming, both of which were in short supply from other sources. The commonest animals raised were pigs, sheep, goats, and cattle, supplemented by horses, asses, and poultry. Fish, too, were sometimes farmed. As with plants, techniques of animal husbandry varied across Italy. How animals were raised also seems to have depended on what products they were required for. According to the archaeologist Gillian Clark, evidence from many central Italian excavations indicates that dead animals were mainly used for meat and leather (primary use); that living animals were exploited for wool, hair, eggs, and milk (secondary use); and that stock-raising techniques varied accordingly (younger animals were intended for meat, older animals for wool and other products). Many farms seem to have kept a motley mixture of animals, but in the later Middle Ages specialized production of beef cattle began to become important in some areas, notably Farfa Abbey and the Arno valley in Tuscany, Apulia, and the lower Po plain. Animals were useful because their pastures were land that was often unsuitable for other purposes, but they could also be extremely labor-intensive when transhumance was involved—that is, when animals were taken on the great annual summer movements from plains to hills and back again. Transhumance was common in the Appennines, although not in the Alps. Apart from this movement, most Italian agriculture was suited to a sedentary settled existence and was organized accordingly.

There were many variations in the organization of agricultural production across Italy. It is likely that most agriculturalists lived on small holdings, in family units, often within the framework of a nucleated village settlement to form, in Pierre Toubert's phrase, a "complete peasant exploitation." These peasant farmers produced food for themselves and their families, and sometimes a surplus that was either sold or given as rent to a powerful local lord. The relationship between peasants and lords took differing forms. Often, it is hard for

historians to characterize such a relationship with any precision, because contracts between cultivators and noncultivators were usually not written down in the period before about 1200. Therefore, it is extremely hard to know to what extent the secular or monastic owners of large estates actually determined what was produced there, or if the peasants were given a free hand so long as they produced a surplus with which to pay the owner. Italy, like many other regions in medieval Europe, can be said to have had a "manorial system" (a rough translation of the Italian *sistema curtense*), particularly between about 800 and 1000. Nowadays, historians emphasize that such estates were organized locally in many different ways and were not self-sufficient as commonly as had previously been thought. This was because the agricultural economy—with the possible exception of some (not all) particularly isolated mountain farms—was never static and was never removed from the wider ecological and economic systems of Italian society.

Toubert proposed a helpful typology of earlier medieval Italian estate structures that has become the standard framework for analyzing the organization of agricultural practice. Toubert suggests a threefold division of widely recognizable types:

1. "Pioneer" estates. These were pastoral and very often had no central demesne area (the part of the estate directly supervised by the owner's agent and farmed by slaves or semiservile workers and local peasants who worked there part-time as part of their "render" requirements).
2. More structured units, specializing in olive oil and wine, sometimes as cash crops for sale in local markets.
3. Classic estates, based on cereal cultivation, on rich soils with highly developed demesne centers.

Examples of each type have been found by historians all over Italy during most periods. Toubert's discussion is valuable because it provides a reminder that a degree of specialization in production was evident in Italian practice from the early Middle Ages on. This seems to have been particularly true in two contexts: monastic estates, where abbots often demanded cash-crop production of oil and wine and

caused some land to be opened up to agriculture for the first time; and farms near towns, where, increasingly in the later period, specialized market garden crops were grown for urban sale.

It is not always easy to imagine, from the surviving texts, what these estates actually looked like on the ground. However, certain general points can be made. The cultivated landscape in most places was a combination of open (*terra aperta*) and enclosed fields (*clausurae*), in close proximity to uncultivated land. The proportions at any given time and place are almost impossible to work out. However, one can generalize by saying that in the earlier period there were more open fields, which were sometimes communally owned and worked by the village, whereas from the twelfth century on more enclosed fields appeared, especially around Milan, as more owners fenced off plots from communal use. This development spread to the rest of Lombardy, Liguria, and Tuscany in the thirteenth century and a little later to Lazio and Campania. Most of these changes seem to have taken place very slowly, with a consequent gradual change in the appearance of the landscape. Occasionally, more obvious changes took place more rapidly. There was probably more land under cultivation in Italy during the medieval period than at any earlier time, and this was largely a result of a new combination of efforts by the peasants and pressure from the monasteries. Vito Fumagalli has found that the monasteries of Nonantola and Bobbio caused new areas of the lower Po plain to be opened up for agriculture by deforestation and drainage as early as the first half of the ninth century. Their abbots pursued this as a deliberate policy by issuing special *libellus* contracts to peasants requiring them to undertake clearance as part of their contractual relationship with the community. Terms such as *novellae* (new plots) and *noviculta* (newly cultivated) also appear in charters from elsewhere in the Po valley.

The farmers had little in the way of new technology to aid them in transforming the landscape. Most of their basic tools were ancient and did not change for centuries. The most important technological change was the increasingly widespread use of the water mill from about 1000 on. It made the milling of flour much more efficient, as did the later introduction of the windmill to Lombardy around 1300. New irrigation techniques borrowed from the Arabs aided the cultivation of rice and cotton in the south.

The study of medieval Italian agriculture is now entering a new phase with the increasing use of advanced archaeological techniques to analyze site data such as pollen, grain samples, animal bones, and farming implements, allowing a more precise picture of individual agricultural sites and their production in the medieval period. These new techniques are important because only through them can we determine how much of medieval practice was inherited from Rome and how much was true innovation. Perhaps even more exciting is "landscape archaeology." Landscape archaeology uses the field survey—pioneered in central Italy by teams from the British School at Rome—to analyze large areas and observe changes in land use and settlement patterns over a longer span of time than is possible with conventional historical methods. Notable among these surveys are those of south Etruria, the Biferno valley, and Farfa, which have given us more precise data than ever before about what was grown where.

See also **Land Tenure and Inheritance; Peasants; Revenues; Transhumance; Viticulture**

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Aistulf

Aistulf (d. 756) became king of the Lombards in 749 by overthrowing his brother Ratchis, presumably because Ratchis was not following an expansionist policy aggressively enough. Under Aistulf, the Lombards

in 751 occupied Ravenna and moved toward Rome. Pope Stephen II appealed for aid to the Franks, who were indebted to the papacy because it had legitimated the new Carolingian dynasty. In 755, the Franks under Pepin I invaded, defeated Aistulf, and obtained an agreement that the Lombards would cede to the papacy all of the exarchate they had occupied. When Aistulf failed to carry out these terms, Pepin invaded again, in 756, and forced compliance. When Aistulf died there was a brief interregnum; he was then succeeded by Desiderius.

See also Desiderius; Frankish Kingdom; Lombards; Pepin the Short; Ratchis; Ravenna; Stephen II, Pope

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Alaric the Visigoth

Alaric (c. 370-410) was one of the Visigoths who were allowed to cross the Danube River into the Roman empire by the emperor Valens in 376. The Visigoths were the first group of barbarians to be allowed into the empire en masse, and their arrival marked the beginning of the "barbarian invasions." In reality, the Visigoths were more a motley conglomeration of ruffians than a discrete ethnic entity. They were augmented by accretions of renegades, deserters, slaves, dispossessed

peasants, and other barbarian tribes.

Alaric himself first appears in history in the early 390s as a Visigothic military leader. In 394, he served in Theodosius's campaign against the usurper Eugenius, but then, unhappy about not receiving a sufficient reward, he revolted. Between 395 and 397, he and his Goths devastated Thrace and Greece, sacking several famous cities and on several occasions escaping destruction by the western general Stilicho. In 398 or 399, Alaric was granted the office "master of soldiers of Illyricum." In spite of this honor he invaded Italy in 401 and besieged the emperor Honorius in Milan. In 402, he was defeated at Pollentia and again at Verona by Stilicho, who then allowed him to withdraw from Italy. In 407, Alaric was engaged by Stilicho in a plan to seize Illyricum for the west, but this scheme was frustrated by the revolt of Constantine III in Britain and Gaul (407-411).

After Stilicho was murdered in 408, many of his partisans joined Alaric, who had since moved into the province of Noricum on the northern Italian border. Then, when Honorius refused to pay Alaric for past services, the Visigoths invaded Italy once again in 408 and besieged Rome, having been promised assistance from a group of Visigoths and Huns led by Alaric's relative Athaulf. A long series of negotiations then ensued among Alaric, the senate at Rome, and Honorius, who by then was safely ensconced in Ravenna. The siege of Rome was alternately lifted and renewed several times as Honorius continued to delay, the main sticking point being Honorius's refusal to make Alaric master of soldiers. In 409, Alaric even allowed the senate to name a new emperor, Priscus Attalus, who then granted Alaric his desired rank. Finally, in 410, after being joined by Athaulf and attacked by imperial forces, Alaric returned to Rome, which he captured and sacked beginning on 24 August. As sacks go, this one was rather genteel. It lasted only three days, and the churches, at least, were generally left untouched. The damage was more psychological than material. For the first time in 800 years Rome had fallen. No longer could the city be called *Roma invicta* ("unconquered Rome").

After leaving Rome, Alaric and his men traveled south, hoping to cross to Sicily. Foiled in this endeavor when the Gothic fleet was wrecked, Alaric turned back north, and on this journey he became ill and died in Bruttium. He was said to have been buried in the bed of the

Busento River after the stream had been diverted. His position then was taken by Athaulf, who, two years later, led the Goths into Gaul.

See also **Honorius, Emperor; Stilicho; Visigoths**

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Alberic of Monte Cassino

Alberic (fl. 1065–1100) was a monk, deacon, and teacher or grammar and rhetoric at the abbey of Monte Cassino under its great abbot Desiderius. Alberic's life offers few fixed dates. He was probably born in southern Italy and was at Monte Cassino (to which he may have come as an adult) by 1065. In 1078–1079, he successfully defended orthodox eucharistic doctrine against Berengar of Tours at a Roman synod; perhaps during the 1080s he composed a lost work, *Contra Heinricum imperatorem de electione romani pontificis*. He died before 1105 (when his name appears in two datable Cassinese necrologies) and was buried in Rome.

The chief primary sources for Alberic's life are the *Chronicon Casinensis* (3.35) and *De viris illustribus* (21), both by Peter the Deacon, a twelfth-century archivist and historian of Monte Cassino. Of Alberic's prose writings listed by Peter, those on music, astronomy, and dialectic are lost, as are *De virginitate sancte Marie* and his "very many" letters to Peter Damian. His rebuttal of Berengar, *De corpore domini*, has recently been identified. Five saints' lives are attributable to

Alberic, and a homily and verses on Saint Scholastica (with her brother, Saint Benedict, buried at Monte Cassino); other hymns and *rithmi* named by Peter the Deacon are not by Alberic. Alberic helped Desiderius compile four books of *Dialogi* recounting miracles among the monks of Monte Cassino (*Chronicon Casinensis*, 3.63).

Alberic is best-known, however, for his writings on rhetoric and style, all of which reflect the needs of classroom teaching and an active writing community. The *Liber dictaminum et salutationum* named by Peter may refer either to one part of the *Breviarium de dictamine* (preserved in five manuscripts, only one complete), which in its present form combines grammatical and rhetorical material from various sources, or—though this is less likely—to the *Flores rhetorici* (also called *Dictaminum radii*, known from four manuscripts). The *Liber de barbarismo et soloecismo tropo et schemate* draws on numerous texts, including Cassiodorus's massive *Expositio psalmorum* and some distinctively Cassinese sources, to define and illustrate (chiefly from the Bible) a remarkable total of nearly 130 rhetorical figures. Finally, a work on syllable length bespeaks an interest in prosody, and Alberic may also have been responsible for a *Lexicon prosodaicum*, a systematic, alphabetized guide to metrical quantities in classical Latin poetry.

Debate about Alberic's importance in the history of medieval rhetoric, especially the beginnings of the *an dictaminis*, has been handicapped, though seldom inhibited, by the fragmentary publication of his works. *Dictamen* means artistic composition in general, and both the *Flores* and the *Breviarium* concentrate on techniques of rhetorical ornament in prose. The term refers especially to letter-writing, however—an important literary genre throughout the Middle Ages—and these two works, as the first to contain instruction accompanied by sample salutations and model letters, presage the twelfth-century *ars dictaminis* with its many handbooks devoted to epistolary theory and model letters.

Alberic himself was a precocious student: in a recently discovered letter accompanying his *Passio sancti Cesarii* that exudes self-confidence and stylistic polish, Alberic declares that he is thirteen years old and has been engaged in *liberalibus studiis* for six years. Like most of his other hagiographical compositions, this one reworks an existing text (and as such represents a typical school exercise); it uses the *cursus*

(techniques of rhythmic prose) and displays his characteristic exuberant delight in manipulating language.

See also **Ars Dictaminis; Monte Cassino, Monastery**

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Albertanus of Brescia

Albertanus (c. 1190-1251 or after), an author of legal treatises and addresses, was active in the political and professional life of the commune of Brescia in the first half of the thirteenth century. We know quite a lot about him from his appearances in official records (e.g., as a witness to a treaty or to a legal document) and from what he reveals in his own writings. A *causidicus*, or legal intermediary, perhaps with judicial powers (the precise function of this role is now unclear), he was regarded highly enough to be called on to serve his commune politically. On at least one occasion he was an aide to his fellow-Brescian Emmanuel de Madiis when the latter went to Genoa as *podestà*. In 1238, he was entrusted with the captaincy of the fortress of Gavardo, to defend it against the forces of Emperor Frederick II in the struggle of the Lombard League against the imperial campaign in northern Italy. He lost, but only after a vigorous defense against an especially vicious siege.

Albertanus was the author of three Latin didactic treatises and five "sermons"—spoken addresses delivered before his fellow *causidici* at meetings of their lay confraternity. These works became widely—in fact, explosively—available immediately after their creation and are to be found all across Europe; Albertanus's works were read and copied until the eve of Reformation. His first (and longest) work is *De amore et*

dilectione Dei et proximi et aliarum rerum et de forma vitae, completed while he was imprisoned at Cremona in 1238. Here he first set out his notion that social transformation is to be achieved through voluntary personal commitment to a "rule," an idea which would permeate all his subsequent writing. A sermon he delivered in Genoa in 1243 provides a prototype for his *De doctrina dicendi et tacendi* of 1245. Structured according to the rhetorical "circumstances" of classical tradition, this treatise examines the use of spoken discourse, especially among the legal profession, as a means of social empowerment. A third treatise, *Liber consolationis et consilii* (1246), denounces the threat to order afforded by the urban vendetta—the northern cities of Italy were frequently riven by lobbyists, and street fights between politically partisan groups were far from unknown. In this work, he sees social change as to be achieved through personal moral development. His final works comprise four more sermons, delivered to his legal confraternity in Brescia in or about 1250. In these short sermons, Albertanus develops and reiterates themes of his major works, and they may be seen as reflecting the maturity of his thought. The last sermon, with its topic of fear of the Lord (and perhaps also its lack of clear structure), suggests that these sermons were his swan song. There is no reason to believe that he wrote anything after them, and further attributions of authorship are undoubtedly false.

Albertano drew on familiar sources for his works, among them Seneca, Cicero, Justinian, Cato, Godfrey of Winchester, and the Bible. But he appears also to be the first writer to make use of the work of the Spanish convert from Judaism, Peter Alfonsi, and may well be the first scholar to have assembled all twelve books of Cassiodorus's *Variae*. In this sense we can regard Albertanus as a precursor of the Renaissance book collector. The focus and synthesis of his writing, however, make it wrong to dismiss him as a mere compiler. His remedies for the social problems he met with professionally mark him as an early and insightful social theorist. His views on the consensual adoption of a secular rule (*propositum*) as a way of life and its potential as an engine of social change make him unique for the period. That he wrote as a layman is also remarkable. His beliefs about the role of the legal profession as a body with responsibility for social stability and development reveal an early understanding of the significance of the

rise of an urban professional class. His sermons are among the earliest evidence we have of lay preaching and oratory.



Tre trattati. Florence: Giunti, 1610. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

More than 320 surviving Latin manuscripts, across Europe, indicate that Albertanus was one of the most widely read authors in the latter medieval period. *De doctrina* in particular is well represented in manuscript, and it also went through at least thirty-five printed editions by 1500. Among the subsequent writers who knew and utilized these works are Brunetto Latini, Chaucer, John Gower, the author of the *Fiore*

di virtù, Christine de Pizan, and (arguably) Dante. Except for his sermons, Albertanus's work was translated into every major western European language, though sometimes at quite a distance from the original context. More than 130 manuscripts and numerous early printed editions are known of vernacular versions of his treatises; these include English, German, Italian, French, Catalan, Castilian, Czech, and Dutch versions. More research on his influence is needed.

Powell (1992) supplies a recent and authoritative discussion of Albertanus and his works and provides a starting point for contemporary scholars working in English. Some discussion, especially of vernacular versions, is added by Angus Graham (1996), who extends Powell's bibliography. Both supply further reading. Further literature in English is concerned largely with Chaucer's use of Albertanus. Details of Latin manuscripts are given by Navone (1994, 1998), though she lists only 243, and supplemented by Graham (2000a,b). The currently published Latin editions do not reflect the best critical edition, but adequate ones are provided by Sundby (1884, *De doctrina*, app., 475-509), Romino (1980), Fe d'Ostiani (1874), Ferrari (1955), and more recently by Navone. Ahlquist offers a welcome fresh edition of the four Brescian sermons (with English translation); and Marx has translated, from Sundby, a portion of the *Liber consolationis* (in Blamires et al. 1992, 237-242). All but two of the published vernacular versions are cited by Graham (1996), and there are further discussions and vernacular manuscript listings in Graham (2000a,b).

See also **Brescia**

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Albertino (1261-1329), the greatest Latin poet of his age, was born in Padua of lowly parentage. Orphaned at a young age, he had the responsibility of caring for three younger siblings—two brothers and a sister. (One of the brothers would eventually become the abbot of Santa Giustina, the great Benedictine monastery of Padua.) Early in his life, Albertino earned money by copying books for students at the university; later he became a notary and the son-in-law of the powerful Guglielmo Lemici, a very successful Paduan usurer. With the backing of the Lemici clan and his own natural abilities, he played a prominent role in Paduan public life, at home and abroad, in peace and war, from around 1310 to his final exile in 1325, when the Carrara family finally broke the influence of the Lemici. He died in exile in Chioggia four years later.

But it was not Albertino's successes as orator, statesman, warrior, or diplomat of Padua that make his name illustrious today. It is, rather, his remarkable achievements as a man of letters in the context of a late medieval Italian commune. Even before his emergence as a figure in Paduan political life, Albertino had become a member of a small group of scholars gathered around Lovato de' Lovati, an older Paduan judge. These men studied the Latin poets as an avocation. The existence of Carolingian manuscripts at the Capitular Library in Verona, and in the Benedictine abbey of Pomposa near Ravenna, made possible this learned diversion of the *cenacolo padovano* ("Paduan circle"). The members of the *cenacolo* were already familiar with the traditional set of Latin poets, established earlier in the thirteenth century—Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius—and Lovato was the first to take the next logical step, composing original Latin poetry himself. Indeed, Petrarch recalled his achievement.

Albertino, following in Lovato's wake, composed poems that helped to rehabilitate some forms of Latin poetry. One example is his defense of such poetry against the strictures of a Dominican, Fra Giovannino. Another is his birthday elegy, in which he reviews his life and the highlights of his career, including his laureation. This may have been the first work since antiquity in which an author focused on his own day of birth for reflection and celebration.

In the 1320s, Albertino went to Siena in his capacity as a diplomat and on the way, near Florence, fell ill. The literary result of this illness

was his poem *Somnium* ("A Dream"), recounting his concept of the afterworld, with particular attention to the nether regions. (Dante's *Inferno* was already in circulation at this time.)

Albertino also left us a bountiful harvest of Latin prose works, especially contemporary histories of Italy—*De gestis Henrici VII Cesaris* (*The Deeds of the Emperor Henry VII*) and *De gestis italicorum post Henricum VII Cesarem* (*Italian Events after the Death of Emperor Henry VII*). However, for all his learning and experience, his histories were no match for his poetry, or for the historical text that was at the root of Padua's self-understanding: Rolando's *Chronicles of the Trevisan March*.

Albertino also studied the tragedies of Seneca with Lovato and composed introductions to the plays, as well as an explanation of tragic meters for the younger Marsilius of Padua, the author of *Defensor pads*. In 1315, in imitation of Seneca and in connection with local history, Albertino wrote his finest and most lasting work, *Ecerinis* (*The Tragedy of Ecerinus*), about the tyrant Ezzelino III da Romano (1194-1259), the ruler of Verona. Like some of his contemporaries, Albertino saw an analogy between Ezzelino and the current lord of Verona, Cangrande della Scala. Albertino was familiar with the details of Ezzelino's career from Rolando's *Chronicles*, which stressed the heroic, united, Catholic character of Paduan resistance. This was the story Albertino found ready to hand as he attempted to awaken his fellow citizens to the danger of renewed aggression by the Veronese. He was inspired to cast this tale in the form of a Senecan tragedy, *Thyestes*, and thus wrote the first tragedy since antiquity. It was for *Ecerinis* that Albertino was crowned with laurels, just as Rolando had been crowned for the *Chronicles*. However, Albertino failed in his goal of awakening Padua, and Cangrande conquered the city in 1328. Because of his staunch political opposition to Cangrande, Albertino went into exile; he died at Chioggia on 31 May 1329.

See also Ezzelino III da Romano; Lovato dei Lovati; Padua

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Albertus Magnus

Albertus Magnus or Albert the Great of Ratisbon (c. 1193 or 1206-1280) has emerged as one of the great encyclopedist theologians of the late Middle Ages. He entered the Dominican order at Padua in 1223; moved north to teach at the schools of Hildesheim, Cologne, and Ratisbon and then moved to Paris; but in 1248 returned to Cologne, where he organized the Studium General. In 1260, he was appointed bishop of Ratisbon; however, he resigned so that he could concentrate on his literary efforts. His most distinguished pupil was Thomas Aquinas, whose doctrines he later defended at Paris in 1277.

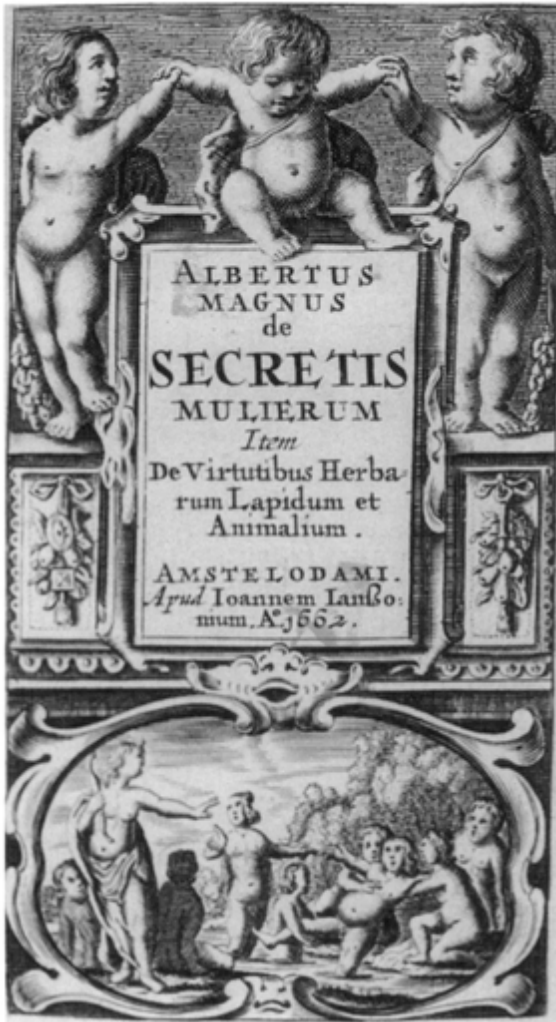
As a cleric, Albertus was interested in documenting the world around him according to the sanctity of tradition, but he departed from most of his predecessors and contemporaries by actually trying to test some of the legends he recorded in his vast works. His approach to the science of his time represented a major shift from the earlier tradition, which had been based entirely on authority. For example, he tested the story that ostriches like to eat iron by attempting to feed them some nails. To his surprise, the ostriches refused the iron, though they would, he testifies, eat small stones.

The works of Albertus are considered somewhat disorganized and are full of digressions, but they are very comprehensive: in scope, Albertus is exceeded only by Aquinas. Albertus's largest work (although incomplete) is the *Summa theologiae*. His other works include *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard* and *Summa de creaturis*.

In general, Albertus often avoided the fantastic, preferring direct observation and straightforward commentary on nature; for example, he describes how an herb or a fruit might affect the body, mind, or

spirit rather than relating traditional allegories about it. His *Book of Secrets of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones, and Certain Beasts*, as its title suggests, has more to do with the benefits of herbs and stones and their therapeutic or culinary uses than with their symbolic value for moralizers. His comments are linked to the four humors, which medieval medicine inherited from Hippocrates, the chief physician of the ancient world. In his book *On Falcons, Dogs, and Horses*, Albertus is clearly interested in the hunt.

As a whole, Albertus's methodology, as expounded in *Metaphysicorum*, is based on a breakdown of knowledge into the medieval "trivium" and "quadrivium," numbers in themselves replete with symbolism. The trivium comprised the superior areas of learning (i.e., the three divine philosophical and theological subjects); the quadrivium pertained to more practical knowledge, such as music and geometry. Learned persons—in actuality, only the priesthood and the nobility—were those trained in both classes of information.



Albertus Magnus, *De secretis mulierum; item De virtutibus herbarum, lapidum, et animalium*. Amsterdam: Apud Ioannem Ianssonium, 1662. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Albertus also had significant influence on artistic taste, through his commentaries on the feminine figure of Mary in *De laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis* (*In Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary*) and *Mariale, sive questiones super evangelium: De eorporali puchritudine Mariae* (*Questions Concerning the Gospel: On the Corporeal Beauty of Mary*).

Albertus also wrote about the sacramental altar and about what constitutes a reliquary and a sacred site.

See also **Thomas Aquinas, Saint**

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Albizzi Family

The Albizzi represented the most conservative element within the merchant aristocracy of republican Florence. A long-established family who were first represented in the *signoria* in 1283, they attained their greatest commercial and political prominence in the second half of the fourteenth century. By 1350, the Albizzi had emerged as the leaders of a political faction which sought to dominate the *parte Guelfa* (Guelf party) and the Florentine government by restricting the major offices of both to members of the older families. Opposed to the Albizzi was a faction led by the Ricci that favored the inclusion in politics of new men, those recently risen to wealth and membership in the major guilds.

The rivalry between the Albizzi and the Ricci was regarded by the Florentines as such a threat to the republic that in 1366 both families were banned from holding office for ten years. In 1378, Piero degli Albizzi, whose wealth and political alliances had made him the dominant political figure, was dealt a severe blow by the reform-minded *balia* created in the wake of the *ciompi* (working-class) uprising. Piero and his male descendants were declared magnates subject to the political liabilities imposed on the nobility by the Ordinances of Justice, and he was exiled from Florence.

The Albizzi again became the leaders of an oligarchical faction in Florence in the 1380s, and once again their ambition threatened the stability of the republic as they and their new opponents, the Medici, sought to gain control of the machinery of government.

See also Ciompi; Florence

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Alboin

The semilegendary king Alboin (d. 572) led the Lombards over the eastern Alps into Italy in 568. He had become king some years before, succeeding his father, Audoin, who was not a member of the old Lething dynasty.

Alboin's career before the descent into Italy is known primarily from old sagas. The Lombards, in league with the Avars, made war on the Gepids (who were living in the central Danube region). The Gepids were defeated, and their king, Cunimund, was killed by Alboin, who then took Cunimund's daughter Rosamund as his captive and wife. It is said that after the invasion of Italy, Rosamund conspired to have Alboin murdered in his bed because he had forced her to drink from a cup made from her father's skull. In any event, Alboin was assassinated in 572.

The invaders that Alboin took into Italy included not only Lombards but also a number of other Germans, including a large group of Saxons. The incursion seems to have taken the Byzantines by surprise. Cividale (Friuli) fell first and became the center of a first Lombard duchy (a frontier march). A number of *fare* (kin groups) were left to organize the march; the remainder followed Alboin into the Po Valley, where Milan and Pavia (the latter only after a long siege) were occupied and became the center of the slowly emerging Lombard kingdom. Alboin was followed as king by Cleph.

See also **Byzantine Empire; Lombards; Milan; Pavia**

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Albomoz, Gil Álvarez Cabrillo De

Cardinal Gil Alvarez Cabrillo (Carillo, Carrillo) de Alborno (1302 or 1303-1367) was a soldier as well as a churchman. Alborno's campaigns restored central Italy to the papacy in the 1350s and 1360s, after decades of control by local despots. This made possible the return of the papal court from Avignon to Rome in 1377, ending the Avignonese papacy.

Born to an aristocratic Castilian family, Alborno was marked early for an ecclesiastical career. After studying canon law at Toulouse, he became chaplain and counselor to King Alfonso XI. In 1338, he succeeded his uncle as archbishop of Toledo. Over the next decade Alborno took a leading role in the wars of reconquest, gaining a considerable reputation not only as a soldier but as a diplomat.

Alborno's relations with King Alfonso's successor, Pedro I (the Cruel), were strained. Fearing disgrace, Alborno fled to the papal court at Avignon in 1350. By December of that year, he had renounced the see of Toledo and been made a cardinal. In 1352, Pope Innocent VI named him papal delegate and vicar-general to the papal states and to central and northern Italy. His mission was to regain control of these areas from the petty lords who had seized them after the popes left Italy for Avignon.

Alborno fought two long campaigns in Italy. The first, lasting from 1353 to 1357, secured the papal states, the Marches, and Romagna, including the city of Bologna. The second, fought between 1358 and 1364, attempted to free papal territories from the influence of the Visconti and the Ghibellines of the north by extending papal power into Emilia and the southern reaches of the Po valley.

In 1357, Alborno promulgated a set of laws for the lands he had

conquered that was later known as the *Constitutiones aegidianae*. This became the basic legal code of the papal states and was not superseded until the Napoleonic era. *Constitutiones* attempted to regularize earlier laws of the region while reversing legislation that Albornoz considered prejudicial to ecclesiastical liberties. It also balanced strong papal government with a certain autonomy for towns, since Albornoz was concerned to avoid alienating these important allies against the troublesome nobility. Generally, Albornoz championed communal rights and the authority of communal assemblies against the privileges of the nobles.

During his campaigns in the papal states, Romagna, and the Marches, Albornoz made rapid progress and achieved quick success. He was not as fortunate in his subsequent operations in the north. These dragged on at enormous cost, with no assurance of victory. In 1363, a new pope, Urban V, decided to replace Albornoz and seek a negotiated peace. Albornoz was kept in Italy, however, as papal legate to Naples and Bologna. In 1365, he founded the Spanish College at the University of Bologna. He died in 1367, while accompanying Urban V on the first papal visit to Rome in more than sixty years.

Albornoz's victories made certain that the papacy could return to Rome in 1377, and his administrative and legal reforms provided the basis for papal government in central Italy for centuries. His achievements might be better recognized had not many of the political gains he made for the papacy been so quickly lost during the Great Schism of 1378-1417.

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Aldobrandeschi Family

From Carolingian times to the late thirteenth century, branches of the Aldobrandeschi family controlled an enormous feudal territory in western Tuscany. At first centered on Lucca, with holdings as far north as Parma, the family's power later shifted south to the Maremma. The Aldobrandeschi were probably of Lombard origin and may have been descendants of Liutprand's successor, King Ildebrandino, who reigned briefly c. 744. Family lordship was based on a combination of control over monastic lands and comital authority, from the late ninth century around Lucca. By the communal period, the main branch ruled the *contado* (district) between Siena and Orvieto as counts of Sovana, Pitigliano, Santa Fiora, etc. This *terra aldobrandesca* began to come

under the control of Orvieto with a minor submission to the commune in 1168. In 1208, Orvieto arbitrated a testamentary dispute among four Aldobrandeschi heirs and gained further submissions in the process. Communal control increased in 1216 after another arbitration and the imprisonment of two Aldobrandeschi brothers for debt.

In 1251, family rivalries caused a defection to the Siense, long rivals for control of the Aldobrandeschi lands; in 1259, a Siense army ousted the haughty Umberto from his castle of Campagnatico and killed him (*Purgatorio*, 11.58-69); and in 1274, the northern portion, Santa Fiora, formally submitted to Siena. Throughout the fourteenth century, Siena absorbed these lands, eventually nullifying the authority and power of the Aldo-brandeschi. In 1284, the southern portion was inherited by Margherita, who had married Guy di Montfort. Orvieto and Pope Boniface VIII dueled for hegemony, and in 1303 Orvieto gained the upper hand, with title descending to the Orsini family through Anastasia, the daughter of Margherita and Guy.

See also Orvieto; Siena

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Alessandria

Alessandria is a commune in the Piedmont region along the Tanaro River in the Marengo plain. The first settlement (c. 1164) was named Civitas Nova or Cesaria and was founded by the Ghibelline William V "the Elder," marquis of Montferrat, who drew together the leading citizens of four smaller communes (Rovereto, Bergoglio, Marengo, and Gamondio) with the intent of expanding his own sphere of interest. However, factions opposed to Montferrat grew in the new city and drew it into an alliance with Milan. In 1167-1168, with the assistance of "new men" and refugees from small towns in the vicinity, the city was renamed Alessandria in honor of Pope Alexander III. Alessandria was attacked by the imperial forces of Frederick I (Frederick Barbarossa) and William the Elder, who besieged it for six months in 1174-1175. In 1183, as a consequence of the Peace of Constance, the city reassumed its original name, Cesaria, a name it held until nearly the end of the century. In 1198 it returned to Guelf control and was once again renamed Alessandria.

For the next 150 years, Alessandria was in a continual struggle with the neighboring cities of Casale and Genoa, while torn by internal strife between Guelf (Guaschi and Dal Pozzo) and Ghibelline (Lanzavecchia and Inviziati) family factions. It was also subject to depredations by William VII of Montferrat (1260) and by Charles of Anjou (1268). The Angevins (Robert of Anjou) and the Visconti contended for the city, and in 1348, the Visconti annexed it definitively for Milan.

The original town walls, consisting of earthworks, moat, and guard towers, were replaced at the beginning of the thirteenth century with stone fortifications and a bridge over the Tanaro River. These were reinforced and expanded in 1362 and served the city until the sixteenth century. Among the earliest ecclesiastical buildings are the churches of Saint Rocco (twelfth-fourteenth centuries), Saint Francis (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), and Santa Maria di Castello (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries). The city's first cathedral, dedicated to Saint Peter, was demolished in 1805 by the French.

See also **Montferrat, Marquisate of**

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Alesso Di Guido Donati

Nothing is known of Alesso di Guido Donati's life except that he was a Florentine poet who lived during the second half of the fourteenth century. His collected poems comprise eleven madrigals and two *ballate* that are contained in the manuscript Magliabechi VII, 624 (fourteenth century), at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. Unlike the *ballate*, *Di te son servidor* and *Da poi ch'Amor più volte m'ha fallito*, Donati's madrigals are steeped in lively, realistic imagery and dialogue and treat conventional themes, especially the vicissitudes of amorous pursuit, in a daring and playful manner. Antonio Lanza has noted the "clearly hedonistic and fundamentally erotic" (1978, 142) tone of Alesso's poetry.

In the madrigal *Accese montanine*, for example, Alesso creates a humorous and innovative effect by artfully combining features of *stilnovo* and *scuola siciliana* style with references to the beginning of Dante's infernal journey (*deh la via mia smarrita m'insegnate: / tan to ch' i' torni al mio dritto cammino*) in order to represent the lover's conquest (*e io con bad sollazando seco*). In another madrigal, *Ellera non s'avvitola*, Alesso represents the euphoria of two lovers as they dare to embrace before the eyes of a dozing guardian: "*Abracciamirisposile, / "e, s'ella ci ode e grida, fuor cacciamola."/ E ciò dicendo volto a volto puosile / e colsi frutto del suo orto giovine* (vv. 7-10). The incisive representation of the lovers' actions and emotions (desire, and fear of being caught *in flagrante delicto*) is enhanced by the fluid development from the descriptive analogy that introduces the poem through the dialogue that occupies the central verses and finally to the narrative that concludes the poem. After reading these and other madrigals, such as *Cavando d'un cespuglio calcatreppi, Di rietro a un volpon che sen portava, I' mi son qui selvaggia pasturella*, and *Con lieve piè, come la pecorella*, the reader will perhaps agree with Lanza, who believes that

Alesso has been underrated.

See also **Ballata**; **Italian Poetry: Lyric**

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Alexander III, Pope

Pope Alexander III (Rolando Bandinelli, c. 1105-1181) was born in Siena. He received training as a theologian and canon lawyer and became a member of the faculty at the University of Bologna. He was made a cardinal by Eugenius III in 1150 and was appointed chancellor of the Roman Curia in 1153. During his academic years, he wrote a commentary on Gratian's *Decretum*; subsequently, as a cardinal, he wrote a theological treatise, *Sententiae*, directed against the influence of Abelard. Under Pope Adrian IV he was the strongest opponent of Frederick I (Frederick Barbarossa) and an advocate of the papal alliance with the Normans. In September 1159, in a divided election, he was chosen pope, but a pro-imperial minority of cardinals chose a rival pope under the name Victor IV, blocked Alexander's investiture, and drove him out of Rome. Two weeks later, in Ninfa, Alexander was consecrated pope; he then began a series of protracted international

negotiations over his status while Frederick continued to back a series of antipopes.



Pope Alexander III. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 202v.

During a period of exile in France, Alexander began to build a series of alliances against Frederick that eventually enabled him to return to Rome in 1165. He became the focal personality in the organization of the cities and regimes of Italy against the imperial schemes of Barbarossa. The climax of the anti-imperial struggle came with the victory of the Lombard League at Legnano in 1176. Through the mediation of the Venetian republic, Alexander and Frederick became reconciled in a famous meeting in Venice in 1177.

It was in part Alexander's preoccupation with Italian affairs that allowed Henry II of England to pursue his struggle with Thomas Becket

(c. 1118-1170) over the status of the English church; in 1173, Alexander canonized Becket. In 1179, Alexander presided over the Third Lateran Council, which established the principle of a two-thirds vote in papal elections. He also conducted brief, superficial negotiations with the emperor Manuel I Comnenus over the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. In Alexander's last years, renewed popular violence forced him to leave Rome, and he died in Civita Castellana on 30 August 1181. His struggle with Barbarossa is recorded in a cycle of frescoes by Spinello Aretino in the Sala di Balia of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena.

See also **Frederick I Barbarossa; Legnano, Battle of**

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Alexander IV, Pope

Pope Alexander IV (Rinaldo Conti, count of Segni, 1199-1261) was a nephew of Gregory IX and a patron of the Franciscan order and was elected pope in 1254 to succeed Innocent IV. He saw the Ghibelline cause revive under the leadership of Manfred, an illegitimate son of Frederick II. Although peace-loving, Alexander supported candidates to the thrones of both Naples and the empire who would oppose Hohenstaufen interests. He also excommunicated Manfred. Faced with unrest in Rome and Manfred's armed threat, he retired to Viterbo and Anagni. From his residences outside Rome he extended his patronage to

the mendicant orders, defending their right to appoint the chairs of theology at the University of Paris. The Augustinian Hermits were organized under the papal aegis. Alexander canonized Clare of Assisi in 1255. He also sought, though unsuccessfully, a reunion between the eastern and western churches; and he tried to organize a crusade against the Mongols.

See also **Manfred**

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Al-Farabi

Al-Farabi (c. 870-c. 950) was born at Wasij near Farab in Turkestan. He studied in Baghdad under the Nestorian philosopher Yuhanna ibn Haylan. In 942, he went to Syria, where he was welcomed at the court of Sayf al-Dawla at Aleppo.

Al-Farabi was called the "second master"—that is, second after Aristotle—a title indicative of Al-Farabi's influence as a philosopher on the whole of Arabic and Latin thought in the Middle Ages. In the 150 years after his death, a period I. R. Netton (1992) has called the "age of Farabism," Arabic philosophy was shaped directly and distinctly by his thought. Through his Arabic and Hebrew successors as well as Latin translations of some of his writings, al-Farabi's influence on Latin medieval philosophy was equally notable.

Al-Farabi's *Book of the Enumeration of the Sciences* is the earliest known Islamic work on the classification of the sciences. Two Latin

translations under the title *De scientiis* were made in the medieval period, one by Dominicus Gundissalinus (Toledo, c. 1140) and the other by Gerard of Cremona (c. 1230). In this work al-Farabi analyzes the place and nature of all sciences, which he orders under eight headings: linguistic, logical, mathematical, physical, metaphysical, political, juridical, and theological disciplines, with extensive subdivisions for each category. These subdivisions are modeled after the earlier Aristotelian corpus, and the influence of Aristotle is also reflected in the primacy of logic. *De scientiis* in turn influenced Gundissalinus's *On the Division of Philosophy* (*De divisione philosophiae*, c. 1150).

A similar but less elaborate treatise, *On the Origin of the Sciences*, was also translated into Latin (as *De ortu scientiarum*), probably by Gundissalinus. Another work ascribed to al-Farabi was a commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, this commentary is preserved only in several Renaissance editions of the Latin translation by Hermannus Alemannus (c. 1256). At least in the early printed editions, al-Farabi's *On the Intellect* was often attributed to Avicenna. It was read by medieval western scholars in a translation, *De intellectu*, which may have been made by Gundissalinus. This unique work sets out to discuss the various meanings of the term "intellect" in Aristotle and common Arabic speech, but it is especially important for its interpretation of the active intellect in Aristotle's *On the Soul* (*De anima*). Like al-Farabi's *Philosophy of Aristotle* (which, however, was not translated into Latin), this treatise expounds the Neoplatonist view of the active intellect as the end point of a ninefold hierarchy of emanating incorporeal intelligences. By contrast, *De intellectu* describes the active intellect as a source of emanation of natural forms into the sublunar realm. The active intellect here also illuminates the human intellect in such a way that it can grasp concepts instead of mere general first principles. D. Salmon (1939) presents evidence for the existence of several other Latin translations of works by al-Farabi in the Middle Ages.

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism, Neoplatonism

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Alfraganus

Alfraganus is the latinized name of Abu'i-Abbas Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khatir Al-Farghani (b. late eighth-early ninth century). Alfraganus was born in Farghana (Transoxania) and rose to fame in Baghdad as an astrologer-astronomer and engineer to Caliph al-Ma'mun of the Abbasid dynasty (813-833). As an engineer, Alfraganus

was responsible for the construction of the "Great Milometer" in old Cairo, which was completed in 861. However, he achieved his greatest renown as an astronomer.

Several of Alfraganus's astronomical works have not come down to us; these include *Book on the Construction of Sundials* and a commentary on the astronomical tables of al-Khwarizmi, which was mentioned by al-Biruni and Ibn ai-Muthanna and possibly provided the basis for the latter's extant commentary on these tables. By contrast, Alfraganus's *Elements* did survive and was popular both in the Arabic world and in the Latin west. *Elements* provides an unusually clear account of the mathematical astronomy of Ptolemy's *Almagest* (second century C.E.).

In the *Almagest*, Ptolemy had given a thorough analysis of planetary motions and had derived models and parameters that could serve as a basis for accurate predictions of celestial motions. A set of individual mathematical models, however, did not necessarily constitute a satisfying cosmological model, particularly in comparison with the Aristotelian homocentric universe. Alfraganus's contribution in *Elements* was to strip the *Almagest* of most of its mathematical content and offer a qualitative description of Ptolemy's models, along with certain basic parameters relevant for establishing the size of the universe. Thus an influential step was taken toward a generally acceptable synthesis of Ptolemaic astronomy and Aristotelian cosmology, in the form of a textbook that provided an excellent introduction to Ptolemy's mathematical astronomy.

Elements (known in the Middle Ages as *Compilatio astronomica*, *Liber de aggregationibus stellarum*, or *Liber 30 differentiarum*) was translated twice into Latin in the twelfth century, by John of Seville (1135) and Gerard of Cremona (before 1175). The first translation was printed in 1493 (Ferrara), 1537 (Nuremberg), and 1546 (Paris), the second only in 1910. A third Latin translation appeared in 1590 (Frankfurt); this was based on an undated Hebrew version by Jacob Anatoli. The Arabic *editio princeps*, with yet another Latin translation, appeared in 1669 (Amsterdam). The translation by John of Seville was particularly popular throughout medieval Europe, and it established an important tradition of introductory astronomy textbooks; the various *Theoricae planetarum* and Sacrobosco's *De sphaera* are part of this

tradition. *Elements* was quoted as early as 1282 in the *Composizione del mondo* of the elusive Ristoro d'Arezzo; and Paget Toynbee (1895) identified several instances in Dante's work that show the poet's acquaintance with Alfraganus's treatise. Moreover, *Elements* was the topic of public lectures by no less an astronomer than Regiomontanus at Padua in 1464. Alfraganus also wrote several treatises on the astrolabe that survive in a number of Arabic manuscripts.

Only Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation of the *Elements* has had the benefit of a modern printed edition (Campani 1910). Sabra (1971) provides a bibliography of other printed editions, as well as references to bibliographies of the extant manuscript material. A detailed overview of *Elements* can be found in Delambre (1819).

See also Arabs in Italy

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Allegory

Allegory—the term comes from the Greek *allos* (other) and *agoreuein* (public speech)—is an important means of writing and interpreting texts, which developed in various forms throughout the Middle Ages. Allegory is polysemous and challenges the reader to discover its multiple meanings.

In its simplest form, allegory is an extended metaphor in which the literal figures can be interpreted abstractly as well. This type, called reification allegory, was developed from the rhetorical tradition as exemplified by the Roman Quintilian (c. 35-100).

Typological allegory emerged from the tradition of biblical exegesis. Scholars of religion sought parallels between the Old and New Testaments: a woman, Eve, brought sin into the world but a another woman, Mary, brought us salvation; David was a king as Christ would be; and so on.

By the sixth century, another type of Christian allegory had emerged. This complex form has four levels of meaning, as later articulated by Dante in his *Convivio* and again in his *Letter to Cangrande*. These senses are (1) literal, (2) allegorical, (3) moral, and (4) anagogic. If we apply this to the biblical story of Jonah, the four interpretations are: (1)

a man spent three days inside a great fish, (2) Christ spent three days in the tomb, (3) God will save us from peril, and (4) God's plan is salvation by Christ.

A fourth tradition in the Middle Ages was the allegorical interpretation of classical texts, such as those of Virgil and Ovid, to give them Christian meanings. This was a means of recuperating the content of "pagan" texts that were widely used as schoolbooks to teach Latin. French and English authors wrote moral glosses on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a literary tradition to which Boccaccio's *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri* belongs. Similarly, "scientific" descriptions of beasts or precious stones inherited from antiquity were given a Christian interpretation; for example, the pelican piercing its breast to feed its young became a symbol of Christ's supreme sacrifice.

Ovid's *Heroides*, meanwhile, gave rise to another strain of allegorical texts. From the Provencal lyric to the romances of Chretien de Troyes, and most importantly in the *Roman de la Rose*, reification allegories sought to express the human emotions connected with amorous love. These texts, especially the *Roman*, had a clear influence on Italian authors. The late thirteenth-century Tuscan poem *Il fiore* omits the theological and scientific aspects of the French original, focusing instead on the erotic. This poem's attribution to Dante is still debated. The fragmentary verse *Detto d'amore*—by the same author, as is demonstrated by the similarity of its language—gives a larger role to the lady.

Most of the medieval Italian moral, didactic texts that use allegory are Tuscan, perhaps simply because there was a high level of literacy and book production in Tuscany. These texts include *Il detto del gatto lopesco*, a strange little poem, generally considered allegorical, about a species of wildcat making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The animal encounters two knights of the Round Table, spends a night with a hermit, and then passes through a desert wilderness where he encounters many savage beasts.

More important (and comprehensible) is the uncompleted poem *Tesoretto* ("Little Treasure") by Brunetto Latini. In this shorter Italian vernacular version of his *Livre dou trésor*, the poet-protagonist, recently exiled, seeks refuge in nature and meets its female personification, who rules the physical universe and who explains creation, the humors, the

elements, astronomy, animal species, rivers, and seas. In the second section of this poem, Brunetto crosses a huge desert before entering a delightful land ruled by the empress Virtue, whose daughters are the four cardinal virtues. Each daughter elucidates the positive attributes she represents; for example, Justice discourses at length on the proper behavior for a knight. This poem also contains echoes of the *Roman de la Rose*, especially in the section concerning the male character II Piacere (Pleasure). *Documenti d'amore* and *Reggimento e costumi di donna*, by Latini's near contemporary Francesco da Barberino, also use allegory for didactic purposes.

PROSA PRIMA



'Prosa Prima

Ec dum mecum tacitus ipse reputarem: que
 timoniamque lachrymabilem filii officio: de
 signarem: astutisse mihi supra verticem visa
 est mulier: reuerendi admodum vultus: oculis ardētibus:
 & ultra cōmunē hominum valentiam perspicacibus: co-
 lore viuido: atque inexhausti vigoris: quāvis ita aui plena
 foret: ut nullo modo nostrę crederetur ætatis. Statura di-
 scretionis ambigū. Nam nūc quidē ad cōem sese hoimē
 mensuram cohibebat: Nūc vero pulsare clēū summi ver-
 ticis cacumine videbatur. Quę cū caput altius extulisse
 ipsum etiam cælum penetrabat: seque respicientiū homi-
 num frustrabatur iocundus. Vestes erant tenuissimis filis

philosophie
ad boetium ad
notandum.

philosophie
descriptio

Notum philosophie
descriptio

Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy, Textus Boetij: Anitij Manlij Torquati Seuerini Boetij . . . consolatio philosophica*. Lyon: Simon Vincent, 1510.
Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Perhaps the most intricate and most successful allegory ever created is Dante's *Comedy (Commedia)*. The author himself calls it his "strange allegory" (*Inferno*, 9:59-60). His poetic skill is capable of endowing even historical personages with symbolic significance. The pageant of the church scene at the end of *Purgatory (Purgatorio)* is an allegorical tour de force. Characters in his earlier *Vita nuova* such as the Lord of Love and Lady Compassion are analogous to figures in the *Roman de la Rose*. Some of Dante's love poems are allegorical, in reality celebrating Lady Philosophy, not an earthly ladylove.

The poem *Intelligenza*, once attributed (unconvincingly) to Dino Compagni, is the work of a cultivated Tuscan contemporary of Dante. This lengthy didactic poem has as its subject a lady who symbolizes and personifies Intelligence. Its encyclopedic content is stretched across a slender allegorical web: the poet visits her and describes her court, which includes queens, lovely damsels, and courteous maids-in-waiting. One room of her palace is decorated with stories of Caesar, Alexander, the Trojan war, and the Round Table. The salon represents the human heart, the vaulted ceiling represents the mind, and the walls decorated with scenes represent memories. Expressed in courtly terms, the poet's desire to love and serve this lady is entirely appropriate.

One notices that the personified figures in these allegories are predominantly female: earlier examples are Boethius's Lady Philosophy and Saint Francis's Lady Poverty. This may be simply due to the fact that the Latin and Italian nouns expressing such abstract concepts are often feminine.

A final example is *La giostra delle virtù e dei vizi*, from the late thirteenth century; it was written in the Marches, perhaps by a Franciscan, in epic style. Two cities—Jerusalem and Babylon—engage in a military confrontation; the virtues are the armor that protects the warriors of the Holy City, who are pitted against a long list of enemies, the vices. Allegory also appears in the letters of Saint Catherine of Siena.

See also Brunetto Latini; Dante Alighieri; Francesco da Barberino; Intelligenza

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Altichiero Da Zevio

Altichiero (c. 1330-after 1390) was already an established painter in March 1369, when he is first documented in his native Verona. All subsequent documents relating to Altichiero refer to his activities in Padua. The earliest of these documents—dated April 1376—has to do with an altarpiece in a church at Polverara, near Padua. That altarpiece and another one paid for in 1382 are lost or untraceable, and no other altarpiece panels currently attributed to Altichiero are actually by him.

Works

The earliest surviving documented works by Altichiero are some frescoes in the chapel of San Giacomo (now San Felice) in the basilica di Sant'Antonio in Padua; this was the mortuary chapel of Lupi, a soldier and diplomat serving the ruling house of Carrara. The contract for the architecture and sculpture in the chapel was signed in February 1372 by Bonifacio Lupi and the Venetian Andriolo de Santi. The original ledger survives and records work in the chapel from 1372 to 1379. The painting appears to have been done during the last two or three years. Altichiero, the only painter recorded by name, was paid for his work in the chapel (and for the decoration of the sacristy, now lost) in 1379. It is clear from stylistic evidence that another artist, working independently and not from Altichiero's designs, executed some of the lunettes—the first four and the sixth—depicting the legend of Saint James the Greater. Except for some marginal figures, the remainder of the decoration is by Altichiero: the other scenes of Saint James, the panoramic three-bay Crucifixion, the votive fresco, and the Annunciation, Resurrection, and Man of Sorrows.

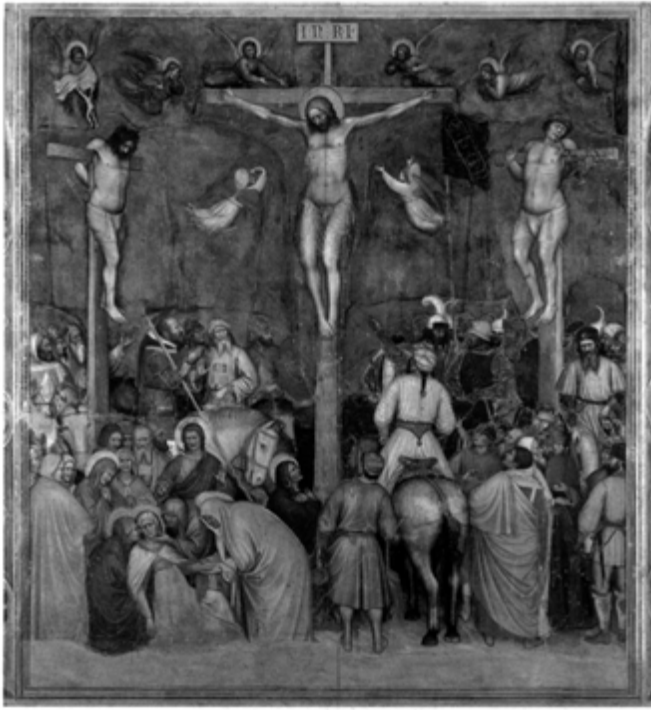
The identity of the other artist is a subject of controversy. He was probably the Bolognese painter Jacopo d'Avanzo (or Avanzi), who is mentioned by some of the early sources—including the earliest, Michele Savonarola (c. 1446)—as having worked in the chapel. This seems to be the artist who is cited in Bolognese archival documents from 1375 to 1384, but it could instead be a Jacopo di Pietro Avanzi, who was already dead in 1378. The artist Avanzo (or Avanzi) who represented the brotherhood of painters in Padua in March 1405 appears to have been a different person; this is also certainly true of a homonymous painter recorded in Vicenza in 1379, 1380, and 1389. The Bolognese Avanzo signed a Crucifixion (now in the Colonna Gallery in Rome)—the basis for the attribution of the Massacre of the Hebrews, detached from the church of Sant'Apollonia di Mezzarata in Bologna and now in the Pinacoteca there. Twelve miniatures now in Dublin, illuminating Statius's *Thebaid*, have also been ascribed to Avanzo, but they may be by a close follower. (In either case, they cannot be a clear reflection of the lost frescoes by Guariento in the Carrara Palace in Padua, as is sometimes claimed.)

After completing the chapel of San Giacomo, Altichiero decorated the nearby oratorio of San Giorgio, a barrel-vaulted structure modeled on

the Arena Chapel. It became the resting place of Raimondino Lupi, who was Bonifacio's relative and, like Bonifacio, a soldier of Francesco da Carrara, lord of the city. The elaborate freestanding tomb has been much reduced. Documents show that the oratory was constructed by December 1379, possibly by May 1378, and that Altichiero finished his painting by May 1384. Other documents attest to his presence in Padua from July 1381 to 1384. The frescoes depict the legends of saints George, Catherine, and Lucy, with some scenes from the lives of Christ and Mary, and a votive image. Although it has been damaged by moisture, this is one of the most magnificent picture cycles of its century. The hand of Avanzo is not visible—we see only the hands of Altichiero and the expected assistants—nor is Avanzo mentioned in the documents. Yet it is sometimes claimed, on the basis of some of the early sources and an illegible inscription, that Avanzo's work is present.

The last record of Altichiero is a Paduan archival document of September 1384. At that time he was either in Verona or about to go there. The Florentine art historian Giorgio Vasari (1568) is the source of the tradition that Altichiero returned to Verona after working in Padua.

Vasari is the authority who tells us that Altichiero painted frescoes illustrating Flavius Josephus's *Jewish War* in the palace of the Scaligeri lords of Verona. Vasari writes that Avanzo also worked in the room, which he discusses before Altichiero's and Avanzo's Paduan works. This has given rise to the belief that the frescoes, for which there are no relevant documents, were done before Altichiero moved to Padua, for Cansignorio (1359-1375). Some portraits of Roman emperors and empresses survive and may be attributed to Altichiero, although these are not the subjects of the border medallions described by Vasari. They reflect a study of Roman coins, directly or indirectly through the illustrations of the *Historia imperialis* by the Veronese proto-immanist Giovanni de Matociis (Mansionario). The rest of the decoration is lost, though some drawings may reflect it.



Altichiero da Zevio (1330-1385), *Crucifixion*. Oratorio San Giorgio, Chiesa del Santo, Padua. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The early sources mention the undocumented *Sala virorum illustrium* (Room of Famous Men) in the Carrara Palace at Padua. The sources give conflicting attributions: Guariento; Altichiero; Avanzo; and an artist by whom no documented works survive, Ottaviano (Prandino) da Brescia. The decoration was destroyed by fire and repainted with an altered scheme. The portion of the portrait of Petrarch which alone survives of the original decoration suggests that Altichiero worked in the room. Historical and literary evidence shows that the frescoes could not have been begun before 1367 and had been completed, or nearly completed, by January 1379. The decoration was based on *De viris illustribus* (*On Famous Men*), begun by Petrarch, finished after his death by Lombardo della Seta, and dedicated by both to Francesco da Carrara the Elder. The original program must have consisted of thirty-six figures of famous generals and statesmen from Romulus to Trajan, all but three of them Roman, with narrative scenes and inscriptions

beneath; portraits of Petrarch and Lombardo in their studies; and a Triumph of Fame. Assisting with this reconstruction are illuminations from two manuscripts of *De viris illustribus* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Lat. 6069F and I) and one in Darmstadt (ms. 101). The Triumphs of Fame in the first two and an allegory of Padua and Venice in a third manuscript in Paris (Lat. 6069G) are often attributed to Altichiero, though it seems more likely that they were painted by his followers.

No sources or documents exist for the votive fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin on the tomb of Diamante Dotto, which was in the church of the Eremitani in Padua before it was destroyed during World War II, or for the votive fresco in the Cavalli Chapel in the church of Sant'Anastasia in Verona. Scholars unanimously attribute both to Altichiero, although they disagree on the dates. The first was probably painted around 1371, when Dotto died. The other was done before September 1390, when it was broken by another monument. It must have been painted after the chapel of San Giacomo in Padua, which its architectural background presupposes, and it may have been done after 1384, when Altichiero presumably returned to his native city.

Style and Influence

By about mid-century, the painters of Verona had absorbed the style of Giotto from nearby Padua, along with more recent Florentine and Sienese influences that seem to have been transmitted primarily through Riminese and Lombard intermediaries. With the exception of a polyptych signed by Turone and dated 1360, in the Castelveccchio, and some attributions based on it, the surviving works of this school are all anonymous.

Altichiero built on the local school, which had already naturalized the art of Giotto. Although he also knew the work of Maso di Banco and probably other Florentine followers of Giotto, he turned directly to the great example of Giotto's frescoes in Padua for the essentials of his own style. However, whereas Giotto's forms are abstract and timeless, Altichiero's figures are dressed in the costume of his time. Also, their features are more individualized than Giotto's, and the flesh tones are

more softly graduated. Altichiero was more sensitive to nuances of light, color, and surface texture. His figures are smaller in scale than Giotto's, relative to their surroundings and to the picture field; they are more numerous; and their distribution is more random and lifelike. Despite these differences, Altichiero retains Giotto's sense of monumentality and human dignity. His architectural settings, which were inspired by the Carrara court painter, Guariento, are more spacious and complex than Giotto's. But unlike these artists and others of their century, Altichiero generally avoided showing a structure with its front wall arbitrarily removed to reveal the interior; he preferred views more truthful to optical experience.

Altichiero, like Giusto de' Menabuoi, was probably called to Padua to fill the vacancy left by the death of Guariento. Altichiero, Giusto, and Avanzo (whose frescoes in Sant'Antonio are close to Altichiero and were influenced by him) were the leaders of a Giottoesque revival in Padua at a time when painting in Florence had stagnated, owing to a relaxation of Giotto's principles, Altichiero and, to a lesser extent, Avanzo had a dominant influence on painting and manuscript illumination in Padua and Verona that lasted to the beginning of the fifteenth century. This influence extended chronologically as far as Pisanello, Jacopo Bellini, and the Renaissance. Geographically, it extended beyond the Veneto as far as Austria and France, where the Limbourg brothers worked.

See also Giotto di Bondone; Giusto de' Menabuoi; Guariento di Arpo;

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Amadeo VI, Count of Savoy

Amadeus VI (Amadeo, 1334-1383), the son of Count Aymon of Savoy and Violante de Montferrat, was born at the family seat of Chambery. Through earlier and subsequent genealogical and matrimonial ties, he was related to numerous royal and princely families of western Europe, and even Byzantium; but he belonged to a dynasty—the house of Savoy—that was, in the midst of terrible divisions, struggling to create the beginnings of a state in the rough, disconnected rural and mountainous territories in the western Alpine regions. Amadeo's grandfather, Amadeo V "the Great" (1285-1323), had begun drawing together

territories in areas long disputed between the French crown and the German empire and caught in a tangle of conflicting feudal claims by local ruling families. The house of Savoy itself was divided between the main branch of Amadeo V's line and the rival Savoyard line of the titular princes of Achaëa.

Amadeo was only nine in 1343 when his father died and he succeeded to the still rickety titles. Under a responsible regency of feudal relatives, he continued to receive a solid education in both military skills and intellectual disciplines, which developed in him a genuine religious bent shaped by the highest ideals of chivalry. In his early years, both under the regency and after his majority was proclaimed (in 1348, when he was fourteen), Amadeo gained experience in balancing the pressures of the French crown, the independence of his Swiss subjects, and the disloyalty of separatist vassals. In 1352, he won his first military victory. At a tournament held during the following Christmas season, his elaborate use of green robes and trappings earned him the sobriquet "Green Count"—a name that would last and an identity that he would continue to cultivate deliberately. By 1360, through both military and diplomatic assertion, Amadeo had expanded his territories in the western Alps, including significant areas of present-day France and Switzerland, and thus consolidated the western regions of the nascent Savoyard state. In many of these regions, he remained a vassal of the French king, whose cousin he took as his first wife in 1355; it was only by a turn of circumstances that Amadeo did not participate in the battle of Poitiers the following year and thus escaped being captured there with his overlord.

Amadeo was drawn meanwhile to protect the interests of his southern holdings in the Piedmont. Through the marriage in 1350 of his sister Bianca to Galeazzo II Visconti of Milan (Bianca and Galeazzo II became the parents of the great Gian Galeazzo), Amadeo developed cordial relations with the powerful Visconti family, eventually consolidating power over territories he had held in vassalage to them. He accomplished an uneasy subjection of his cousin of the Achaëa branch, Giacomo, whose territories he annexed and with whom he developed a long and bitter rivalry. This rivalry was extended to Giacomo's son Filippo, whom Amadeo was finally to destroy in 1368. In a campaign in 1363, Amadeo subjected his rebellious vassal the marquis

of Saluzzo. Two years later, Amadeo entertained the Holy Roman emperor Charles IV, who confirmed Amadeo's title of imperial vicar over areas that corresponded to much of the old kingdom of Aries. This status was more symbolic than real, but it allowed Amadeo to play off his dependency on the French crown against his vassalage to the empire.

In 1364, Amadeo was caught up in schemes for a crusade being fostered by Pierre de Lusignan, the king of Cyprus. Amadeo formally "took the cross" and organized a crusading Order of the Collar, signaling his new ambition to distinguish himself in this sphere. However, he was drawn away from Lusignan's project by an idea of collaborating with Louis the Great of Hungary against the Turks, who were progressing in the Balkans. He was also distracted by the needs of the Byzantine emperor John V Palaiologos (Palaeologus), his first cousin through their shared Montferrat links; Amadeo might have seen himself as a distant pretender to John's title. Leaving his wife as regent, Amadeo set forth in the spring of 1366, sailing from Venice with a substantial military force. John was himself visiting the Hungarian court when Amadeo set out for Constantinople. The Green Count undertook some immediate military operations on his way, compelling the Turks to surrender the crucial port city of Gallipoli, and then making a demonstration against the Bulgarian king, who was preventing John's return to his capital.

Amadeo's limited resources prevented anything more than token local military operations. Nevertheless, on the basis of discussions held during the winter, Amadeo persuaded John to appeal directly to Pope Urban V for more aid against the Turks. John achieved few practical results from this, but Amadeo established his own stature as an international diplomat and a valiant crusader. Following his triumphant return to Italy in the summer of 1367, Amadeo personally attended Urban V on his arrival in Rome from Avignon.

In the following years, Amadeo was caught up in the tangle of northern Italian politics, which were strained by the bold new ambitions of the Visconti, directed especially against the lands of Montferrat. By July 1372, Amadeo joined a broad alliance against the Visconti—the coalition included Pope Gregory XI; the princes of Montferrat, Este, and Carrara; the queen of Naples; and the republics of

Genoa and Florence, Accepting the command of the allies' forces, Amadeo broke the Visconti's siege of Asti and, in concert with the league's other commander, John Hawkwood, discomfited the enemy forces. In the spring of 1374, satisfied with his record, Amadeo withdrew from the league and became reconciled with the Visconti; but relations between the house of Savoy and the Visconti continued to be precarious. Through complex manipulations, Amadeo was able to annex considerable areas of Montferrat lands, although Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who was in power by 1378, retained Asti.

As he consolidated the Savoy lands, Amadeo began to develop orderly institutions for his nascent state. The Great Schism of 1378 brought the election of the French counterpope Clement VII, a cousin of Amadeo. Clement was naturally recognized gladly by Savoy, which benefited from his resolutions of some jurisdictional disputes. By 1380, Amadeo became concerned about the expansion of the latest war between Genoa and Venice; initially, this was a conflict over the Greek island of Tenedos, but it expanded into the "Chiogga war," with a scrambling of alliances that threatened the balance of power in northern Italy and encouraged the Visconti's aggression. Amadeo's offer of mediation was accepted, and his negotiation of the Peace of Turin (April 1381) established him even more firmly as a statesman of international stature. One faction in strife-ridden Genoa even offered Amadeo the protectorship of the city, with the title of doge. Meanwhile, with the Visconti momentarily checked again, Amadeo established his theoretical rights over Asti (though not actual control of it) and, more tangibly, secured possession of the important border city of Cuneo.

Amadeo is said to have dreamed of a new crusade, directly to the Holy Land. But his final adventure instead involved him in a scheme by Louis of Anjou to claim the throne of Naples, in collaboration with the efforts of Pope Clement VII to establish himself in Rome. In the spring of 1382, Amadeo set forth, marching through Italy into a badly mismanaged campaign that was foiled in part by John Hawkwood, who was now a Florentine captain in support of the Roman pope Urban VI, and Hawk-wood's Neapolitan ally Charles of Durazzo. Over the winter, Amadeo's forces were ravaged by disease, which finally took his own life (on 27 February 1383). His remains were lovingly transported back to Savoy for burial.

Though he was an occasional patron of Guillaume de Machaut and Francesco Petrarca (Petrarch), Amadeo VI was a man of war and statecraft rather than of culture. Shaped at first by the traditions of chivalry, Amadeo learned to blend them with the newer impulses of pragmatic realism. From his grandfather he inherited bare feudal elements which he began to fuse into a viable entity, balanced between the neighboring powers of France and Italy and acquiring prestige from his personal reputation. His grandson, Amadeo VIII, would further consolidate Savoy as a duchy, established in the natural capital of Turin and securely set on a course that would turn the once peripheral house of Savoy into a monarchy which would eventually unite Italy.

See also Gregory XI, Pope; Hawkwood, Sir John; Petrarca, Francesco; Urban V, Pope; Visconti Family

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Amal Family

See Theodoric

Amalasuntha

Amalasuntha (also Amalasuinthia, Amalasuentha, Amalaswintha; 498-535) was the daughter of Theodoric. In 515, she married Eutharic

Cilliga (d. 522; he was the son of Veteric, her uncle). This marriage reunited people of Amalian blood. Emperor Justin I (c. 450-527, r. 518-527) recognized Eutharic as a brother in arms, and they were joint consuls in 519. It was expected that Amalasuntha and Eutharic's issue—Athalaric and Matasuentha—would embody the central aspects of Theodoric's vision of leadership: pure Amalian blood and close ties to the Roman imperial system.

Upon the death of Theodoric, Athalaric (515-534, r. 526-534), a child of not more than ten, succeeded to the throne. Amalasuntha, by then a widow, ruled as regent and later as queen mother until Athalaric died. When she tried to educate Athalaric in the Roman literary tradition that she considered important, the non-Amalian nobility, who formed a determined opposition, chose that moment to demand the right to train their king as a "Goth." Even before Athalaric's death, Amalasuntha had set about freeing herself from the opposition of the nobles and securing some kind of recognition so that she could rule after her son. She eliminated several principal nobles and entered into discussions with Emperor Justinian. However, she could not rule without a male as king, and so, perhaps acting under the advice of the emperor, she offered the throne to her cousin Theodahad (d. 536; r. 534-536). The nobility supported Theodahad but rejected Amalasuntha's idea that she herself would continue to rule in his name. She went into exile on an island in Lake Bolsena in Etruria, where she was murdered (probably on 30 April 535) by the relatives of the Gothic nobles whose lives she had declared forfeit.

See also **Gothic Wars; Justinian I; Ostrogoths; Theodahad; Theodoric**

THOMAS S. BURNS

Amalfi

A western spur of the Appennines reaching the coast separates the Gulf of Naples from the Gulf of Salerno, in the form of a continuous rocky bastion that falls steeply down to the sea and is ridged by a few deep,

narrow canyons, formed by mountain streams heading seaward. Amalfi (with a population of some 6,000 around the year 2000) lies at the mouth of the funnel-shaped end of one such canyon, the Valle de' Mulini—a name referring to the numerous mills alongside the river that descends through the canyon and cuts through the city. Archaeological findings along the Amalfitan riviera include a number of villas from the Roman era, whose owners were attracted by the mild climate and the great beauty of the area. Most of the villas were destroyed by mudslides when Vesuvius erupted in A.D. 79 and were never rebuilt, and no established settlements have been found dating from before the founding of Amalfi in the sixth century.

There have been all sorts of fables about the origins of Amalfi, some enchantingly naive and some ingeniously devised to satisfy demands for historical realism. Interestingly, even in these fantasies the original settlers are always presented as merchants who found the site during their commercial travels. It is significant that no eponymous hero or saint is ever mentioned. In fact, like the patron saints of Venice and Bari, the protector of Amalfi, Saint Andrew, came to the city during a great expansion of its commercial routes, in the tenth century.

The first mention of Amalfi in recorded history is found in a letter written by Pope Gregory the Great in 596; from this letter we learn that a Byzantine stronghold existed there and had spawned a settlement large enough to warrant a diocese. A "*castrum* of Amalfi" is also mentioned by the geographer George of Cyprus in a work written between 591 and 603. The *castrum* (garrison town) was probably a base for the Byzantine fleet, which at the time maintained an active presence along the Tyrrhenian coast, and a defensive bastion against Lombard invaders who had penetrated the area and captured neighboring Salerno (625-649).

This revelation of the existence of Amalfi is followed by two centuries of silence, until 785, when Pope Hadrian I wrote to Charlemagne informing him that Amalfi, with help from Naples, had beaten back an attack by Duke Arichis II of Benevento, at the time the most powerful ruler in southern Italy. Thereafter, information about Amalfi becomes less sporadic, but it is still only episodic, allowing no more than a general outline to be drawn. In 812, an Amalfitan naval squadron was dispatched to assist the Byzantine commander in Sicily.

In the winter of 838-839, Amalfi fell into the hands of Duke Sichard of Benevento, who forced many Amalfitans to move to Salerno but then was assassinated by his own people in July 839. Taking advantage of the ensuing confusion and panic, some Amalfitans avenged themselves by looting Salerno and destroying its walls; they then returned to Amalfi. The issue of Sichard's successor led to a long and bloody war which at the end split the great duchy of Benevento apart. The Amalfitans supported Siconolf, Sichard's brother, and in a daring action freed him from the prison in Taranto where he had been held under an order by Sichard. When Siconolf became prince of Salerno, he showed his gratitude by granting a number of concessions to the large Amalfitan colony that remained there. Amalfi itself, which had commercial interests throughout southern Italy, soon came to terms with the other claimant, Radelchis of Benevento, who did not want it in his enemy's camp. The policy of neutrality, maintained strictly whenever possible, became traditional throughout Amalfi's history as an independent state.

The events of 839 marked a decisive moment for Amalfi. During the ninth century, its prosperity increased and its economic activities expanded. Its ships, with those of Naples and Gaeta, prevented the Arabs from gaining a foothold in Campania and then turned the Arabs away by defeating them at the battle of Ostia in 846. Amalfi's ruling families formed a web of marriage alliances with their counterparts in Naples, Salerno, Benevento, Capua, and the rest of the region. In 870, at the request of Emperor Louis II, Amalfitan ships rescued Bishop Athanasius, who was besieged by the duke of Naples, Sergius II, on a small island off the port of Naples. In 871, Amalfitan ships managed to bring desperately needed supplies to Salerno, which was besieged by an Arab force.

Arab mercenaries had first been introduced into southern Italy by Naples, to counter Sichard's aggression in the early 830s. They then became an indispensable tool of ambitious or fearful local rulers. Emperor Louis II fought valiantly but in vain to eradicate these mercenaries from the region. When he died in 875, his Carolingian successors withdrew from southern Italy. From then until 915, bands of Arab marauders raided the coasts of Campania and Latium and pushed deep into the interior, looting, killing, and leaving desolation behind

them. Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi, however, actually benefited by offering shelter to the Arabs, selling them supplies, and buying their booty. The entreaties and condemnations of Pope John VIII (r. 872-882) were of no avail. Only the return of a strong Byzantine initiative early in the tenth century led to an alliance that finally, in 915, stormed and destroyed the Arab camp at the mouth of the Garigliano River. There is no evidence that Amalfi was among the Byzantine allies.

Until violent changes convulsed southern Italy in the second half of the eleventh century, the leaders of Amalfi steered a course of neutrality and cooperation that provided stability at home and safety for its merchants and commercial colonies abroad. The arrival of the Normans in the first quarter of the eleventh century, however, had upset a delicate political equilibrium. At first, the Normans were satisfied with their role as mercenaries in the service of local magnates; but as their number increased, with new recruits attracted by reports of successes, their goals changed. Ambitious, seeking riches, and no longer content to be soldiers of fortune, the Normans turned against their former employers, seizing their holdings and establishing in southern Italy a feudal kingdom that, in wealth and vitality, was unequaled in western Christendom.

Amalfi and Salerno had been enabled to develop from obscure fortresses to strong and very rich cities because of their close economic and social ties. They also had a common destiny when they fell. Amalfi was forced to accept Robert Guiscard as overlord in 1073, and Salerno fell to him in 1076 after a bitter struggle. Amalfi managed to regain its freedom for brief intervals until a final attempt was put down in 1131 by King Roger II.

Traditionally, Amalfi is referred to as a "maritime republic." The term is of modern coinage, and its implication of some form of popular governance does not correspond to historical reality. Early in the history of Amalfi a magistrate, called a *comes*, was chosen from among the noble families. During the ninth century, various men attempted but failed to seize power permanently, until Manso was able to establish a dynasty that persisted from 898 to 958. Its last ruler, Mastalo II, was assassinated by Sergius, the leader of a revolt, who in turn established a dynasty that ruled until Amalfi fell to the Normans in 1073. Evidently, until the establishment of the Manso dynasty the nobles of the duchy

had participated in the choice of the head of state; and even during the dynastic period their general interests and will could not be opposed or ignored for long with impunity.



Duomo with bell tower, Amalfi. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

From prehistory through the late Roman empire and beyond, trade between the eastern and western Mediterranean had always been dominated by eastern merchants. As late as the seventh century Syrian merchants, *Syrici mercatores*, were still numerous and well entrenched in the markets of Merovingian France and in Rome. Then they disappeared, as a result of a new alignment of forces reacting to the Islamic conquests. Their absence disrupted and radically changed a trade network that had operated for centuries. Soon, however, they were replaced by merchants from Campania and Venice among whom Amalfitans played a seminal role.

Geography was clearly a factor in the destiny of Amalfi. Its narrow territory offered scanty resources, and no large-scale movement of goods was possible because the area had no roads and could be reached only by sea or by difficult mountain trails. Thus maritime activity was not a matter of choice but a matter of survival. During their two centuries of historical anonymity, the Amalfitans had not been idle. When Amalfi reappears in documents, it is no longer an obscure *castrum* but a well fortified, prosperous town with considerable

shipping, and its merchants are already dominating the commerce of southern Italy. This is indicated by a peace treaty of 836 between Duke Sichard of Benevento and Naples: although its text has been lost, one entire chapter dealt with "How the Amalfitans should conduct their commerce" within the duchy, which at the time covered most of southern Italy.

Amalfi's commercial fortune has traditionally been explained in terms of its ties with the Byzantine empire, which allowed Amalfitans a quasi-monopoly on imports of expensive silk cloth, precious ornamental and ceremonial vestments, jewels, *objets d'art*, and other luxuries—items in great demand in western markets. Papal records, monastic chronicles, and reports of gifts from or to emperors, princes, and dignitaries bear ample testimony to this. On the other hand, it may seem difficult to explain where the Amalfitans got the gold needed for such purchases, since they had no wares that were in particular demand in Byzantine markets. For an answer, one must look at the needs of the rapidly expanding cities of North Africa, which were an ideal market for goods the Amalfitans could provide: agricultural products, linen cloth, hemp, naval stores, possibly slaves, and especially wood: all wood products, from household utensils to building materials, as well as wood for naval construction, which was sought especially by Arab rulers. It was from these markets—where, as in the Byzantine empire, only gold circulated—that the Amalfitans drew the gold which let them buy medical and aromatic spices, pigments and fixers, and many other items besides eastern luxuries. Such items were much sought after in Italian markets, particularly in Rome and as far north as Pavia. Notably, when western Christendom, after the reforms of Charlemagne, adopted the silver standard, only southern Italy was able to maintain the circulation of gold; and the Amalfitan *tari*, an imitation of the Arab quarter-dinar, circulated widely through the region from early in the tenth century until well into the fourteenth.

The most surprising aspect of Amalfi's trade was that the city itself was not its hub. The port of Amalfi was small and had no hinterland, and communications with the interior were so difficult that only highly valuable items—expensive silks, jewels, Oriental rugs, and the like—were brought there, besides foodstuffs and other necessities that could be shipped in with the necessary margin of profit. All the goods

exported on the first leg of the triangular trade had to be procured where they were available and then shipped directly to their destination: an overseas market. The procurement of export commodities and the distribution of imports from overseas were carried out by colonies of Amalfitan merchants, organized wherever there was a suitable market. Their extraordinary ubiquity and success are proof of the important role they played. Aside from their large establishments in Salerno and Naples, Amalfitan colonies could be found in many places in Italy (Rome, Benevento, Capua, San Germano, Aversa, Bari, Barletta, Trani, Molfetta, Venosa, Giovinazzo, Monopoli, Brindisi, Reggio, Messina, and Palermo); in Africa (Tunis, Tripoli, Alexandria, and Cairo); in the Middle East (Acre, Laodicea, and Antioch); and in the Byzantine empire (Durazzo, Almiro, and Constantinople). Amalfitan monks had a monastery on Mount Athos; and when the crusaders entered Jerusalem, they found several Amalfitan establishments that had been there for more than seventy years and were being maintained with alms collected in Amalfi. One of these was the Hospital of Saint John, from which sprang the Order of the Knights of the Hospital (or Knights Hospitallers), later of Rhodes and then of Malta.

Ibn Hawqal, a shrewd merchant from Baghdad, visited Amalfi in 972 and gave this description:

Then there is Amalfi, the richest city in Lombardy, the noblest and most illustrious for her condition, the busiest and wealthiest. The territory of Amalfi borders with that of Naples, which is a beautiful city, but less important than Amalfi.

When Amalfi was incorporated into the Norman state, it was exposed to hostility generated by the aggressive policies of the rulers, which led to the sack of the city by the Pisans in 1137. Unable to match the resources and naval power of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, Amalfi began a slow decline into provincial anonymity; and on 24 November 1343, a sea storm destroyed most of the medieval city. Amalfi would not be rescued from its backward, decrepit condition until the advent of modern tourism, spurred by the construction of the famous Amalfi Drive.

Few buildings from medieval Amalfi survive today. However, the cathedral of Saint Andrew preserves certain elements of its twelfth-

century architecture, although it was extensively rebuilt, primarily in the baroque style, in the eighteenth century and its most familiar aspect, its spectacular facade, is actually a nineteenth-century creation. Its most notable medieval feature is a pair of bronze doors commissioned at Constantinople around 1065 by Pantaleone, son of the Amalfitan merchant Mauro. These doors are contemporaneous with a similar set of bronze doors at San Salvatore in the nearby town of Atrani. The cathedral's bell tower, built in 1180-1286, is topped with multiple cupolas that are a fine example of southern Italian decorative style. Adjacent to the cathedral is the Cloister of Paradise, which dates from the second half of the thirteenth century; its interlacing arches richly demonstrate the Christian assimilation of Islamic architectural features.

See also Arabs in Italy; Byzantine Empire; Benevento; Garigliano. Battle oft John VIII, Pope; Louis II, Emperor; Normans; Roger II; Salerno

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Ambrose, Saint

In Italy in the mid-fourth century, the place of Christianity was secure. The threat posed by Julian the Apostate had passed; Christianity held a favored position and was making many converts. Bishops were gaining prestige, and they increasingly acted as imperial officials, with civic as well as spiritual functions. However, Christianity would not be fully established as the official Roman religion until Theodosius's decree at the end of the century, and meanwhile certain religious questions remained to be resolved. What was the role of the old state paganism, which was intimately connected with loyalty to Rome? Within the Christian congregations, what was to be the accepted Christology? Perhaps most important, what was the relationship between church and state to be in the west? These were central issues, on which Ambrose of Milan (339-397) exerted an abiding influence.

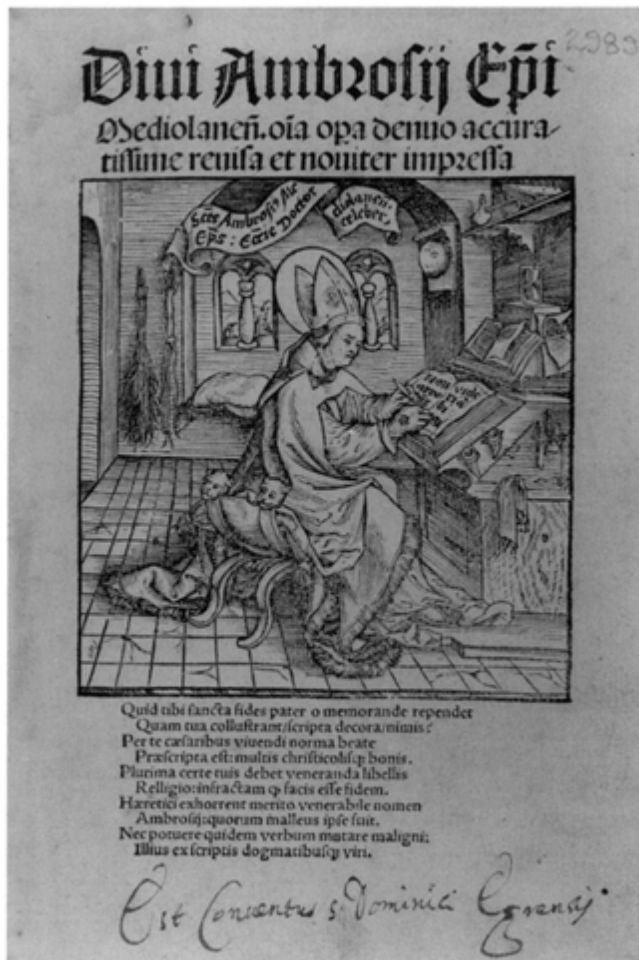
Ambrose was born in Trier in Gaul, into a distinguished Christian Roman family. His father, Aurelius Ambrosius, held the highest possible civilian rank, praetorian prefect of the Gauls. Ambrose had two older siblings: a sister, Marcellina; and a brother, Uranius Styris. When Ambrose was an infant, his father died, and the family moved back to Rome. In 353, Marcellina dedicated herself to a life of virginity, receiving the veil from Pope Liberius. She continued to live at home, as was the custom among nuns in Rome at that time. Ambrose was strongly influenced by the piety of his mother and sister's Christian household.

In addition to his instruction in Christianity, Ambrose received a classic Roman education in which grammar and rhetoric were emphasized. In his mid-twenties, he began work as a lawyer. Around 370, his success in his civil career was ensured by his appointment as governor of the province of Aemilia-Liguria, which included Milan.

That career was interrupted, however, when Milan became involved

in a political and theological struggle between Arian and Nicæan Christians, who differed concerning the nature of Christ. The conflict had been precipitated by the death of Bishop Auxentius of Milan, an Arian, in 373; each faction wanted to capture the newly vacant bishopric. As governor, Ambrose used his considerable rhetorical skills to try to calm the antagonists, and his personal popularity overcame the doctrinal controversy. The congregation set aside its differences and took up the cry, "Ambrose Bishop." Over Ambrose's protests, Emperor Valentinian confirmed the election. Thus, in 373, Ambrose was baptized and consecrated bishop by a Catholic (not an Arian) bishop.

During his long episcopate, Ambrose confronted several issues that shaped the future of the western church: he was victorious over Arianism; he influenced emperors, demonstrating the force of religious authority over secular power; and he helped break Italy's ties to the old state paganism.



Ambrose, *Opera*. Paris, 1586. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

As we have noted, Ambrose took office during a dispute between Arian and Nicaean Christians. By the mid-fourth century, although Arianism was largely on the wane throughout the empire, it still retained pockets of strength—as in the confrontation over the bishopric in Milan. In northern Italy, there were many Arian Goths serving in the armies. Furthermore, Empress Justina was an Arian. On the death of her husband, Emperor Valentinian, who had been orthodox, Justina tried to use her influence to strengthen the Arian cause. The situation

was intensified in 378, after the Goths' victory at Adrianople, when more Arians entered Milan. These new Arians tried to take over a Catholic church for their worship.

Using his rhetorical skills and his popularity with his congregation to win his way, Ambrose repeatedly withstood Justina's efforts to support Arianism. He refused to obey a law extending liberty of worship to Arians, and he forbade Arians to convert the Catholic church for their own use. During the controversy, he wrote on religious matters in order to articulate the Catholic position. His theological tracts *Concerning the Holy Spirit* and *Concerning the Faith* educated Emperor Gratian in matters of faith and remained influential throughout the Middle Ages. Gratian's successor, the usurper Maximus, ended the Arian conflict in Italy by invading and forcing Justina to flee Milan. Ambrose's success in withstanding imperial pressure regarding Arianism set a precedent that far outlasted Justina and the dispute over the nature of Christ.

Ambrose soon became involved in a second controversy, concerning the state paganism that was entrenched in Italy. Under Ambrose's influence, Gratian was the first emperor to renounce the title *pontifex maximus*, and he passed laws that reduced state paganism from a public duty to a private belief. When Gratian died in 383 (or 384), a pagan party tried to reestablish the state's support of pagan temples. Ambrose opposed this party and continued to contravene any reestablishment of pagans' privileges. Emperor Theodosius yielded to Ambrose and in 391, forbade any pagan observances. Ambrose's uncompromising position helped bring about the end of formal state paganism in the west.

In his relations with Theodosius, Ambrose continued the policy he had established in his controversies with Justina. The bishop was the conscience of the empire, and his stand on paganism reflected that. Ambrose also challenged Theodosius over something that took place in Syria, thus claiming influence over matters outside his own bishopric. In 388, Syrian Christian congregations destroyed a Jewish synagogue at Caesarea. Theodosius ordered Christians to pay reparations to rebuild the synagogue, but Ambrose protested strongly, believing that no Christian should build a non-Christian place of worship. Because of Ambrose's popular support, Theodosius was again forced to yield. Ambrose's victory set another precedent for the future influence of the

church in state matters, and for future expressions of anti-Semitism.

In 390, Ambrose again demonstrated the political strength of the episcopate. As punishment for a riot, Theodosius had ordered a massacre of 7,000 Thessalonican citizens. Ambrose excommunicated Theodosius for this command and required him to do penance; by this act, Ambrose finally and firmly established the principle that bishops are responsible for the moral health of rulers. Here too, Theodosius yielded to the principle.

After Theodosius died in 395, Ambrose was no longer so actively involved in imperial politics, but the relationship between church and state that he had established in Milan remained a precedent for bishops and popes throughout the Middle Ages. Ambrose's treatise *De officiis ministrorum* (*On the Duties of Ministers*), which considered the relationship between the individual, the church, and the state, was widely used as a text during the medieval period.

Ambrose is also remembered as one of the Latin doctors of the church for his influence on the formation of church doctrine. His contributions as a theologian derive not so much from originality of thought as from his clear presentation of ideas, including Platonic biblical exegesis, developed in the eastern empire. Because of his stand against Arianism, Ambrose was the first western writer who specifically articulated the doctrine of the Holy Ghost (in *De spiritu sancto*), bringing eastern thought on this subject into the western church.

Ambrose was often called "doctor of virginity" for his advocacy of chastity as the ideal Christian way of life. He wrote several tracts on virginity (*De virginibus*, *De virginitate*, *De institutione virginis ad Eusebium*, and *Exhortatio virginitatis*), and through these and his sermons, he contributed (with Jerome) to a growing veneration of virginity in general, and to the development of the cult of the Virgin Mary in particular.

Finally, Ambrose—who had a pastoral concern for accessible church services—made a substantial contribution to liturgical music in the west. He began by introducing the practice of having two choirs chant psalms alternately; then he set psalms to music. Also, he wrote hymns to be sung by the whole congregation (instead of the traditional soloist). He is considered one of the fathers of liturgical music because, although

he was not the first to bring music into services, he popularized its use.

Ambrose was a man of high integrity and a strong sense of duty. He had come to the episcopate reluctantly; but once there, he never wavered from what he believed was virtue, and his actions left a powerful mark on western religion and society. His strong position as the spiritual leader of emperors set precedents that shaped relations between church and state throughout the Middle Ages. His doctrine moved Italy and the west toward the Nicæan Catholic view. His writings on virginity helped develop the anticarnal philosophy that has characterized western Christianity; and he was among those who filled the churches with Christian hymns. Ambrose continued to be an active pastor until he became ill and died on Easter eve, 4 April 397. He is buried in Sant' Ambrogio in Milan.

See also Ambrosian, Chant; Milan

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Ambrosian Chant

Ambrosian chant is the music indigenous to liturgy of the archdiocese of Milan. The term "Ambrosian" supposes an influence on the formation of this music by the great fourth-century bishop Ambrose. His biographer Paulinus, as well as his contemporary Augustine, tell us that in Milan, Ambrose introduced the singing of hymns and antiphonal chanting. A dozen hymns are said to be by Ambrose, but only four of these attributions seem secure, and the melodic tradition of all the hymns seems late. In the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, scholars were divided regarding the influence of the Ambrosian repertoire on other ancient western rites: some considered it the chant sung throughout Italy before the creation of the better-known Gregorian repertoire; some described it as an ancient body of chant from which were derived the other known non-Roman repertoires of the west (including the Gallican, Beneventan, and Mozarabic). A better understanding of the vibrant Italian chant tradition of the early Middle Ages has since led to a general view that the repertoire called Ambrosian is of a later origin than had been presumed, and that it was created under the influence of many other chant dialects. It is now

frequently called "Milanese" chant—a term that reflects its origin rather than its supposed founder.

Sources

Milanese chant is the only non-Roman repertoire other than the Spanish to have survived complete and fully notated. Public worship was divided between a winter and a summer church, a practice reflected in the complete sources, which are arranged as books for summer or winter liturgies. The books contain music for both the mass and the hours of the canonical offices. Three manuscripts are most frequently consulted: (1) London, British Library, Add. 34209, and (2) Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare F. 2. 2, for the winter services; and (3) Bedero di Val Travaglio, San Vittore B, for the summer. All date from the twelfth century, and their melodies can be reliably transcribed. A large number of less comprehensive sources also exist, the earliest dating from the eleventh century. An edition was prepared in 1935 by Dom Sunol for modern church usage, but it includes inauthentic material. An edition of the winter book appeared as Volumes 5 and 6 of *Paléographie musicale*, consisting of a facsimile of London, British Library, Add. 34209, and a transcription of the manuscript into modern musical notation.

Roughly contemporary accounts describe an Ambrosian liturgy rich in ceremonial pomp and spectacle. A twelfth-century Milanese ordo presents these celebrations in some detail as regards performance of the chant and the varying size of singing forces. This ordo was written by Beroldus, who oversaw the candles used in the frequent processions of the Ambrosian rite. In his descriptions, Beroldus often details the number of singers employed for particular celebrations, the money they are to receive, the specific chants they are to sing, and the place in the church where they are to perform. At times, even dynamic indications are offered, as in the following description of vespers:

The archbishop or priest, standing behind the altar, kisses it, after which he begins Vespers saying *Dominus vobiscum*. Then the weekly *terminarius* lector softly sings the *Lucinarium* (on Saturday only the beginning and the verse), followed by the *Magister* of the schola with his boys, who also sing

quietly. Then the lector begins again, followed by the chorus, all singing loudly.

Weakland (1966) noted a slightly later account of the Ambrosian liturgy by Landolphus, who describes a sevenfold repetition of an antiphon sung during processions on important feast days. Beginning with the sixth statement of the antiphon as the procession is just entering the building, Landolphus says: "The sixth time [the antiphon] is sung in the body of the church with great noise (*magno clangore*) and the seventh in choir with high, resonant tones [*vocibus altis atque sonoris*]." Weakland continues: "Frequent allusions are made by Beroldus to the fact that the verses of hymns and psalms were alternated between notaries and lectors or lectors and boys. [Landolphus] also indicates the repetition of the same piece by another section of the choir." On special feast days, a surprisingly large number of singers were involved: by Weakland's count a choir of 100 would not have been unusual.

The Repertoire

The chants of the Milanese Mass are often functionally similar to their Gregorian counterparts, but the genre titles are usually different from Roman and Frankish practice. The *ingressa* serves the role of the more familiar introit, but it differs from the introit in that it is not processional in function and thus has no psalmody associated with it. No separate Kyrie was sung in Milan; rather, the Kyrie was an addendum to the Gloria. The *psalmellus* is analogous to the Gregorian gradual. Because the Milanese retained the ancient practice of having three readings at the mass rather than two (as in the Franco-Roman rite), a chant called the *post-epistolam* followed the second lection, and the *post-evangelium* was sung after the reading of the gospels. The familiar Credo, Offertorium, and Sanctus followed, but there is no Milanese counterpart to the Agnus Dei. The *confractorium* was sung before the faithful took communion; the *transitorium* followed as the final chant. (No *Ite missa est* exists in the Milanese repertoire.)

The Milanese melodies, like the Old Roman and Beneventan

melodies, are often quite elaborate. In particular, the office responsories marked with the rubric *cum pueris* (or *cum infantibus*) contain highly decorative melismas or *melodiar*, some fifteen sets have been identified. Bailey (1987) has shown that these expansive melismas were often reused in other chants as well. Because Milanese chants are frequently ornate, it is often difficult to discern relationships between them and Roman and Gregorian counterparts with the same texts. There are clear associations, however. Huckle (1956) saw a closer relationship between the Milanese mode 2 graduals and their Gregorian counterparts than is evident from comparisons with the Old Roman versions and suggested that the Milanese melody derives from the Gregorian. Huglo (1956) cites some 360 pieces for both the mass and the office that were adopted from the Gregorian repertoire as transmitted in northern Italian sources. Bailey found that all the cantus (or tracts) of the Milanese repertoire are variations on a single type-melody, which is itself related to Old Roman and Beneventan melodies; he also sees common melodic ground between the Milanese alleluias and their counterparts in Rome, Benevento, and the Gregorian tradition.

See also Ambrose, Saint; Beneventan Chant; Gregorian Chant; Liturgy; Old Roman Chant

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Anacletus II, Antipope

When Pope Honorius II died in 1130, a rivalry between the Frangipani and Pierleoni—two Roman families—immediately surfaced once again, and this conflict was mirrored in the College of Cardinals. In a disputed election, the Frangipani faction elected Gregorio Papareschi as Pope Innocent II, while the Pierleoni faction elected Pietro Pierleone as Pope Anacletus II. A schism developed when neither Innocent nor Anacletus would resign. Anacletus managed to hold on to the city of Rome, and he also had the support of the Normans of southern Italy. In return for this support, he recognized Roger II, the Norman king, as king of Sicily by hereditary right. The schism was not healed until the death of Anacletus in 1138.

See also Frangipani Family; Normans; Papacy; Pierieone Family; Roger II; Rome

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Anagni



Cathedral with statue of Pope Boniface VIII, Anagni. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Anagni—one of the historic towns of the Ciociaria in the modern province of Frosinone—sits above the Sacco River valley on a rocky height in the hills southeast of Rome. The people of the ancient town fought and were conquered by the Romans in the fourth century b.c.e. (see *Aeneid*, VII.684: "dives Anagnia"). By the fifth century C.E. Anagni had already been designated a bishopric, and it became a site of considerable importance for the medieval church as an official country residence of the popes, as it had been for several Roman emperors, who

often took advantage of its relative proximity and its relatively healthy air. In the twelfth century, Thomas Becket was received by the canons at Anagni as he fled Henry II. At the Council of Anagni in 1160, Pope Alexander III pronounced the excommunication of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa along with the antipope Victor IV. Imperial representatives signed the preliminary *pactum anagninum* (1176) at Anagni after the defeat of imperial forces by the Italian Lombard League at the Battle of Legnano.

It was in the thirteenth century that Anagni earned the title "city of the popes." Four thirteenth-century popes came from Anagni: Innocent III (r. 1198-1216), Gregory IX (r. 1227–1241), Alexander IV (r. 1254-1261), and Boniface VIII (Benedetto Caetani, r. 1294-1303); Dante calls Boniface *queld'Alagna*, "the one from Anagni," in *Paradiso* 30.148. This small town therefore witnessed much of the intrigue that developed from the growing struggle between pope and emperor. Pope Gregory IX was host to Frederick II of Hohenstaufen in 1230 in the Conti family palace, which in 1295 became the palace of the Caetani, the clan of Boniface VIII.

Boniface remained attached to and supportive of his native city. He had a delicate constitution, and so he often retreated to his residence in Anagni to escape the stress of his turbulent reign and to scheme against recalcitrant European monarchs and Roman nobles. When his struggle with Philip IV (the Fair) of France reached a crisis in September 1303, Philip's minister Guillaume de Nogaret and the exiled Sciarra Colonna went looking for Boniface in his palace at Anagni. According to legend, Boniface donned the papal robes and ascended the throne to await his assailants, whose action became known variously as the "outrage" or "slap" of Anagni. For three days the pope's enemies laid siege to the palace and held Boniface hostage. He was eventually rescued by sympathetic townspeople, but he died shortly thereafter in Rome.

The palace can still be visited today, along with the nearby Palazzo Trajetto, which was Boniface's original residence. Also of interest in the medieval quarter of Anagni is the Palazzo Comunale (1159-1173) by the architect Jacopo da Iseo. There is a fourteenth-century statue of Boniface in the loggia of the cathedral (1071-1105, with thirteenth-century additions), which has significant thirteenth-century pavement mosaics by a member of the innovative Cosma family. The cathedral

treasury contains a wealth of items from Boniface's papacy, including an elaborate red silk cope.

See also **Boniface VIII, Pope? Caetani Family; Colonna Family; Dante Alighieri; Papacy; Rome**

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Ancona

Ancona is situated on the Adriatic coast of Italy, about 132 miles (212 kilometers) northeast of Rome, at the eastern end of the central ridge of the Apennines. It is the principal city of the modern region of the Marche, or Marches. The name Ancona is from the Greek *anchon*, "elbow," and was derived from the mountainous promontory that forms the only significant natural harbor in the central reaches of Adriatic Italy. The city itself rises from the harbor up a northward-facing natural amphitheater between headlands to the east and west. Ancona has been a prosperous hub of commercial activity for most of its history. It serves as the main port for the agricultural products of its rugged but intensely cultivated hinterland. Merchants from medieval Ancona carried the

region's grain, wine, olive oil, and salted meat to urban markets in northern Italy, the eastern Adriatic, and the eastern Mediterranean. Medieval Ancona developed a silk industry, which flourished into the twentieth century. Throughout the Middle Ages, Ancona remained a viable commercial force despite the persistent efforts of Venice to remove it from competition.

Ancona was probably founded c. 390 B.C. by Dorian exiles from the tyranny of the elder Dionysius of Syracuse. It became an ally of Rome in the mid-third century B.C. and a *municipium* after the "Social War" of 90-88 B.C. In imperial times Ancona traded actively with Illyria and was the home port of a Roman naval fleet. With the collapse of the western empire in the fifth century after Christ, Ancona came under the protection of the emperors in Constantinople. Under Byzantine rule, it was the southernmost city of the Maritime Pentapolis—Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Senigallia, and Ancona—and was subject to the exarchate of Ravenna. Heavily fortified, Ancona underwent many sieges throughout the Middle Ages. In 539, it held off an attack by the Ostrogoths; in 551, with the help of a Byzantine fleet, it thwarted Totila's attempt to take it; in the late sixth century, it repelled the Lombards. Unable to protect the Pentapolis directly, the Byzantine empire placed these cities under the duke of Spoleto in 728. Lombard kings quickly moved into the region, but they relinquished Ancona and several nearby cities to the papacy in 739 and 757. Charlemagne and Louis the Pious included Ancona in the territorial grants that they made to the papacy in 774, 781, and 816-817.

In 848, Saracens sacked Ancona after a long siege. The city rebuilt its defenses and became ever more heavily fortified as the centuries passed. In 876, Ancona acknowledged the overlordship of the pope. Emperor Otto III granted the eight counties of the Pentapolis to the papacy in the late tenth century; however, attempts by the papacy to rule Ancona failed, despite an interdict in 1059. Emperor Henry IV granted a march around Ancona to a Guarnerius c. 1090, and it remained in the hands of imperial designates until the beginning of the thirteenth century. However, the city itself fended off imperial control. Emperor Lothar III failed in his attempt to take the city in 1137. Ancona accepted Byzantine protection from the German emperors and Venice in 1155. It withstood a brief siege by Frederick I Barbarossa in 1167, but

imperial and Venetian military and naval forces returned to besiege the city in 1173-1174. The heroic and successful defense of Ancona by its citizens gave rise to many popular legends. Pope Alexander III granted near-autonomy to Ancona, a status confirmed by the Peace of Venice (1177).

Ancona was a semiautonomous commune from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. It was populous, prosperous, and usually strong enough to protect its maritime interests. Merchants from Ancona, many of whom were Jews, competed aggressively with the Venetians for business in the cities of the eastern Adriatic and established colonies in Constantinople, Acre, and Alexandria. The city negotiated commercial treaties with dozens of trading partners. Ancona routinely paid an annual census to its papal overlord and thus was never fully independent, but its government functioned much like those of other Italian communes, with a council of citizens and a public magistracy. It minted its own silver coinage, the *anconetano* or *agontano*, which circulated widely and became a model for other coinages in central Italy. Ancona was instrumental in the codification of the *statuti del mare* that regulated navigation in maritime Italy. The many substantial stone buildings in modern Ancona that date from the Middle Ages testify to the uninterrupted prosperity of the medieval city. These structures include the Duomo San Ciriaco (eleventh-thirteenth centuries), several other large churches, the Palazzo del Comune (thirteenth century), and the Loggia dei Mercanti (fourteenth century).

The ability of Ancona to deny Venice a monopoly over commerce in the Adriatic provoked the Venetians to attack it in 1183, 1229, 1257, 1274-1278, and 1428. The outcome of these wars was more or less favorable for Ancona, but by the beginning of the sixteenth century the city had been gradually forced to yield much of its commercial position to Venice. A continuing weakness of Ancona was its inability to extend its territorial control into the Marches. The papacy resumed lordship over the March of Ancona under Innocent III (1198-1216), who granted it in fief to Azzo IV d'Este in 1208. The Estensi held it until 1233, when Pope Gregory IX replaced them with a papal rector. Frederick II sent his son Enzo to seize the Marches in 1239, and imperial vicars governed them until the emperor's death in 1250. Manfred of Sicily controlled the Marches from 1258 until his death in

1266, when the papacy reasserted its claim.

Papal jurisdiction over the Marches in the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century was often little more than a legal fiction, but Ancona was still unable to push its influence into the Marches. Its chief obstacle was not the papacy but the intense opposition of its nearest rivals, the middling and smaller walled cities of Fermo, Iesi, Legato, Macerata, Osimo, Pesaro, Recananti, and Senigallia. During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, Ancona fought numerous inconclusive wars with its neighbors. From one conflict to the next, alliances shifted, turning allies into enemies and back again. These wars prevented the Adriatic Marches from developing a regional identity strong enough to contest the claims of a resurgent papacy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

During the early decades of the Avignon papacy (1305-1378), several *signori* established lordships in the Marches, including a brief Malatesta *signoria* in Ancona. In the 1340s and 1350s, Cardinal Albornoz recovered much of the Romagna and the Marches for the papacy. Revenues from the city were an important factor in the successes of the papacy during the mid-fourteenth century. Indeed, Ancona paid as much as half of its communal revenues as tribute to the church from the mid-fourteenth century until its full incorporation into the papal state in the sixteenth century. In 1357, Albornoz convened the Parliament of Fano, at which he issued the *Constitutiones marchiae anconitanae* that served as the basic law of the papal state until the time of Napoleon.

Ancona continued to negotiate independently with its trading partners and competitors into the sixteenth century, but the political and fiscal subordination of the city to the papacy was an accomplished fact by the end of the papal schism in 1417. Occasionally, strongmen such as the Ferretti could dominate local government and had a fairly free hand in the *contado*, but papal rectors collected taxes from the commune throughout most of the fifteenth century. In the 1430s, the *condottiere* Francesco Sforza took control of Ancona and the March. The March returned to direct papal jurisdiction in 1446, but Sforza continued to dominate the city into the 1450s. The papacy suppressed what remained of the communal autonomy of Ancona in the sixteenth century. Significantly, the papal keys appeared on the reverse of the *anconetano* under Pope Julius II (1503–1513). In 1532 Pope Clement VII,

who was financially pressed, sold the revenues of the populous and prosperous city to Cardinal Benedetto Accolti for 20,000 gold *scudi*, and the pope ordered his legate to take and rule the city directly. Except for the brief Napoleonic interlude, Ancona remained an integral part of the papal state until the forces of the kingdom of Italy captured it in 1860.

See also Álboroz, Gil Alvarez Cabrillo de; Alexander III, Pope; Coins and Mints; Exarchate of Ravenna; Ferrara; Frankish Kingdom; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstoufen; Gregory IX, Pope; Henry IV, Emperor, Innocent III, Pope; Lombards; Otto III; Rimini; Venice

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Andalò Di Negro

The Genoese astronomer Andalò di Negro (c. 1260-1334) is also known as Andalone Negro or Andalo de Nigro. According to Sarton (1947), Andalò owes his fame to the "enthusiastic, incompetent, and uncritical praise" of his most illustrious pupil, Giovanni Boccaccio. However, Andalò was well trained in the Ptolemaic and Arabic schools of astronomy and was also a successful diplomat. In 1314, he negotiated for Genoa an advantageous treaty with Alexius II Comnenus, emperor of Trebizond (the Turkish town of Trabzon on the Black Sea). Four years later, when Genoa became part of the domain of King Robert of Anjou, Andalò joined the Angevin court in Naples. It was there that he taught astronomy and astrology to Boccaccio. Boccaccio, in fact, transcribed Andalò's *Tractatus sphaerae* in his *Zibaldone medicea laurenziana* (Plut. XXIX, 8), and used Andalò's *Introductorius ad indicia astrologie* (unedited) as his primary astrological source for his own early works. Besides these two treatises, Andalò also wrote a dozen other works, including several tracts on the relationship between medicine and astrology, one on the astrolabe, one on the theory of planets, one on the distances of all the other planets from Earth, and one on the *Almanack* of Profatius Judaeus.

As the leading astronomer in both Genoa and Naples, Andalò, through his teaching, spread Ptolemaic Arabic astronomy in these two

important cultural centers. Scholars concur that his knowledge of contemporary astronomy was thorough and precise, as are many of the corrections he made to some important astronomical texts of his time. Thus Andalò is sometimes seen as a precursor of the scientific experimental methods that would become prominent in the fifteenth century. As for his astrological philosophy, Andalò believed that the judgments of astrology were not necessary but contingent: they depended as much on the disposition of the patient as on the actions of the agent. In the words of Thorndike (1934), Andalò "serves to illustrate the point that the occult arts and sciences were then supported by men of the highest education and learning and not merely by the vulgar and charlatans, and that astronomy and astrology were indistinguishable then."

See also Astrology; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Magic

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Andrea Da Barberino

Andrea da Barberino (c. 1371-c. 1431), a son of Jacopo di Tieri de' Magnabotti from Barberino in Val d'Elsa, was a prolific writer and compiler of chivalric narratives in Tuscan prose. Andrea lived and wrote in Florence, where he owned a house. His vast cycle of nine works is modeled on French and Franco-Italian epics in the Carolingian cycle but also shows the influence of the Arthurian romance cycle. In addition to his published writings listed below, there are two other texts probably written by him—*La storia del re Ansuigi* and *Storia di Rinaldo da Montalbano*, both still unedited—and his *Prima Spagna*, which has been lost. His best and most original work, commonly known as *Guerrirto il meschino*, has been printed numerous times, but there is still no reliable edition.

According to contemporary scribes, Andrea recited his narratives in the piazzetta San Martino in Florence; but they were also intended for private reading, as is clear from the author's appeals to the "reader" and from numerous extant manuscripts. Manuscript evidence and library inventories reveal a range of readers from shoemakers and tradesmen to kings and princes. Although his texts were best-known in Florence and Tuscany, *Guerrino* circulated in many other areas, including Ferrara, Bologna, Venice, Umbria, and Naples, and it was translated into French and Spanish in the early sixteenth century. Andrea's works were still being published and copied after the great chivalric epic poems by Boiardo and Ariosto had appeared.

In contrast to the French epics on which they were modeled, Andrea's narratives have a less austere and more human tone. Although Andrea says that he translated these works from French, and this statement is supported by philological studies, his process of translation was not slavish. Instead, he freely adapted the material, expanding, abbreviating, and innovating as he worked. Despite the prevalence of *ottava rima* in narratives of Carolingian material, Andrea seems to have selected prose as more appropriate to his purpose: he wanted to create an epic cycle more closely related to actual chronicles than to fictional material. Accordingly, he strove for verisimilitude, providing extensive genealogies for the heroes, linking all the works

chronologically in a vast cycle, furnishing dates for the events portrayed, and including realistic details. However, even though he is concerned with pragmatic descriptions, his prose remains fresh and interesting and his language attains a certain gentility. In some scenes he creates suspense rather successfully. His occasional humorous touches are mild and tasteful, never crude or burlesque. While many of the characters and episodes in Andrea's works were already commonplace in the semipopular *cantare* literature of the time, his style is more learned than that of other *cantastorie*. Like the *cantari*, his "histories" present abundant action and adventure; but his characters, unlike those in the typical *cantari*, are sensitively drawn and psychologically nuanced.

Because of his huge output, his distinctive voice, and his long popularity, Andrea's work holds an important place in Italian cultural and literary history. Although his prose lacks the virtuosity of the Renaissance epic poems, his influence on later chivalric authors was nevertheless greater than has previously been recognized.

See also Cantare; Carolingian Material in Italy; Ottava Rima

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Andrea Da Firenze

The composer Andrea da Firenze (d. c. 1410) is known variously as

Frater Andreas Organista de Florentia, Fra Andrea di Giovanni, Andrea dei Servi, and, most commonly, Andreas de Florentia. Of the final generation of musicians of the *Trecento*, he is perhaps the best-documented biographically. Though we have no information about his birth or background, he was presumably Florentine, and we know that he entered the Servite order in 1375. In 1378, he became organist at the order's monastery in Florence, Santissima Annunziata; from 1380 to 1397, he served intermittently as its prior, and also as prior in Pistoia (1393). He eventually (1407-1410) became the head, or provincial, of the Servite order in Tuscany. Evidently he died c. 1410.

As both composer and organist, Andrea became a colleague and collaborator of his distinguished older contemporary, the blind organist Francesco Landini, and we know that they worked together on two organ-building projects: one for the Annunziata in 1379 and the other for Florence's cathedral in 1387. (There is a record of a "Maestro Andrea" who was charged with building an organ in Rieti, near Rome, in 1382, but it is not certain that this was the same person as Andrea da Firenze.)

Andrea was one of the latest composers to be included in the great Squarcialupi Codex, which contains a presumed portrait of him playing an organetto. Indeed, it has been argued that he may actually have prepared the manuscript of this remarkable compilation. Whether or not that is true, the codex is the main source for Andrea's surviving output, a total of thirty *ballate*, eighteen of them for two voices and twelve for three voices. (Other sources give a French *ballade* for three voices and an Italian madrigal for two voices, but their attribution to Andrea is dubious.) Andrea seems to have composed the Italian texts himself, on amorous, moralizing, or polemic themes. His apparently exclusive preoccupation with the *ballata* form, by then regarded as old-fashioned and generally ignored by others of his generation, marks him as an unusual traditionalist for his time. Nevertheless, despite all the conservative elements of his style, which was firmly rooted in the traditions of his friend Landini, Andrea's technique clearly shows some French influences, and his use of finely detailed imitation conveys a nervous pulse that goes beyond Landini, whose texture is much smoother. Thus Andrea may be considered the true concluding figure of the Tuscan *ars nova* tradition, in contrast to the more unconventional,

cosmopolitan, and progressive composers of his generation such as Antonello da Caserta, Johannes Ciconia, and Matteo da Perugia.

See also Antonello da Caserta; Ars Nova; Ciconia, Johannes; Landini, Francesco; Matteo da Perugia; Squarcialupi Codex

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Andrea Di Bonaiuto

Andrea di Bonaiuto (c. 1325-1379) was a respected and successful

painter active in Florence after the black death; he is also known as Andrea da Firenze (but should not be confused with the composer Andrea da Firenze). Unfortunately, only a few archival entries refer to Andrea di Bonaiuto by name, and this of course hampers any attempt to reconstruct his career or personality.

Andrea matriculated in the Florentine painters' guild in 1346; this would suggest a date of birth sometime around 1325. He lived in the parish of Santa Maria Novella and seems to have been influenced by the work of Nardo di Cione, with whom he may have trained. He left Florence in 1355 to work in Pisa, where he stayed for roughly ten years. When he returned to Florence, he received the most important painting commission of the 1360s.

In December 1365, Andrea accepted an offer to decorate the Dominican chapter house of Santa Maria Novella, built sometime around 1350 and funded in part by the estate of Buonamico di Lapo Guidalotti. To compensate Andrea, the Dominicans provided him and his wife with a house next to the church and a generous stipend. The agreement called for the artist to cover the four walls and the ceiling vaults of the chapter house with frescoes within a two-year period. Andrea appears to have met this deadline.

Probably as a result of this commission, Andrea was simultaneously appointed to a committee planning the design for the dome of the cathedral of Florence. He served on this board for two years, completing his term in 1367. He then spent a brief time in Orvieto before returning to Florence, where he painted a panel of Saint Luke for the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in 1374. In 1377, he accepted a commission to paint an altarpiece in Pisa, and then stayed in Pisa long enough to execute a fresco (now damaged) in the Camposanto. He died in 1379, leaving only a paltry estate for his widow and his one child, Bartolomeo.

Because almost none of his other works survive, Andrea's murals in the chapter house of Santa Maria Novella, commonly referred to as the Spanish Chapel, stand as his greatest paintings. This cycle—probably based on ideas expressed by Fra Jacopo Passavanti of Santa Maria Novella—celebrates the spiritual and intellectual achievements of the founder of the Dominican Order and his disciples. The central image, on the north wall facing the entrance, depicts scenes from the passion

of Christ. The Way to Calvary, Crucifixion, and Harrowing of Hell are placed in a continuous frieze running from one end of the lunette wall to the other. Flanking this space on the west wall is an image of Thomas Aquinas, enthroned, presiding over allegorical representations of the cardinal virtues and the liberal arts. The Via Veritatis decorates the east wall, with Dominic, Thomas, and Peter Martyr converting heretics, providing spiritual guidance to the devout, and leading the faithful into heaven. An architectural portrait of the cathedral of Florence, complete with an envisioned octagonal dome (the actual dome had yet to be constructed), serves as a backdrop to this scene; it may have been a result of Andrea's membership on the committee planning the dome. Scenes of the Navicella, Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost occupy the vaults above, providing theological analogies to the images below.

The choice of Andrea di Bonaiuto as the painter of the Spanish Chapel suggests that he was one of the most important artists of the day; his appointment to the committee planning the dome of the cathedral indicates that he was highly respected by Florentine civic leaders. There can be no doubt that Andrea was recognized as a major figure in his native city during this period, and his works in Santa Maria Novella are one of the great decorative programs of the late *Trecento*. But the paucity of signed or dated paintings leaves us with only a meager understanding of the artist's abilities, interests, and influences.

See also **Dominican Order; Florence; Nardo di Cione**

GEORGE BENT



Andrea di Bonaiuto (fourteenth century), *Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas*. At the feet of Saint Thomas are the heretics Sabellius, Averroës, and Arius. Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

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Andrea Di Cione Orcagna

See Orcagna, Andrea di Cione

Andrea Pisano

See Pisano, Andrea

Andreas Capellanus

Andreas Capellanus was a writer of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century whose identity remains enigmatic. Although most manuscripts call him *Andreas regis Franciae capellanus* ("Andreas, chaplain of the king of France"), no chaplain of that name is known during this period at the court of France. Pio Rajna discovered an Andreas who from 1185-1187 was the chaplain of Countess Marie de Champagne, daughter of King Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine; however, there was also an Andreas "Cambellanus" in Paris, attested to between 1190 and 1201. In any event, Andreas Capellanus was a cleric well versed in the scriptures who probably wrote, between 1181 and 1186, the Latin treatise *De amore*, representing a fusion of the theories expressed by Ovid in *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris*. The work is dedicated to a supposed friend of Andreas's, Gautier (Walter); this might very well have been Gautier de Nemours le Jeune (b. 1163), son and successor of Gautier the Chamberlain, himself very much in favor with Philip II Augustus, with whom the younger Gautier started his public career c. 1190.

De amore consists of three books. The first book explains the nature of love, clarifies who is qualified for love, and illustrates these topics with dialogues that distinguish between the love of men or women of the same and of different social classes. The second book, "How to Keep Love," is presented as twenty-one judgments. The third book deals with the condemnation of any love that is not the love of God. The ladies who pronounce the judgments of love in Book 2 were among the most famous in the kingdom during the late twelfth century, and all belonged to the same family: they were Marie, countess of Champagne; Eleanor (Alienor) of Aquitaine; Eleanor's mother, Elizabeth of Vermandois, countess of Flanders (a relative of the French queen); and Ermengard, viscountess of Narbonne. Their consensus is that marital affection and

the true love of lovers are wholly different and derive from entirely disparate sources. Andreas does not write for these ladies but rather uses them to mock a new literary trend called "courtly love," because it also results from an Arthurian (i.e., secular and hence frivolous) story, appended to Book 2, which concludes with thirty-one ridiculous rules of love, such as, "Marriage is no real excuse for not loving," "One who is not jealous cannot love," and "No one can be bound by a double love."

Although *De amore* is preserved in more than thirty manuscripts, it seems to have begun to circulate relatively late. It is first quoted by Albertano da Brescia in 1238—under the title *Liber Gualteri*—in Albertano's *Liber de amore Dei et proximi*. After 1295, it is quoted by Geremia da Montagnone in his *Compendium moralium notabilium*. Both of these works are theological and moral in nature. Among the Old French works treating the art of love, however, only Jean de Meung's *Roman de la Rose* mentions *De amore*. Toward the middle of the fourteenth century, *Art d'amours* by Jacques d'Amiens is somewhat influenced by *De amore*, which seems to have been read nearly exclusively by clerics and jurists.

De amore is a disconcerting work, and on 7 March 1277, the bishop of Paris condemned it. But there were several adaptations in the vernacular, such as the last part (*Ci se demande la doctrine d'amor*) of the Franco-Italian *Livre d'Enanchet* (c. 1250). There were also two versions in Tuscan prose: the *versione fiorentina*, dating from the mid-thirteenth century, is preserved in four manuscripts; and the *versione barberiniana*, adapted between 1309 and 1313 by Francesco da Barberino in his *Documenti d'amore*, is preserved in one manuscript.

See also Albertanus of Brescia; Francesco da Barberino

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Angela Da Foligno, Saint

Angela (1248 or 1249-1309) was born into a wealthy family in Foligno. She underwent a conversion after her mother, husband, and children died c. 1288, and her renunciation of worldly goods and increasing devotion thereafter to a life of penitence and good works eventually led her to become a tertiary in the Franciscan order (1290–1291). From this time on she experienced numerous visions, especially of the suffering and death of Christ; one very public *raptus* during a pilgrimage to Assisi, in which she had a vision of the Trinity, caused some controversy. She dictated these visions (presumably in the vernacular of Foligno) to her confessor, Arnaldo, whose written version (in Latin), *Memoriale*, prepared between 1292 and 1296, became widely popular and influential in late medieval Italy. It was approved in 1296 by a Franciscan theological commission headed by Cardinal Colonna. As her reputation grew, Angela attracted many followers, and she was visited in 1298 by the leading Spiritual Franciscan Ubertino da Casale, who mentions her with gratitude in his *Arbor vite crucifixe Jesu*; among her

surviving texts is a letter to Ubertino, dating from 1302. She continued to have visions, including a famous experience at the Portiuncola in 1300. She was beatified in 1693.

Angela's dictated writings were collected in *Liber sororis Lelle de Fulgineo* (*Book of Sister Leila [Angela] of Foligno*), also known as *Liber de vera fidelium experientia* (*Book of the True Experience of the Faithful*). This consists of the *Memoriale*, various sayings, moral precepts, advice, letters, and some shorter accounts of visions. Vernacular works, including the *Via delta salute* (*Way of Salvation*) have been attributed to Angela but appear to be a product of her admirers.

Angela's mysticism owes much to the Victorine tradition and to Bonaventure but has a force and originality of its own, centered on Angela's concept of Christ's encouragement to the believer to ascend through various levels of mystical experience to the point of identification with Christ himself.

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Angelo Clareno

Artgelo Clareno (or Chiareno) was bom at Fossombrone between 1247 and 1255 and died in 1337. He led an extraordinary life and was at the

heart of a bitter dispute between the Spiritual Franciscans and the Official or Conventual wing of the order. Angelo became a Franciscan as Pietro da Fossombrone in 1270 and immediately allied himself with the Spirituals; he was persecuted, imprisoned, and finally sent, apparently for disciplinary reasons, on a mission to Armenia (1290). In Armenia, he encountered opposition from the Conventuals already working there, and he was driven back to Italy in 1294. He attempted to found a community of his own in Italy, to perpetuate the strict observance of the Franciscan rule, and at this time took the name Angelo Clareno ("angelic trumpet"). He was initially encouraged by Pope Celestine V, but after Celestine's brief reign he was firmly discouraged and then again subjected to persecution by the succeeding pope, Boniface VIII. Further travels and tribulations followed: Angelo went on a pilgrimage to Greece in the early 1300s; was back in Italy in 1304-1305; and in 1311, having been named leader of the Spirituals in 1307-1308, went to the Council of Vienne to advocate their cause, with some success. He was persecuted yet again under Pope John XXII after 1316 and was imprisoned in Avignon, but he soon obtained his release, at the cost of surrendering his membership of the Franciscan order. He returned to Italy in 1318 and continued to work on behalf of the Spiritual Franciscans under the protection of the sympathetic abbot of Subiaco. But the church remained hostile, and eventually Angelo took refuge in Basilicata, where he lived in poverty and sickness until his death.

Angelo's writings, all in Latin, include several translations from the Greek fathers, a rule for the Spiritual Franciscans, spiritual treatises, letters, and *Historia septem tribulationum Ordinis Minorum* (*History of the Seven Tribulations of the Order of Friars Minor*). Many of these were quickly turned into vernacular versions and circulated widely during the *Trecento*.

See also **Franciscan Order**

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Angevin Dynasty

The first Angevin dynasty was the ruling house of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily established by Charles I, Count of Anjou and Provence, in 1266. Although Charles II ceded the county of Anjou to Charles of Valois in 1290, the dynasty retained the name Angevin. The second Angevin dynasty was founded by Louis, second son of John II of France; it claimed the succession in the Regno—the kingdom of Sicily—in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Although the Angevins lost Sicily following the Sicilian Vespers in 1285, they continued to claim it except for ten years after the Treaty of Caltabellotta in 1302. Charles II had thirteen children, of whom the eldest, Charles Martel, yielding his claims to the throne of the Regno, inherited his mother's rights to the throne of Hungary, which finally passed to his son, Charles Robert (Carobert, crowned in 1310). Charles II's next son, Louis, bishop of Toulouse (d. 1296), was later canonized. Louis is the subject of a painting by Simone Martini which also includes an allegedly faithful portrait of his next brother, Robert, who in 1309 succeeded Charles II as king of Naples and Sicily. Younger brothers were provided with appanages in the Regno. Two of them—John, duke of Gravina (later prince of Durazzo); and Philip, prince of Taranto—had children who became involved in bitter struggles for power during the reign of Robert's daughter and heir, Joanna I. John's grandson, Charles III, ultimately deposed Joanna and became king (1382-1386). He was succeeded in turn by his son Ladislas (d. 1414) and his daughter Joanna II (d.1435). Joanna, being the last descendant of Charles I, recognized as her successor first Louis II and then his brother Rene of Anjou of the second dynasty. They were not relations: Charles of Valois's son Philip

became king of France, thus bringing Anjou back into the hands of the French monarchy. It was granted as a new appanage by King John II to his second son, Louis I, father of Joanna II's heir. Louis I himself had been recognized as the heir of Joanna I and by right of this claim had conquered Provence, which was separated from the Neapolitan kingdom in 1381. His sons, Louis II and Rene, retained Provence but were unsuccessful in Naples, where Alfonso V of Aragon, who already ruled Sicily, seized the mainland (1435-1453). The Angevin claim was not forgotten, however. Rene died in 1480 and left it, with Provence, to his nephew Charles of Maine, who himself died a year later leaving all his claims to his cousin, King Louis XI of France, the son of Rene's sister Marie. Louis XI's claim was inherited by his successors and became one excuse for the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494. That invasion started the prolonged Italian wars of the sixteenth century.

See also Caltabellotta, Treaty of; Charles I of Anjou; Charles II of Anjou; Charles of Valois; Joanna I of Naples; Sicilian Vespers

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Angilberga, Empress

Angilberga (Engelberge, d. 891), a member of the powerful northern Italian Supponid family, married Louis II of Italy (son of the emperor Lothair I) in 851. When Louis succeeded his father in 855, Angilberga became his very active consort, sharing the numerous tasks necessary for a Carolingian king to assert himself among the fractious Italian nobility and against the grasping hands of Louis II's uncles, Charles the

Bald of France and Louis the German of Germany.

Although Louis II was not known for making generous land grants, he nonetheless made many grants to Angilberga, including the monastery of the Holy Savior at Brescia with its numerous dependencies and the abbey of Saint Peter near Piacenza. Louis died in 875 leaving no male heirs, and thereafter Angilberga's position was much reduced; however, she fought vigorously for her possessions against those who would have taken them from her. In this struggle, she had the support of Pope John VIII, but even John could not prevent Charles the Fat—son of Louis the German (who had secured the crown of Italy)—from sending her into exile in 880–882 because of her presumed meddling in politics. All her possessions were later confirmed by Charles.

See also Frankish Kingdom; John VIII, Pope; Lombards; Louis II, Emperor

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Animal Husbandry

See Agriculture; Transhumance

Anonimo Genovese

Though his true identity remains unknown, it seems likely that the poet called Anonimo Genovese was a government official or notary affiliated with the Congregazione di Santa Caterina d'Alessandria in Genoa. His work, probably composed c. 1270-1311, survives in a single manuscript known as the Molfino. The 181 poems (147 in the vernacular and thirty-four in Latin) vary widely in theme and style, from hagiography and didactic verse to invectives, patriotic panegyrics, and humorous anecdotes. The style, both learned and accessible, is persuasive and often remarkably candid. After Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Anonimo Genovese was the first to use the Genoese dialect for serious literary purposes.

See also **Proverbs**

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Anselm of Aosta, Saint

Saint Anselm of Aosta (1033 or 1034-1109) was a Benedictine monk, theologian, and archbishop. He was born the son of a Lombard nobleman in the Alpine town of Aosta and spent his early years in Italy, but he received his monastic education at the abbey of Bee in Normandy. At Bee, he succeeded Lanfranc as prior in 1063 and was elected abbot in 1078; thus in France he is known as Anselm of Bee. He eventually became archbishop of Canterbury, a position he held from

1093 until his death; in England he is therefore known as Anselm of Canterbury.

Although Anselm acquired a reputation for sanctity during his lifetime, his lasting fame rests on a series of great theological works, including *Monologion*, *Proslogion*, and *Cur deus homo*. He was named a doctor of the church in 1720 and is often described as the most important Christian thinker between Augustine and Thomas Aquinas.

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Ansprand

Ansprand (d. 712) overthrew the last member of the so-called Bavarian dynasty of Lombard kings, Aripert II (r. 701-712). Before that, Ansprand had been the guardian of the young king Liutpert, son of Cunincpert; but Liutpert had been overthrown by Raginpert, duke of Turin. Raginpert died shortly thereafter, leaving the throne to his son Aripert II. During the greater part of Aripert's rule, Ansprand was in exile in Bavaria, but in 712 he returned with a Bavarian army and secured recognition as king. Ansprand's reign lasted only a few months before he died; he was followed by his son Liutprand, who would be one of the greatest Lombard kings.

See also **Liutprand; Lombards**

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Antelami, Benedetto

Antelami (fl. 1178-c. 1230) was the third major Romanesque sculptor—after Wiligelmus and Nicholas—of the central Po valley; he was also an architect. Though he worked principally in Parma, his sculpture was very influential throughout northern Italy. He is known through two reliefs in Parma, which are signed Benedictus. His earliest securely attributed work, a relief of the Deposition (dated 1178) in the cathedral of Parma, bears the inscription *Anno Milleno Centeno Septuageno Octavo Sculptor Patuit Mense Secundo Antelami Dictis Fuit Hic Benedictus*. The lintel on the north door of the baptistery of Parma, begun in 1196, carries a similar inscription. The name Antelami suggests that he belonged to one of the guilds of civil builders, known as *Magistri Antelami*, of the Valle d'Intelvi on Lake Como.

The Deposition relief in the cathedral of Parma is now in the south transept, but it appears to have originally been part of a pulpit or some other liturgical furnishing. It has the principal traits of Antelami's style, notably a balanced composition focusing on a few vertically aligned figures separated by areas of flat background inlaid with niello. The figures have a solemn, austere, simple dignity, reminiscent of the work of Wiligelmus, combined with a greater degree of narrative complexity, surface detail, and ornament. Antelami also seems to have carved the episcopal throne in this cathedral c. 1180.

Antelami's major work is the architecture and sculptural decoration of the baptistery of Parma, largely executed between 1196 and 1216. This unified, coherent three-portal program with its systematic and comprehensive joining of architecture and sculpture was unique in Italy at the time. The north portal presents the Adoration of

the Magi on the tympanum and the story of the Baptist on the lintel, with prophets on the archivolts and the Tree of Jesse on the jambs. Inside, this tympanum depicts the Flight into Egypt. The iconographically inventive west portal links for the first time the Last Judgment, on the tympanum and lintel, with the Six Acts of Mercy and the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard, on the jambs. The south portal portrays the legend of Barlaam—an allegory of the transience of life. The Presentation in the Temple is on the inside tympanum. The iconographic program thus links salvation through Christ with the Old Testament (past), the Last Judgment (future), and allegories of human life and works. This ensemble introduced to northern Italy the use of complex iconographic programs that integrated representations of time and human activity into a complete cosmic and temporal scheme of salvation. A frieze with animal and floral motifs runs around the entire structure. Additional sculptures, including Labors of the Months and prophets, may have originally been created for a portal of the cathedral.

Another important work is a series of figures and reliefs from the central portal of the cathedral of Fidenza (formerly Borgo San Donino), executed c. 1185-1195. In this series, the freestanding prophets David and Ezekiel, in niches flanking the central portal, are most closely linked to Antelami. These solid, massive, dignified figures best reveal the plasticity of Antelami's sculpture.



Benedetto Antelami, *Deposition. Duomo*, Parma. Photo: © Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

Nothing is known about Antelami's training or his work before the Deposition in Parma. Certainly, some Roman influence is discernible in the solemnity, volume, and equilibrium of his compositions. However, a strong influence of French sculpture is also apparent. From his style and iconography, Antelami appears to have been familiar with both Chartres and the Romanesque sculptures of Provence, particularly Saint-Gilles-du Gard and Saint-Trophime in Aries; possibly, then, he made one or more journeys to France. This possibility is also suggested by Antelami's extensive use of the carved tympanum in Parma—a form common in France but seldom seen in Italy at this time. The complex iconographic scheme of the program for the baptistery in Parma may also reveal the influence of early Gothic portal programs in the ile-de-France.

Antelami or his workshop, or both, did carvings at San Andrea in Vercelli from 1219 to 1225. The central lunette of the Martyrdom of Saint Andrew is particularly close to his style. Antelami's workshop remained active and highly influential throughout the first half of the thirteenth century. Maestro dei Mesi, who carved the reliefs of the months on the Porta dei Mesi in the cathedral of Ferrara between 1225 and 1230, appears to have been trained in Parma by Antelami. Additional work by Antelami's followers includes the equestrian statue of Oldrado da Tressano in Milan (1233), the cathedral of Forlì, San Marco in Venice, and the work of Radovan in the cathedral of Trogir in Dalmatia.

See also **Parma**

SCOTT B. MONTGOMERY

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Anthony of Padua, Saint

Saint Anthony of Padua (Fernando de Bulhoses, c. 1195-1231) was a Franciscan preacher and theologian. As one of the first generation of Franciscans, he helped determine the theological orientation of the order. He also achieved great fame as a preacher. After his death, his reputation as a miracle worker made him an extremely popular saint.

Anthony was a member of the lesser Portuguese nobility; he was educated at the cathedral school of Lisbon and entered the order of Augustinian canons regular at age fifteen. After two years at the monastery of Sao Vicente in Lisbon, he was transferred to the order's study house in Coimbra, where he received instruction in scripture and theology and was ordained a priest.

Devoted to an austere and studious life, Anthony was apparently disappointed by the level of religious observance in his order. Thus he was drawn to a group of Franciscans who frequently begged for food there; he found their emphasis on absolute poverty, mendicancy, popular preaching, and conversion of the Muslims closer to his concept of the apostolic life than what was becoming the more conventual monastic rule of his own order. When the relics of Franciscan

missionaries recently killed in North Africa were displayed in Coimbra, Anthony was seized with a desire to continue their work. He joined the Franciscan order soon afterward, at the friary of San Antonio, probably changing his name when he professed. He then set off for Morocco. But a serious illness halted his missionary journey just after he arrived in North Africa, and he was forced to return to Portugal. When a storm drove his ship to Sicily, Anthony decided to travel to Assisi in search of direction. After meeting Saint Francis and taking part in the order's general chapter of May 1221, he was sent to a hermitage near Forlì, where he spent a considerable period in contemplation and penance.

Anthony found a new focus for his Franciscan vocation by accident, when he was called to preach at an ordination. His learning and skill as a speaker astounded his hearers, and he was soon commissioned to preach against Cathar and Waldensian heretics in northern Italy. He preached in the north from 1222 to 1224, then in southern France in late 1224. From 1227 to 1231, he was back in northern Italy, keeping an exhausting schedule. By 1228, he had achieved sufficient fame to be asked to preach before the papal curia.

Anthony also served his order in other capacities. In 1223, Saint Francis himself seems to have commissioned Anthony to be the first Franciscan lector in theology. Over the next few years Anthony taught at Franciscan houses of study in Bologna, Aries, Montpellier, Toulouse, Le Puy-en-Velay, and Padua and introduced the theology of Saint Augustine to the order. In 1224, Anthony helped found Franciscan houses at Limoges and Brive in Aquitaine. In 1225, he was chosen as guardian of the house at Le Puy; then he was chosen as *custos* at Limoges; and in 1227, he was chosen as provincial of Lombardy and Emilia. He held the last post until 1230, when he asked to be relieved so that he could pursue his preaching without hindrance. At about this time Anthony's health began to fail, apparently as a result of his intense schedule. In 1231, he developed what was described as dropsy; he died in Arcello, outside Padua, on 13 June. FEven months later, on 30 May 1232, he was canonized.

Anthony's preaching made him a tremendously popular figure in Padua during the late 1220s. His sermons survive in four major collections: *Sermones in festivitatis sanctorum per anni circulum*, *Sermones per annum dominicales*, *Sermones in Psalmos*, and *Sermones*

in laudem et bonorem beatae Mariae Virginis. The published versions are rather academic, but it is likely that these sermons were much livelier when he preached them. Anthony's themes are typically Franciscan: he urges evangelical virtue, reception of the eucharist, devotion to Christ's humanity and to the Virgin Mary, civic harmony, and just treatment of the poor. There was a trend in Franciscan preaching toward vivid examples taken from popular stories and romances, but Anthony resisted this, preferring to drive home his message with constant references to scriptural texts and examples. He urged other Franciscans to use this conservative technique but had little success in persuading them. In two other areas, however, he influenced Franciscan preaching profoundly. The first Franciscan preachers had focused only on repentance and moral reform. Anthony and other educated men added a new emphasis when they began to instruct the faithful in dogma in order to combat heresy. In addition, Anthony's academic training led him to construct his sermons systematically and analytically. This approach was much admired and widely imitated.



Basilica of Saint Anthony of Padua, Padua. Photograph courtesy of Gail Geiger.

Anthony's reputation during his lifetime rested on his preaching; his popularity after his death was based on his miracles. Wonders were reported at his tomb almost immediately after his burial. Belief in his

miraculous powers was reinforced by several biographies written shortly after his death, and later hagiographers continued to develop his fame as a miracle worker. His reputation for miracles led to his inclusion in the collection of Franciscan stories known as the *Fioretti* (*Little Flowers*). Eventually Anthony's popularity outstripped that of all the other Franciscan saints except, of course, Francis himself. Anthony came to be venerated as a patron of charity and marriage who cured fevers and diseases in animals, recovered lost articles, and protected lovers, women in labor, and miners.

Anthony was one of the best-educated of the early Franciscans, and so his authority as a theologian was quickly established in the order. After his death the order treated him as a doctor of the church, although he did not have that title officially until 1946, when it was granted by Pius XII. Anthony's theological views are fairly conventional for his time and training as an Augustinian canon; they derive from a biblical theology rooted in the church fathers, particularly Augustine. His scriptural exegesis focuses on the moral sense of the text, which he uses primarily to call his audience to moral reform and avoidance of heresy. Like many early Franciscans, he was very much interested in the humanity of Christ and in the theological role of Mary, and he was among the first to articulate a variety of characteristic Franciscan Christological and Mariological doctrines.

The main biographies of Anthony are *Legenda prima*, commonly called *Assidua*; and *Legenda secunda*, also called *Anonyma*. Both were written in the 1230s. Several other biographies were published during the thirteenth century, all based generally on the material in *Assidua* and *Anonyma*. At the end of the century another biography appeared that may contain some authentic material not included in the first two; this is known as *Benignitas*. The authorship of all three works is uncertain.

See also **Francis of Assisi; Franciscan Order; Padua**

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Antonello Da Caserta

Virtually nothing definite is known about the the life of the Neapolitan composer Antonello (fl. c. 1400). Apparently, he was born near Naples sometime in the late fourteenth century and lived into the early fifteenth. His name appears in five or six different forms, including Anthonello, Anthonelius, Marotus de Caserta, and Abbas de Caserta;

the last form suggests that he was an abbot.

Antonello is considered to belong to the third generation of Italian musicians of the *Trecento*, and specifically to have been one of a subgroup that responded to the bifurcated tastes of Italian patrons of the time, divided between French and Italian styles of the *ars nova*. Antonello's two styles are so distinct (and the surviving manuscripts of his works are so completely separated) that it has even been suggested there were actually two different composers of the same name. However, this duality may simply reflect his service to two culturally divergent courts, whose tastes related as much to their political orientation as to aesthetics. Thus his French compositions have been identified with the courts of the antipopes Alexander V and John XXIII at Pisa, where he would have been in contact with the francophile composer Matteo di Perugia; and it has been proposed that one of his Italian works was written on the occasion of one of the marriages (1415, 1423) of Queen Joanna II of Naples.

Eight of Antonello's Italian compositions (seven *ballate* and one double-texted madrigal) and eight French works (five *ballades*, two *rondeaux*, and one *virelai*) survive. Except for the madrigal, the Italian pieces are relatively simple in style, whereas the French works demonstrate the composer's mastery of the most intricate techniques, in the highly complex and "manneristic" French idiom known as *an subtilior*. Indeed, Antonello is one example of the Italian imitators who carried that French idiom to its extremes.

See also **Ars Nova; Matteo da Perugia**

JOHN W. BARKER

Antonio Beccari Da Ferrara

Antonio Beccari da Ferrara (1315–1371-1374) was a minor poet who produced about 150 works in the tradition of *poesia giocosa* (comic poetry). Antonio's father, Tura, was probably a butcher, as implied by the surname. His brother Nicolò, also a lesser poet, was a familiar of

Charles IV. Antonio may have received a humanistic education; certain stylistic elements and motifs in his poems suggest this.

Beccari led a disordered life, ruining himself with gambling despite the desire to reform expressed in his *Capitoli alia Vergine* (*Poems to the Virgin*, 1340). In 1343, he was banished from Bologna after wounding the *canterino* (minstrel) Jacopo di Salimbene in a fight. Antonio's vagabondage thereafter may have been necessitated by further such behavior. He sojourned with dynastic families: the Pepoli at Bologna, the Ordelauffi at Forlì, the Da Polenta at Ravenna, and the Da Carrara at Padova. He is also known to have lived in Modena, Venice, Florence, and Siena.

Beccari's poetic works consist mostly of sonnets but also include some twenty *canzoni*, sixteen *capitoli*, four *ballate*, and three *frottole*. Although his *canzoniere* may confound modern critics looking for a unified poetic "voice," the themes and content of his energetic poems are representative of his literary development; they also preserve glimpses of northern Italian court life, reflect contemporary political concerns, and express autobiographical and even moral sentiments. His Dantism is apparent: Beccari coined the term *padre Dante* ("father Dante"), and the lyric persona of one of his poems is so Dantesque that it was for a time attributed to Dante. Beccari knew or exchanged verses with Petrarch, Fazio degli Uberti, Cecco di Meletto de' Rossi, Gano da Colle, Antonio dalle Binde, Braccio Bracci, Lancillotto Angosciuoli, Antonio Pucci, and Menghino Mezzani. Franco Sacchetti remembers Beccari in his *Trecentonovelle*.

GLORIA ALLAIRE

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Antonio Da Tempo

Antonio da Tempo (c. 1275-c. 1336) was a judge and poet from Padua. He is best known as the author of *Summa artis rithmici vulgaris dictaminis* (1332), a treatise on vernacular poetry that was the most important work of its kind until the publication of Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* in 1525. Dante had written *De vulgari eloquentia* much earlier—in 1304 and 1306—but this treatise was not widely known to scholars and poets until its publication in the sixteenth century. Antonio does not acknowledge it, although he was probably familiar with Dante's *Commedia* (Andrews 1977, vii).

Antonio's *Summa* was enormously popular during the *Trecento* and in the following centuries. It was transmitted in many manuscripts, the most important of which are MS 4 (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) of the Biblioteca del Seminario in Padua, MS. II 357 (fourteenth century) of the Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea of Ferrara, and MS 3436 (fourteenth century) of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Antonio's tract in Latin was translated and popularized by the Veronese Gidino da Sommacampagna c. 1350 and by the Paduan Francesco Barattella in 1447. The *Summa* was first published in 1509 in Venice and was reissued

in 1869; a fine critical edition was published in 1977.

In the *proemium*, Antonio explains the subject matter and its importance. He then outlines seven poetic genres: (1) sonnet, (2) *ballata*, (3) *cantio externa* (*canzone distesa* in Italian), (4) *roton-dellus*, (5) madrigal, (6) *sirventes*, and (7) *motus confectus* (a genre that is metrically similar to the *frottola* but, unlike the *frottola*, deals with high-minded themes). Except for the *cantio externa*, which takes only one form, all these genres are polymorphous; Antonio describes, for instance, many types of sonnets. He follows his typological presentation with several short sections dealing with the dos and don'ts of writing poetry. For example, he explains the etiquette of receiving and sending poems. He reminds readers that when responding to a sonnet, a poet must use rhyme words that are different from those of his correspondent and may use the same words only if they have a different meaning. He then presents different types of subtle wordplay and rhyme used in poetry, including an illustration of the technique of *ligata composition* in which each word in a verse shares its final syllable with a word in the verse that immediately follows. As with all of Antonio's examples, the one mentioned here underscores the importance of the visual as well as the oral features of poetry.

See also Dante Alighieri; Gidlno da Sommacampagna; Italian Prosody

DARIO DEL PUPPO

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Antonio Pucci

The Florentine poet Antonio Pucci (c. 1310-1388) is known for sonnets in the medieval Italian comic tradition; poems on historical events involving Florence; *cantari* on popular legends; and *Centiloquio*, a poetic transcription of Giovanni Villani's *Cronica* (*Chronicles*) in terza rima. The son of a bronze caster whose specialty was church bells, Pucci was appointed the official bell ringer of Florence in 1334. In 1349 he became the *banditore* (town crier), a position he held for the next twenty years. During his tenure as *banditore*, he had occasion to spread the news concerning many events of Florentine history, and some of them became subjects of his *serventesi*: the flood of the Arno in 1333, the famine of 1346, the plague of 1348, the victory of the Florentine militia over Padua in 1337, and the overthrow of Gualtieri di Brienne,

the duke of Athens, in 1343.

The great variety of themes found in Pucci's poetry gives the reader a broad picture of life in Florence during the mid-fourteenth century. In addition to historical events, Pucci delighted in portraying quotidian life: for example, an invective against a chicken vendor who sold the poet a desiccated old hen (*Andrea, tu mi vendesti per pollastra*), an ode to a sloppy barber (*Amico mio bar bier, quando tu meni*), and the poet's lament at being forced to churn out his art for inadequate compensation or none (*Deb fammi una canzon, fammi un sonetto*). Many sonnets are didactic, offering advice on how to be a good husband or wife (*Amico mio, da poi ch'hai tolto moglie* and *Figliuola mia, poi che se' maritata*), or how to raise children (*Quando 'I fanciul da piccolo scioccheggia* and *Il giovane che vuol avere onore*). *Temario sulle noie* lists numerous annoyances of daily life in the form of the traditional Provençal *enueg*, beloved of many medieval Italian comic poets.

Pucci was a great admirer of Dante. He wrote a sonnet (*Questi che veste di color sanguigno*) commemorating the portrait of Dante that Giotto painted in 1335; and in *Centiloquio*, Canto LV is dedicated to praise of Dante, a description of his works, and the story of his life. In *Libra di varie storie*, also known as *Zibaldone*, which Pucci intended for his private use, there are frequent citations from Dante's *Commedia*.

Another painting by Giotto, the allegory of the *comune rubato* ("robbed city"), was the probable model for two of Pucci's sonnets: *Ohmè, Comun, come conciar ti veggio*, a lament on the suffering of Florence due to bad government; and *Se nel mio ben ciascun fosse leak*, in which Florence, personified, addresses those who maltreat her.

One of Pucci's recurring themes is his defense and praise of women. In response to a misogynistic sonnet by Buto Giovannini, *Antonio mio, di femmina pavento*, Pucci wrote *La femmina fa l'uom viver contento*, extolling the virtues of feminine companionship and lamenting the abuse without provocation that many women receive at the hands of men. This theme is more amply developed in *Il contrasto delle donne*, a poem of seventy-five stanzas cast as a debate between an unnamed misogynist and a defender of women. Using *exempla* from the Bible and classical literature, each interlocutor presents a case, but the poem is structured so that the defender of women can refute all the arguments advanced by the detractor.

Exemplary women are the protagonists of three of Pucci's five *cantari* on popular legends: *Gismirante*, *Bruto di Brettagna*, *Madonna Leonessa*, *La reina d'Oriente*, and *Apollonio di Tiro*. Other *cantari* were written to commemorate political events; the seven *cantari* of *Guerra di Pisa* (*War with Pisa*) are examples. These short poems in *ottave*, written in a formulaic style, were composed for recital in the *piazze* of Florence. The virtuous behavior of the heroes and heroines of the *cantari* and other *canzoni* written by Pucci to illustrate a moral point are indicative of the didactic bent of much of his poetry.

Pucci enjoyed writing sonnets in the tradition of courtly love, adding a note of overt sensuality to an allusive but circumspect genre. *Corona del rnessaggio d'amore*, a cycle of nineteen sonnets depicting the ritual of courtship, concludes with a description of lovemaking. The *serventese* on the beauties of his lady, *Quella di cui t' son veracemente*, is also markedly sensual.

As a man whose work involved riding around Florence on horseback blowing a trumpet and making official proclamations, Pucci knew the streets of the city well. In *Ternario delleproprietà di Mercato Vecchio*, Pucci describes the colorful bustle of the market piazza at various seasons of the year, giving the reader a rich and vivid document of Florentine life in the poet's time.

See also Cantare; Florence; Italian Poetry: Lyric

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Apostolic Brotherhood

The Apostolic Brotherhood, a religious sect also called Doicinities,

pseudoapostles, or *minimi*, was founded in Parma c. 1260 by Gerardo Segarelli, an uneducated laborer. Gerardo was apparently influenced by the apocalyptic speculations of Joachim of Fiore, whose disciples had predicted that the year 1260 would begin a new, more spiritual age in Christian history. To usher in this new age, Gerardo began going about as he imagined the apostles doing, living in poverty and preaching the gospel. He soon attracted followers who, like himself, tried to imitate Christ and the apostles, even in their dress: they wore tunics of rough white cloth with a cord cincture and had long hair and beards. They recognized no authority in their midst, took no vows, and felt bound only by the practice of poverty and the spirit of love. They did not pretend to offer a new message; they taught only the gospel. Women soon joined the sect and were also accepted as apostles.

The group operated for many years in and around Parma with no interference from the ecclesiastical authorities. The bishop of Parma treated them as eccentrics rather than heretics. Meanwhile, Gerardo seems to have been content to live as an equal among his followers, although he did use his influence to encourage missionaries to go to other parts of Italy, southern France, and Spain.

The growth of the brotherhood eventually drew the attention of the papacy, however; and in 1286, Pope Honorius IV ordered that all the Apostolic Brothers were to be rounded up and imprisoned. Four years later Pope Nicholas IV repeated the order, this time calling for inquisitorial intervention. In 1294, four important members of the sect were captured at Parma; shortly afterward they were tried by the inquisitorial tribunal and executed. Gerardo then submitted himself to the bishop's tribunal, recanted, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. The bishop commuted this sentence to perpetual house arrest in the episcopal palace. Meanwhile, the inquisitors continued their suppression of the brotherhood. In 1300, they called Gerardo before them on suspicion of having relapsed. He was found guilty and burned with several recalcitrants, although a number of his followers recanted and were given penances.

The reaction of many in the sect to this persecution is reflected in the views of Gerardo's successor, Dolcino di Novara. Dolcino propounded a radical form of Joachimism, branding all who opposed the sect ministers of Satan and declaring that the enemies of the brotherhood

might be killed because they were attacking the true church. Dolcino and a sizable band of followers remained at large for seven years, often hiding in the mountains. When they became increasingly violent, plundering the countryside from a stronghold in the Alps, Pope Clement V called a crusade against them. An army led by the bishop of Vercelli defeated Dolcino's force and captured him in early 1307. Three months later he was executed.

The death of Dolcino did not finish the Apostolic Brotherhood. The brotherhood seems to have survived well into the fourteenth century, and it was still of sufficient concern to be mentioned as a menace by the council of Narbonne in 1374. However, later identifications were sometimes a result of confusion with other groups, such as the Beghards and Beguines.

See also Dolcino, Fra; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Joachim of Fiore

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Aquileia

Aquileia was founded in 181 B.C. on the Via Postumia—the Roman highway centered on Cremona—and rapidly became an important Roman commercial and military center. According to tradition, Saint Mark established the first Christian bishopric at Aquileia, although the see really dates from the third century. By the fourth century, Aquileia had become the administrative capital of Venetia and Istria, and in the fifth century, it was designated a metropolitan see.

Bishop Macedonius of Aquileia ran afoul of Rome when he embraced the heretical Three Chapters and was condemned by Pope Vigilius in 554. Defiantly, Macedonius declared Aquileia independent of the Holy See and adopted the title "patriarch" to underscore his succession from Saint Mark and his equality with the successor of Saint Peter. But the greatest threat to Aquileia was not the pope in Rome. In 568, the Lombards swept into the region and conquered the city. Patriarch Paoiino I gathered his clergy and the faithful and fled to Aquileia's island port of Grado. There he and his successors remained in exile. In 607, a new patriarch, Candianus, restored the see to obedience to Rome; but in so doing, although he ended one schism, he started another. Refusing to accept submission to Rome, the bishops on the Lombard mainland elected their own patriarch, John.

As long as the patriarch of Aquileia remained schismatic, the pope and the emperor in Constantinople recognized the patriarch in Grado as the legitimate successor of the metropolitan see; but this changed in 696 when at last the patriarch in Aquileia returned to obedience to Rome. With no schism, there was therefore no longer a need for two patriarchs. Not surprisingly, neither metropolitan was willing to have his see dissolved. Pope Sergius I recognized both, dividing the old Aquileian jurisdiction between them

Relations between the patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado were never good. Each prelate considered his neighbor a usurper of his own rights and privileges. Because of its position on the mainland, the see of Aquileia was invariably controlled and enriched by mainland powers. In 770, the Lombards conquered Istria, allowing the patriarch to take control of the church there. At the synod of Mantua in 827, the pope formally recognized what was already fact, transferring jurisdiction over Istria to Aquileia. As a result, the patriarch of Grado became little more than the prelate of the Venetian lagoon.

During the first half of the eleventh century, Aquileia profited greatly from good relations between the papacy and the German empire. Patriarch Poppone of Treffer acquired extensive political privileges and lands from the German kings. It was he who built the beautiful Basilica Teodoriana in Aquileia. In the papal court he argued that the patriarchate of Grado was useless and redundant and should be dissolved. The patriarch of Grado was summoned to Rome to discuss the situation but did not come. Taking matters into his own hands, Poppone invaded Grado in 1024, capturing the cathedral and palace and presenting the new pope, John XIX, with a *fait accompli*. Soon afterward, the Venetians came to the aid of their prelate, forcing Poppone back to the mainland. At a synod in 1027, the pope and the German emperor Conrad II pronounced Poppone the metropolitan of both Aquileia and Grado, thus dissolving the latter see. But the Venetians stood ready to fight for their patriarch, so the decree could not be implemented. In 1044, the patriarchal dignity was officially restored to Grado.

During the ensuing struggle between the empire and the *papacy*, Aquileia was firmly in the German camp while the patriarchs of Grado were themselves active reformers. In 1053, Pope Leo IX declared Grado "New Aquileia" and transferred jurisdiction over Istria and the patriarchal title to the island see. The patriarchs of Aquileia ignored the papal constitutions, retaining their power until it was officially restored to them by Pope Innocent II in 1132. Istria, however, remained a bone of contention, particularly as Venice extended political control over the region.

The struggle between Aquileia and Grado continued throughout the Middle Ages, with neither side willing to give ground. Aquileia

remained a feudal principality until the Venetians conquered Friuli in 1420. Even then the patriarch refused to acknowledge the conquest for twenty-five years. In 1445, he accepted a treaty that reduced his possessions to the city of Aquileia, San Vito, and San Daniele del Friuli. Henceforth, all patriarchs of Aquileia were Venetian. The patriarchate was suppressed in 1751.

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Aquileia, Rite of

The northern Italian city of Aquileia became a patriarchate in the sixth century. Though there has been speculation about an independent liturgical rite being celebrated there, and even a repertoire of Old Aquileian chant, the surviving evidence is very scanty. There are some details in early liturgical sources that suggest distinct practices: the Sanctus is not yet found among eucharistic prayers, and Patriarch Paulinus is mentioned in the Canon. Some Aquileian sacramentaries are distinguished from other mixed Gelasian books in the preface of the mass and the use of certain prayers from the Gregorian missal. An

anonymous seventh-century source mentions the fourth-century Aquileian bishop Cromatius in relation to the origins of chant, and an eleventh-century musical source contains a pre-Carolingian baptismal rite with melodies that are notably simpler than settings of the same texts found in Gregorian and Ambrosian sources. A twelfth-century trope survives that gives evidence of local composition, and liturgical drama was quite popular. These elements may suggest unique liturgical practices and a unique musical repertoire, but so little survives that we cannot speak with certainty on the exact nature of an early independent rite or its accompanying liturgy and music. Many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century plenary missals survive—such as the *Missale pro S. Aquileiensis ecclesiae ritu*, which appeared in 1494, 1517, and 1519—but the differences they contain in comparison with other rites are limited. Following the Council of Trent, the Roman missal of Pope Paul V was put into use, and the patriarchate rite was abolished in 1594-1595.

See also **Ambrosian Chant; Aquileia; Gregorian Chant; Liturgy**

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Arabic Literature in Italy

Between the ninth century and the eleventh, Sicily was occupied and ruled by Muslims. During the first phase of this period, Muslim Sicily—in Arabic, *Siqilliyya*—suffered from the sort of upheavals that characterize newly colonized regions, and the unrest there was compounded by dynastic tensions and transitions elsewhere in the Arab world. The relative peace and prosperity that followed this first century as a Muslim state—roughly, from the mid-tenth century until the mid-eleventh—was shattered by the arrival of Norman conquerors. The Normans' first military activity on the island occurred in 1038, and they finally took Palermo, the chief city of Muslim Sicily, in 1072. The Normans' rule of the island (along with the southern part of the Italian mainland) ended with the death of the last Norman king of Sicily, William III, in 1194. Throughout the Norman era, Arabic culture remained a dominant presence in the kingdom of Sicily.

Because of the unrest that characterized the early years of Muslim rule in Sicily, the cultural life of the state did not come into its own until roughly the time of the Norman conquest. The great medieval anthology of Sicilian poets, collected by Ibn al-Qatta' (1041-1121), has been lost. But an Andalusian, 'Imad al-Din (1125-1201), included the works of some Siculo-Arab poets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in his anthology of the poetry of his age. For these reasons, the Arabic literature written in and about Sicily during the Norman era has attracted more scholarly attention than the sparse literature preserved from the early years of Muslim *Siqilliyya*. The Arabic literature of Norman Sicily—which includes poetry written both to praise and to condemn the Norman conquerors of Sicily, travelers' accounts of Sicily, and a small number of scientific and philosophical works—provides a remarkable portrait of a state under Christian rule but still to a large extent culturally Arabic.

Ibn Jubayr, an Andalusian who wrote a record of his travels while on pilgrimage, left a succinct and eloquent account of the cultural tension during the years of Norman domination. In 1184, on his return from Mecca, Ibn Jubayr was shipwrecked in Sicily. He tells us that the Sicilian monarch, William II, came to the dock to welcome the travelers and personally paid the landing fee for the Muslims on Ibn Jubayr's ship. Ibn Jubayr considers William's admiration of Muslim learning, like the island's famous volcano, Etna, to be one of the wonders of

Sicily. William speaks Arabic; he has an *'alama* (an Arabic honorific title used in numismatic and architectural inscriptions and in the heading of official documents); he retains Muslim physicians and astrologers. But Ibn Jubayr also illustrates through interviews and anecdotes the daily lives of Muslim Sicilians, who endure increasingly severe economic and religious restrictions. During Ibn Jubayr's visit, Palermo was rocked by an earthquake. Ibn Jubayr tells us that the palace rang with the cries of William's servants—many of whom had converted to Christianity as a condition of employment—calling on Allah, in the moment of crisis, to save them. William, unperturbed, was reported to have said: "Let each of you call upon the God to whom you are subject; let that give you peace."

The Norman monarchs—in particular Roger II, king of Sicily from 1095 until 1154—encouraged the composition of panegyric poetry in their honor. One poet, known as al-Atrabanishi (the name means "from Trapani"), wrote a panegyric for Roger celebrating the royal fishing preserve, Favara. "O Favara!" the poet sings, "in you, desires converge! ... It is as if your waters, where they flow together, in their clarity were melted pearls, and the land were dusky skin." Because of its beauty and elegance, this has become the most famous of the Arabic poems of Sicily. Gabrieli (1980) called it "practically the symbol of Muslim Sicily," despite the fact that it was a product of a Sicily under Norman, not Muslim, rule. 'Imad al-Din's anthology preserves a number of other panegyrics written for the Norman monarchs. Al-Buthayri ("from Butera"), for instance, celebrated the Norman line as a "dynasty that rivals the empires of the Caesars." Another poet, Abu Hafs, was imprisoned by Roger and wrote an impassioned poem celebrating the monarch in the hope of winning his release.

Most of the Arabic poetry of the Norman era, however, denounces the Norman conquerors. (The most notable exception is al-Balianubi—"from Villanova"—who left Sicily after the Norman conquest but did not use anti-Norman invective as a poetic theme.) Abu al-'Arab (1032-1112 or 1113), much celebrated for his eloquence, wrote contemptuous verses accusing his homeland of betrayal for having fallen to the Normans. So did 'Abd al-Halim, who drew an implicit comparison between Muslim Sicily's capitulation to the Normans and Adam's fall: "Ardently did I love Sicily as a young man, and it was like

a corner of the garden of eternity; but it was not ordained that I should live to middle age before it became a burning hell." Abu Musa produced a bitter denunciation of the Normans. He also left a number of tender poems celebrating his love for a "blond girl," who may herself have been a Norman. This interpretation is supported by one of the more enigmatic verses in the poet's anti-Norman invective: "Is it beautiful to forsake one who has affection for you? And is it lawful, in the Messiah's faith?" The anti-Norman poems illustrate the upheavals and the tension that followed the Normans' arrival and serve as testaments to the attachment that Muslim Sicilians felt to their homeland before its loss.

Arab Sicilians and Arab visitors to the Sicilian court also produced important non-poetic literary works. Ibn al-Qatta', who compiled the lost anthology of Sicilian poets, wrote a history of Sicily, which has also been lost. Al-Idrisi (1100-1166) was born in Ceuta, in present-day Morocco. It was at Roger's court, however, that he wrote his great geography, one of the most ambitious and accurate treatises of the Middle Ages: *Kitab al-Rujjar* (*Book of Roger*). Al-Idrisi interviewed travelers arriving in Sicily for information concerning the lands they had visited. On the basis of these interviews, a globe was constructed from precious metals, and Al-Idrisi wrote his geography as an accompanying gloss for the globe. According to some sources, the prominent writer Ibn Zafar (1104-1171) was born in Sicily. He was raised in Mecca, however, and returned to Sicily only as an adult. Some scholars believe that he was living in Sicily when he wrote his "mirror for princes," *Sulwan al-Muta'*. The text was well known and had a wide circulation in the Arab world.

Sicily's most prominent Arab writer, and one of the greatest Arab poets of the Middle Ages, was Ibn Hamdis (1056-1133). Ibn Hamdis was born in Sicily, after the Norman invasions of the island had begun. He was sixteen years old when the Normans took Palermo. Six years later he left, and he spent the rest of his life in al-Andalus (Andalusia) and North Africa. His magnificent poems about Sicily, known as the *siqilliyyat*, are imbued with the exile's tender nostalgia and bitterness. One of the most haunting of these begins with a description of an idyllic scene from the poet's youth in Sicily: a bacchanalian party at a convent, where Ibn Hamdis and his friends obtained wine from the

nuns and entertained each other with music through the night. As the poem draws to a close, the poet turns to the theme of memory, contrasting his recollections of the lost delights of his homeland with his suffering in exile. "I remember Sicily," he writes, "and sorrow is aroused in my soul by the memory." The poem's rhyme scheme requires that each line end with a feminine possessive pronoun. The pronoun may refer to any feminine noun (and also to plural masculine nouns), but in Ibn Hamdis's poem its most frequent referent is Sicily. This knell at the close of each line dramatizes the exiled poet's obsessive memories of his lost homeland.

The Arab writers of the Norman age represent, ironically, the culmination of Arabic literature in Sicily. Frederick II, son of a Norman mother and the Hohenstaufen king Henry VI, was king of Sicily from 1197 until 1250. He maintained significant contacts with Arab rulers and cultural figures outside Sicily, and translations of Arabic philosophical and scientific texts were made during his reign (including a translation of Maimonides's *Guide for the Perplexed*, which has been lost). But Frederick's treatment of the Muslims in his own kingdom contrasted sharply with his enthusiasm for Arabic culture. He transferred the Muslims remaining in Sicily to a ghetto city on the Italian mainland, Lucera (in present-day Puglia, or Apulia). By the beginning of the thirteenth century, Arabic ceased to function as a language of culture in the kingdom of Sicily. Some scholars have argued that Sicily's Arabic literary tradition influenced the poets of the *scuola siciliana*, who wrote during Frederick's reign. Although no convincing evidence to support this supposition has appeared, the remarkably swift transition between Arabic and Romance literary traditions in Sicily remains one of the most striking, and least understood, chapters in medieval literary history.

See also Arabs in Italy; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Normans; Roger II; Scuola Poetica Sicilian a; William II

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Arabs in Italy

For roughly three centuries—the ninth, tenth, and eleventh—the Arabs played a major role in Italian history. During most of that period, they held Sicily and even penetrated the Italian mainland. After Sicily fell to the Normans, however, Arabs were no longer seen as dominant or threatening, and the character of the interrelationship changed. Norman Sicily continued to have a large Arab population; thus Arab influence was noticeable there in architecture as well as in the Norman court and its cultural interests. Later, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

one can detect even in mainland Italy some elements of Arab influence—for example, in literary forms and in science. Also, trade with the Arab world persisted; Genoa offers a prime example. But by then the Arabs who had invaded Italy were only a remote memory.

Therefore, we must concentrate here on the first phase, primarily the ninth through the eleventh centuries. It had begun gradually, with intermittent raids on Byzantine-held Sicily not long after Egypt and then most of North Africa had surrendered to Arab armies. (Alexandria was taken in 642, and by 670 the Arabs' power was solidifying in what is now Tunisia.) In the early eighth century, most of Spain was also taken, Italy's vulnerability increased, and there were more reports of raids and piracy. But the true dimensions of the threat did not become apparent until the ninth century, when the situation became much more complex.



Mahomet (Muhammad). Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 151v.

The first dramatic development was the Arab conquest of Sicily,

which began in 827. The western half of the island, including Palermo, was quickly taken, and then much of the northeast; Messina fell in 842. It is true that the entire island did not come under Arab control until the turn of the tenth century. (Beleaguered Syracuse, the Byzantine capital of Sicily, had held out until 878, and a few lesser outposts even longer.) But as early as 831, when Palermo was declared the new Arab capital, the implications for mainland Italy seemed clear. There would surely now be more raids on the mainland, and other contacts were also more likely. There is evidence that trading had never entirely ceased between southern Italy and what were now Muslim territories; with Sicily in Arab hands, the potential for this commerce would be enhanced. More immediately, however, there was a different development: in the mid-830s, local southern Italian rulers started hiring bands of Arab mercenaries, mainly from Sicily.

Naples, under continual attack from the southern Lombards based at Benevento and Salerno, was the first city to bring in such mercenaries. Less than five years later, both Benevento and Salerno (by then at war with each other) did the same. From that point on, through the rest of the ninth century and into the early tenth century, southern Italy knew Arabs in several roles. Some were imported as mercenaries and then stayed on as freebooters, operating from bases scattered throughout the lower peninsula and marauding as far north as the duchy of Spoleto and Farfa. Others came uninvited, including one group which seized the important port of Bari on the Adriatic and created there a minor emirate that lasted from 847 to 871. Actually, many of these invaders, like many of the presumably Arab conquerors of Sicily, were probably Berber; the North African Berbers had been converted to Islam after being conquered by the Arabs. But to the victims of their raids—such as those who were seized and carried off for the slave trade—this ethnic differentiation hardly mattered. Nor did it matter to the important monasteries of southern Italy; for them, the crucial issue was the continual menace represented by all the interlopers. Both Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno were raided again and again, and, in the early 880s, both had to be abandoned; they remained abandoned for several decades.

In marked contrast, successive dukes of Naples, the Lombard rulers of Benevento and Salerno, and port towns such as Gaeta and Amalfi

seem to have remained, for the most part, on excellent terms with these "infidels." There were reasons for this. During most of the ninth century, Byzantium, which claimed a significant portion of southern Italy, was in no position to intervene there; and the Carolingians, mostly preoccupied with matters far to the north, appeared equally disinterested. So it was perhaps inevitable that, for example, Naples in the second half of the ninth century became known as a "second Palermo": the streets of the city were full of Arab visitors, and even the powerful bishop of Naples committed himself to a connection with the Arabs. To southern Italian leaders concerned with survival, it must have seemed that the region's future lay with the Muslim world.

There were, nonetheless, a few notable interventions. In 846 a combined Sicilian and North African force had dared to attack Rome (and had carried away an array of treasures from Saint Peter's and other churches). In response, the emperor Lothar dispatched to southern Italy an army led by his son, the future emperor Louis II. Although the raiders who attacked Rome had come directly from overseas, Lothar plainly saw southern Italy as the root of the problem. In due course, Louis cleared away some of the Arabs, partly by forcing a settlement of the southern Lombards' civil war. About twenty-five years later, in 871, Louis finally managed to take Bari, dislodging the Arab emirate that had stood as the most glaring example of the Muslims' dominance. After Louis's death, however, Pope John VIII found Naples, Salerno, Gaeta, and Amalfi still intransigent; neither large bribes nor excommunication could persuade them to break their links to the Arabs. Even a fierce Arab attack on the city of Salerno, mounted by the North African emir in the 870s with the clear intention of conquest, had dampened their enthusiasm only temporarily.

By the turn of the century, however, we find a change, for which two developments were primarily responsible. First, in the 880s, the Byzantine emperor had moved to restore Byzantium's image and power in the Italian peninsula—no doubt also hoping to retake Sicily eventually. Armies were dispatched, and the Lombards, who had been dominant throughout most of southern Italy for centuries, were stripped of much of Apulia and Calabria. This altered the balance of power in the south, but it also suggested new possibilities to the rulers of the minor Lombard states; Byzantium could provide a counterfoil to

the Arab thrust. In 902, something happened that made this possibility seem eminently desirable: an implacable North African emir, Ibrahim, who terrified not only Christians but even his fellow Muslims, led the fiercest Arab attack ever against southern Italy. Although Ibrahim died suddenly in Calabria before he could fully achieve his goals, his campaign caused southern Italians to reconsider their tolerance of the Arabs in their midst. At that time, the most rapacious Arab enclave was situated along the Garigliano River, near Gaeta. It constituted a threat not only to Rome but also to Lombard Capua, and so the Capuans, after failing to dislodge the Garigliano Arabs with the help of some Neapolitans and Amalfitans, sought help from Constantinople. In 915, a combined army of Byzantine and Lombard southern Italians, supplemented by northern and papal forces and with a Byzantine fleet standing offshore, swept the Garigliano region clean.

General histories of medieval Europe often portray the action in Garigliano as signifying the end of the Arabs' presence in mainland Italy, but this was not the case. Although Campania seems to have been little troubled thereafter, Genoa was raided in 934 and again in 935, and Pisa was raided as late as 1004. Moreover, Byzantine southern Italy—Apulia and Calabria—continued for a long time to be plagued by Arab raiders. Important towns there were devastated, and in the mid-tenth century Byzantium, its hold significantly weakened, was forced to condone widespread payments of tribute to the Arabs and to accept the building of a mosque at Reggio Calabria. The situation eased somewhat in the later tenth century, when there were power struggles among the Arabs. Nonetheless, in the first half of the eleventh century Calabria still suffered sporadic attacks.

In one respect, however, the year 915 and the Garighano campaign did indeed mark a watershed. With Arab raiders gone from their immediate area, the independent minor states of southern Italy began to strengthen their economic relationship with the Arab world. By then the political situation in Campania (the core area of these small independent states) was stable; there was no further need for Arab mercenaries. Instead, we find increased prosperity and agricultural activity, and the widespread use of a Sicilian and North African coinage, the *tari*. Locally, the carrying trade with the Arab world was dominated by the city-state of Amalfi; there are reports of Amalfitans

throughout the Arab Mediterranean, from Palestine to Spain, during the tenth and eleventh centuries. But Amalfi was plainly not alone in benefiting from this trade; almost everywhere in Campania, in charters from this period, *tari* are cited as the medium of exchange.

It was surely no coincidence that this period was the golden age of Arab Sicily. The conquest of the island had taken up most of the ninth century, and in the late eleventh century the Sicilian Arabs would dissolve into factionalism, making it easier for the Normans to take over. But in the tenth century and the early eleventh, Sicily was more or less stable and well-governed. Simultaneously, moreover, the Fatimid region in North Africa was thriving, and in 969 its ruler assumed control of Egypt as well. Sicily and North Africa were relatively near Campania, and Amalfi seems to have enjoyed particularly good relations with the Fatimids.

In the early eleventh century, Byzantium gave more attention to southern Italy, putting new pressures on the southern Lombard principalities. At the same time, a number of Normans appeared on the scene, in essence assuming the role once taken by Arab mercenaries. During the resulting disorder and conflict (which involved the papacy as well), we hear little about Arabs until a move by the Normans against Sicily in the second half of the century. Yet Campania (particularly Amalfi and Salerno) had obviously maintained strong links with the Arab world; and, notably, Constantinus Africanus, the Arab who in the latter eleventh century played such an important role in medical teaching at Salerno, was said to have come there initially as a merchant.

Constantinus Africanus is the first example of an Arab conveying Arab high culture to mainland Italy. The marauding bands of the ninth century left no trace except destruction (and, in reaction, increased fortification). The Bari emirate, essentially the creation of dissident adventurers, also left no lasting mark. Even the nearness of Arab Sicily had not resulted in any major cultural transmission. Not until the Norman twelfth century did that situation change; only in the period of Roger II does one begin to encounter translations from Arabic scientific works, an appreciation of Siculo-Arab poetry, and a conscious adoption of an Islamic aesthetic in building and decoration. Earlier, the most one can say is that trade with the Arabs brought into Italy material objects

from the Islamic world. In treasuries throughout Italy, one can still find examples of tenth- and eleventh-century Islamic glass and metalwork, and we know that textiles also came in. Presumably this explains why, here and there in southern Italy, one finds Islamic motifs incorporated into some buildings of this period.

Otherwise, however, the first three centuries of interaction with the Arab world seemingly had little impact on the culture of mainland Italy. There was an economic impact—positive for Campania, largely negative for the regions held by Byzantium— but nothing broader. Perhaps the reason, in part, was that Sicily, the nearest Arab territory, bore little resemblance to Muslim Spain. We do find some mention of Arab Sicily, especially its poets, in Arab sources. Overall, however, Sicily was scarcely a center of high culture, and its rulers were very minor figures in the Islamic world. Even those Arabs who figured prominently in the court of Roger II, or during the time of Frederick II, were often not native Sicilians.

If Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries showed some fondness for Islamic motifs and forms, one must attribute it not to "Arabs in Italy" but rather to influences from Norman Sicily, Frederick II, and miscellaneous Arab contacts during and after the period of the Crusades. The last colony of Arabs in mainland Italy was an unfortunate group of Sicilian Arabs settled by Frederick II in and around his fortified castle of Lucera in the 1220s; evidently, they had been brought there as involuntary exiles after rebellions by the Arab population in Sicily. On two occasions, some of these Arabs around Lucera served Frederick as an elite fighting corps—once again, then, they might be described as imported Arab mercenaries—but for the most part the colony, numbering in the thousands, was simply settled on agricultural lands around Lucera. For a time, this transplantation appeared successful. However, after Frederick's death and the imposition of Angevin rule, the descendants of the original colony had no protectors. They were resented by those who coveted their lands and were preached against as infidels and idolaters. Most of them were massacred in 1300, and like their ninth-century predecessors on the mainland of Italy, these Arabs left no trace,

See also **Amain; Constantinus Africanus; Frederick II Hohenstaufen;**

Garigliano, Battle of; Naples; Normans; Palermo; Roger II; Salerno; Sicily

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Aragon, Kingdom of

See Sicily

Arca Di San Domenico

See Arnolfo di Cambio; Pisano, Nicola

Arca Di Sant' Agostino

See Pavia

Arduin of Ivrea

Arduin (d. 1015) was marquess of Ivrea, in the Piedmont. During the reign of the German Roman emperor Otto III, Arduin became embroiled in a land dispute with Bishop Peter of Vercelli, and in 997 Arduin and his followers killed the bishop and burned his cathedral. For this act, Arduin's lands were confiscated and he was condemned to a life of penitent wandering. However, Otto III died without heirs in 1002. His death gave Arduin—who was a relative of Berengar II of Italy (950-961)—a chance to secure election as king of Italy, during an interregnum before the German princes elected Henry of Bavaria as king of Germany and future Roman Emperor,

From 1004 on, Arduin was challenged on a number of occasions by Henry II, but he held out in his homelands in northwestern Italy until 1014. Then, worn out by the constant conflict, Arduin retired to a monastery, where he died the next year.

See also **Henry II, Saint and Emperor; Lombards; Otto III**

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Arena Chapel

See Giotto di Bondone; Padua; Scrovegni Family Chapel

Arezzo

During the reign of the emperor Augustus, Arezzo had a primary role in Etruria (region VII); but by the fourth century after Christ the city was in a period of economic and political decline. There are few literary or archaeological sources for this period. Undoubtedly, Christianity spread rapidly in and around Arezzo, aided primarily by a good network of roads in the region, even though the Via Cassia was relocated almost 20 kilometers west of the city in a.d. 123. As the new religion became widespread, Arezzo came to comprise a vast diocese—the most extensive in Tuscany before 1325.

During no era did political and religious jurisdictions coincide. In the east at the higher elevations of the Tiber Valley, for example, the *comitatus* of Arezzo included part of the diocese of Citta di Castello; but to the southwest the diocese of Arezzo included a huge territory that was politically dominated by Siena. In all four Aretine valleys—Casentino, Valdarno Superiore, Valdichiana, and Valtiberina—there are clear traces of the ethnic presence and dominance of the Ostrogoths between 480 and 553, and these traces are most evident in the toponymy.

As early as this period, urban growth—from the southern slopes (250 meters above sea level) to which it had extended in the late Etruscan era of the third century B.C.—was restricted to the summit of the hill (300-310 meters); it would spread from there to the south and west in the eleventh century. On the small rise of Pionta, 1 kilometer southwest of the city wall (of which little remains), there is archaeological evidence of an important early Christian necropolis, with epigraphs dating from 407 and 408. A later necropolis was built on this site in the sixth and seventh centuries. Sometime before 840, on the same site, the cathedral of Santa Maria and Santo Stefano was built over the

necropolis, which then became, after numerous alterations and annexations, the fortified citadel of the bishop until 1203. A document of the emperor Charles the Bald dating from 876 mentions that on the summit of the hill around the forum were a public granary; an already abandoned church, San Benedetto; and another church, San Pietro. Via Maior—the main road (as the name implies) and part of the ancient Roman *cardo*—rises from the midpoint of the slope to its summit. This road corresponds to the present-day Via Pellicceria and Via delle Gagliarde. Other streets identified on the rectangular Etruscan-Roman town plan (e.g., the present Corso Italia and Via Cesalpino) survive as roadways outside the city wall.



Pieve di Santa Maria, *Arezzo*. Photograph courtesy of Christophe Kleinhenz.

Arezzo was completely occupied by the Longobards in all likelihood by 599, following a peace treaty between their king, Agilulf, and the Byzantine exarch. Although never a part of the Longobard duchy, Arezzo remained adjacent to it for several centuries. For this reason and also because the Valdichiana—the most fertile of the Aretine valleys—was marshy, the route through Siena became the principal one between northern Italy and Rome in the interior of the peninsula sometime during the eighth century. Although archival records are lacking,

indirect evidence suggests a significant expansion of Longobard influence over the Aretine territory. There are records, however, attesting to the fact that its bishops were of Latin descent, at least until the second half of the eighth century, and to the existence of a cathedral school; both factors demonstrate the persistence of a limited Roman culture between the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth. Numerous tenth-century parchments bear witness to a vibrant civic and cultural rebirth in the area, which was controlled by a bishop loyal to the emperor. Among the achievements of this period were the reconstruction of the Duomo between the tenth century and the early years of the eleventh century; the consecration in 1032 of the magnificent Byzantine temple of San Donato, the fourth-century bishop and evangelist who was presumably martyred and who later became the patron saint of the diocese; and important innovations in musical notation developed by the monk Guido. A close relationship between the Aretine bishopric and the imperial Germanic authority is indicated by the presence of emperors in Arezzo for centuries: from Charlemagne to Otto I, Henry IV, Henry V (who in 1111 destroyed the urban center and its encircling towered walls), and others. Despite the power of the bishops, the city on the hill developed as a free commune, and consuls are mentioned as early as 1098. Noblemen of barbarian and feudal descent also wielded great power, bolstered by their castles in the surrounding countryside.

In 1038, the records mention an immense *Platea Civitatis* outside the city walls built in the High Middle Ages; this is the site of the present, smaller Piazza Grande. The *Platea Civitatis* was constructed next to the apse of the Pieve of Santa Maria, the mother church and baptistery; Santa Maria as we see it today was rebuilt during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries in the typical grand style, as a people's church in contrast to the cathedral of the bishop. As early as the eleventh century, residential areas were developing outside the gates of the city walls, which were only about 1500 meters long. The first such areas were Santa Maria, to the south along the modern-day Corso Italia on the way to Rome; and Sant'Angelo, to the northeast on the road to Rimini and the Adriatic. Also in the eleventh century, a group of churches (some with hospices) are documented on the connecting roads outside the walls: Santa Croce, San Giustino, San

Michele, Sant'Adriano, San Pier Piccolo, Santa Maria in Gradi, San Clemente, and Sant'Angelo in Arcaltis. Some of these churches had certainly been in existence for centuries. In the thirteenth century, Arezzo reached its greatest importance, as is evident from the founding of the university in the first decades of the century and from the construction of the monumental public palaces overlooking the Platea Civitatis; these palaces are situated on the hill near the present-day cathedral, which was begun in 1277.

Aretine architecture is characterized by simple forms and little ornamentation—an austere style that is accentuated by the local gray sandstone. Most of the medieval monuments were destroyed during the sixteenth century, when Arezzo was dominated by Florence: Pionta, the bishop's seat, was razed, as were churches and aristocratic buildings along the highest part of the hill and notable monuments in other parts of the city. Recent discoveries reveal the existence of Aretine schools of painting and miniatures dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The Aretiries were the first to write in the Tuscan vernacular, which would become the Italian language. Their writers included Fra' Guittone d'Arezzo, the leader of a school of poetry; and Ristoro d'Arezzo, who wrote *La composizione del mondo* (1282), the first scientific work in the vernacular. This period coincides with the rule of the Ghibelline bishop and warrior Guglielmino (1248-1289) of the feudal family Ubertini.

Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca) was born in Arezzo in 1304; it was the native city of his father, ser Petracco, who had returned there from Florence as an exile. Recent archival findings show that ser Petracco worked in Arezzo as notary to Bishop Guglielmino.

Arezzo was defeated by the Florentine Guelfs at the battle of the Campaldino (1289), and this defeat contributed to a decline that had already been set in motion by geographic, economic, social, and ideological changes. The factors causing Arezzo's decline worked in favor of Florence, which flourished rapidly and developed new concepts of culture and civilization.

Under the rule of Bishop Guido Tarlati (1312-1327)—who, against the pope's wishes, crowned Ludwig the Bavarian emperor in Milan in 1327—Arezzo experienced a brief political resurgence and an energetic

military and territorial expansion. At this time the largest of its many successive city walls were built; they measured more than 5 kilometers around. Even during this period, the population never reached 20,000; nevertheless, Arezzo had a thriving economy that included the production of woolen goods (until the eleventh century) and other commercial operations, such as long-distance trading, owing to its favorable location. The territory was densely populated and intensively cultivated and had hundreds of villages, some at elevations as high as 800 to 1000 meters above sea level. Because of these high altitudes and the unique features of the soil, the agricultural economy could be supplemented by forestry and herding.

After alternating phases of long, bloody battles with external enemies and between internal factions, the city became progressively impoverished and, finally, devastated. In 1384, it fell into the hands of the French *condottiero* Enguerrand de Coucy; he sold it to the Florentine republic, which was in a position to become a regional state.

See also Agilulf; Campaldino, Battle of; Florence; Guido d'Arezzo; Guittone d'Arezzo; Ristoro d'Arezzo

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Arian Heresy

When the emperor Constantine I supported Christianity, he expected Christians to be a unified body, but he discovered that they were divided over the question of the relationship between God the father and Christ the son. In spite of Constantine's efforts to resolve the

dispute quickly, the controversy affected churchmen and politicians throughout most of the fourth century. Orthodoxy was not fully victorious until the sixth century.

The controversy began in Alexandria c. a.d. 318, when Arius, a popular priest, reflected on the relationship between God and his son. Arius believed in the absolute singleness of the godhead, which he defined as the father. He then argued that if there was originally only one God, Jesus must have been created. Therefore, Jesus, although superior to every other creature, was subordinate—not equal—to God the father. Furthermore, Arius claimed that as a creature, Christ was not eternal.

It did not take long for Arius's views to be opposed. Arius's superior, Bishop Alexander, called a synod in 320, condemned Arius's ideas, and articulated the position that Christ was eternal and eternally God. The bishops at this synod believed that only by the incarnation of the true God could human flesh be fully redeemed, and the crucifixion of a created being would not have accomplished such salvation. Athanasius, Alexander's successor to the see of Alexandria in 328, took up the struggle against the Arians. Athanasius's writings on the subject, such as *Discourse against the Avians* (350), did much to establish the church doctrine of the Trinity.

By the time Constantine became the sole emperor in 324, both sides in the dispute had found many supporters. To try to resolve the issue, Constantine presided over the first ecumenical council, the Council of Nicaea, in 325. This council developed a creed that supported the bishop of Alexandria and explicitly denied the Arian position. But Constantine's hope of resolving the theological issue by imperial fiat was unrealistic: Christians who believed that their salvation depended on a correct understanding of the relationship among the members of the Trinity did not easily give up the struggle.

Churchmen trying to find an acceptable understanding of the Trinity held many councils during the next decades. They proposed various formulas to solve the debate, and passions raged about the subtle meanings of disputed Greek words. Was Jesus of the same substance (*homoousia*) as the father, or of like substance (*homoiousia*)? Was Jesus exactly like (*homoios*) or—as the most radical Arians claimed—unlike (*anomoios*) the father? Only when churchmen finally agreed that there

could be various interpretations of each word would they be able to form a coalition including all but the most radical Arians. However, imperial politics further complicated the theological discussions.

Just as Constantine had involved himself in the dispute, creating a connection between politics and theology, subsequent emperors were also drawn in. Constantine's son, Constantius, emperor of the east, supported the Arian cause, and the Arians strengthened their position at several church councils under his rule. Julian the Apostate, during his brief reign (361-363), withdrew imperial support from the Arians and permitted the Nicenes to reassert themselves. Emperor Valens (364-379) again strengthened the Arian cause, but Emperor Theodosius (379-395) finally ensured victory for the Nicenes among the Romans. In 380, Theodosius ordered everyone to adhere to the Nicene position, and he replaced all Arian bishops with Nicenes.

The Council of Constantinople in 381 drafted a creed restating the formula that the Council of Nicaea had developed fifty six years earlier; all forms of Arianism and semi-Arianism were condemned. The orthodox position was that Christ was "begotten from the Father before all ages . . . begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father." Throughout the Middle Ages, and later, this was known as the Nicene Creed. A few months after the Council of Nicaea, Ambrose of Milan presided over a council of western bishops that also condemned Arianism.

By the late fourth century, then, Arianism was no longer a real issue among Roman Christians. However, it continued to appeal to Goths. In 341, during a period of Arian ascendancy, the Goth Ulfilas had been ordained a bishop. Ulfilas supported the Arian position, and his missionary work among the Goths served to make Arianism almost a Gothic religion. The Vandals, Visigoths, Burgundians, and Lombards who invaded the empire were all Arians, and their beliefs prevented them from assimilating readily with Roman Christians. Religious differences may have been a factor in the establishment of independent German kingdoms from the weakened empire.

Nevertheless, the majority—the Nicene Christians—eventually predominated. In the sixth century, all the Germanic Arians finally converted to the orthodox view. After centuries of dispute about the nature of the Trinity, Christendom was united under the difficult and

mysterious concept of three persons (*hypostases*) who were one God, of one substance, eternally uncreated.

See also **Heresy and Religious Dissent**

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Aribert

The Italian prelate Aribert (Ariberto da Antimiano; b. between 970 and 980; d. 1045) was the son of Gariardo, born at Intimiano in the province of Bergamo, Aribert rose through the ranks in the cathedral of Milan and in 1018 became archbishop with the support of Emperor Henry II and the local nobility. He used this position to strengthen the role of the archbishop in the political arena of the city of Milan. He became a strong ally of the German emperors and established a particularly close political and personal relationship with Conrad II, whom he crowned king of Italy in 1026. However, Aribert came into conflict with some of the emperor's feudal representatives in Italy; they poisoned his relations with Conrad, and the ensuing conflict lasted until the emperor's death in 1039. Aribert reestablished good relations with the new emperor, Henry III. When he became a target of civic unrest in Milan, Aribert reasserted his rule, with assistance from the Germans. Having restored peace, Aribert died in Milan on 16 January 1045.

See also **Conrad II; Milan**

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Arichis

Arichis II (c. 735-787 or 788) was duke (from 758) and prince (from 774 or 775) of Benevento. He was invested with the duchy by his father-in-law, Desiderius, king of the Lombards, who hoped thereby to bring the duchy of Benevento more directly under Lombard control. Arichis and

his wife, Adelperga, established a court at Benevento that modeled itself closely on the Lombard court at Pavia and, somewhat later, on the Byzantine court at Constantinople.

After the overthrow of the Lombard kingdom in 774 by Charlemagne, Arichis proclaimed himself prince of Benevento and claimed to be the legitimate continuator of the Lombard line. Although he was forced by the temporary presence of a Frankish army to recognize the overlordship of Charlemagne, Arichis and his successors were for all practical purposes independent until the conquest by the Normans in the eleventh century. Reflecting this independence (even before the fall of the Lombard kingdom), Arichis continued the Beneventan practice of issuing gold and, later, silver coinage. He rebuilt and expanded the fortifications of Benevento and Salerno, remodeled the ducal palace and added a palace chapel dedicated to Saint Sophia (its central plan shows the influence of Ravenna and Constantinople and prefigures Aachen), and liberally endowed a number of religious establishments. After the fall of the Lombard kingdom, Arichis issued seventeen laws to add to the corpus of Lombard legislation and to lend credence to his claims of sovereignty.

Both Arichis and Adelperga were patrons of art and learning, and their court at Benevento became a center of cultural influence. Paul the Deacon resided there for a time and dedicated his early works to Adelperga. Although the relative claims of Benevento and Monte Cassino for the establishment of a "school" are difficult to evaluate, there is no doubt that Benevento was a center of learning, and the work of the chancery, either during the time of Arichis or somewhat later, developed the very beautiful Beneventan script.

After his death, Arichis was succeeded by a younger son, Grimoald III (r. 787 or 788-806).

See also **Benevento; Desiderius; Lombards**

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Arimannus

The Lombard term *arimannus* (plural, *arimannit*) was equivalent to the Latin *exercitalis* and signified a free Lombard soldier and property holder. *Arimanni* were obligated to perform military service, help maintain bridges and roads, and participate in the public courts. By the eighth century, *arimanni* swore an oath of fidelity to the Lombard king. During the late eighth century and the ninth century, the uniform class of Lombard smallholders and soldiers tended to disappear. Many *arimanni* had become tenants or had been forced into other forms of dependency, and their public duties were being privatized. Carolingian legislation aimed at protecting *arimanni* from the oppression of counts and other powerful lords was largely ineffective.

RICHARD RING

Aristippus, Henry

Henry or Henricus Aristippus (d. 1162), a prominent Latin cleric and court figure in the kingdom of Sicily during the reign of William I, brought important Greek philosophical and scientific writings into the intellectual orbit of the medieval Latin west. How he acquired his knowledge of Greek is unknown. His translation of Plato's *Meno* was finished sometime between early 1154 and 10 November 1160. His translation of Plato's *Phaedo* was begun in the spring of 1156 while Aristippus, now archdeacon of Catania, was in camp during William's siege of Benevento. It was completed in Palermo shortly thereafter and

was later revised; two forms are known, both thought to be auctorial. The *Phaedo* and the *Meno* are the only Platonic dialogues that refer by name to an Aristippus; this fact may have some bearing either on Henry Aristippus's adopted byname or, if he was already so called (probably after the ancient Greek philosopher Aristippus, also a Sicilian court figure), on his decision to translate these works. Though they were not the only sources for a knowledge of Plato, these versions in Latin, made from the original Greek, are the only complete translations of any of his dialogues known to have circulated outside the Arab world during the Middle Ages. Henry Aristippus's designedly literal efforts are now and probably always were preserved in relatively few manuscripts, but they were sought out and read by early humanists for whom their content must have been more appealing than their style.

In 1158 Aristippus returned from a diplomatic mission to Constantinople with gifts to the kingdom from the emperor Manuel I Comnenus that included a copy of the Greek text of Ptolemy's *Almagest* and, in all likelihood, the Greek *Prophecy of the Erythrean Sibyl* later translated into Latin by Eugenius of Palermo. The anonymous early translator of the *Almagest* (who had come to Sicily from Salerno in 1158 or 1159) tells us that he found Aristippus investigating, at some personal risk, the wonders of Mount Etna, the volcano whose lava flows have often threatened Catania and its vicinity. Apparently connected with this interest is Aristippus's undated and still only partly edited translation, from the original Greek, of Book 4 of Aristotle's *Meteorology*, a text dealing in part with the liquefying and congealing of matter. Known to Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187), who translated *Meteorology* from the Arabic, this remained the standard Latin version of Book 4 until it was superseded in the thirteenth century by William of Moerbeke's new translation of the entire work. Even so, much of it lived on, as William's version here is largely a revision of Aristippus's. Probably Aristippus's as well, and also known to Gerard, is a translation of the Greek *scholia* (annotations) for this book.

Preserved with the earlier form of Aristippus's translation of the *Phaedo* is a preface praising the king's intellectual curiosity and providing valuable information about secular Greek texts available in Sicily. In the prologue to his translation of the *Meno*, Aristippus parades

his connections with the powerful while proclaiming their interest in this sort of cultural acquisition: the admiral Maio (King William's chief minister) and Hugh, the archbishop of Palermo, have asked him, he says, to translate the ancient Greek Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of the Philosophers*-, and the king himself has commanded him to translate some writings of the Greek church father Gregory of Nazianzus. It is not absolutely certain that these announced versions were completed, but if they were, they may have been the source of quotations from both authors by Aristippus's contemporary John of Salisbury. A lost partial translation of Diogenes Laertius is usually supposed to have been Aristippus's: excerpts from it showing characteristics of his style, which allowed more lexical variation than that of most medieval western word-for-word translators, occur in the widely read *De vita et moribus philosophorum* (*Lives of the Philosophers*), formerly attributed to Walter Burley but now believed to have originated in northern Italy early in the fourteenth century. According to a recent argument, this translation was only of Books 1 and 2 of the Laertian original (plus, perhaps, the *Life of Aristotle* from Book 5), rather than, as commonly thought, of the entire first five books. If so, and if Henry Aristippus really was the translator, then he left it unfinished: the earlier Aristippus and Plato are both in Book 3.

Henry Aristippus's scholarly activity is often said to have ended in November 1160, when, after Maio's assassination, William I chose Aristippus to be his interim chief minister and also head of the royal chancery. Thereafter Aristippus was involved, deeply but ultimately unsuccessfully, in the tumultuous affairs of the kingdom. Suspected by William of complicity in a coup of 1161 that failed but had almost cost the king his life, Aristippus was imprisoned in the spring of 1162 and died soon afterward.

See also Greek Language and Literature; William I

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Aristocracy

See Nobility

Aristotle and Aristotelianism

In the heyday of scholasticism, Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) was considered "the philosopher" par excellence; his writings offered a comprehensive view of the visible universe and the human condition that presented the first serious challenge to Christian thinkers and theologians of the Middle Ages.

Aristotle was born at Stagira in northern Greece and studied under Plato. He reacted against Plato's reduction of the physical universe and laid the foundations of a scientific approach in the ancient world. Few philosophers have contributed so effectively and enduringly to the study of logic, epistemology, physics, metaphysics, biology, meteorology, mathematics, psychology, rhetoric, dialectic, aesthetics, and politics. Some of the linchpins of his system may be listed. According to Aristotle, the earth is at the center of an eternal universe.

Below the moon, everything is composed of four elements (earth, air, fire, water) and is subject to change and destruction. Everything in the heavens above the first sphere is composed of ether and is immutable. In the sublunar world, rectilinear motion is the norm; above the moon, motion is circular, indicative of perfection. All material things are an indivisible amalgam of "matter" (sheer potentiality) and "form" (the essence of each given thing). Human beings are "political" in that they are social animals born to live in an organized state. Virtue is a mean between two vices: excess and deficiency. Any valid deductive argument can be expressed in one of four perfect syllogisms involving three terms: two premises and a conclusion. For a proper understanding of any natural organism, a teleological explanation must be sought: the purpose or goal of humanity is a life of rational activity. Intellective cognition is to be understood as the reception of abstract concepts; this idea led Aristotle to posit an intellective power which had a purely potential nature: *nous pathetikos*, the passive or "possible" intellect. However, since the reception of abstract concepts must necessarily be preceded by abstraction of the universal content from sensible images, another power, the "active" intellect, is necessary to actualize intellectual potentiality. In Aristotle's *De anima*, this active power is conceived as separate from the body and surviving death, but it is also seen as inseparably joined to the body. Such are a few of the ideas that were to electrify philosophers and generate immense debate, especially from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries in western Europe.



Aristotle, *De anima*. Venice: Octaviani Scoti per Bonetum Locatellum, 1497. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

The most important influence on Latin Christianity throughout the Middle Ages was Augustine of Hippo (Saint Augustine, 354-430). For ten years before his conversion to Christianity, Augustine had been under the spell of the dualist Manichaen doctrine, which regarded matter as evil. After having rejected this absolute condemnation of the body, Augustine was attracted by some of the tenets of Neoplatonism which he considered "well accommodated" to the Christian faith and therefore exploitable in its defense, especially the view of the soul as a

dynamic principle capable of ruling the body. Augustine was in full agreement with Plato and his followers that philosophical truth is attainable through intellectual reflection rather than through the analysis of sensible, material reality. On the other hand, he firmly rejected the Neoplatonist view of the universe as a series of emanations, in favor of the Judeo-Christian belief in creation *ex nihilo* by the deity.

Boethius (c. 475 or 480-524) set out to translate into Latin the complete works of both Plato and Aristotle, with a commentary intended to iron out their differences. He did not go beyond Aristotle's logic. Nevertheless, his writings remained a philosophical beacon for at least the next 600 years. Until the twelfth century, or even later, Aristotle was known in the Latin west solely through Boethius's translations of *Categories* and *Prior Analytics* (which made the syllogism available as the central tool in logic), as well as Boethius's own treatises on special aspects of logic and his commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*. These works formed a corpus known as the "old logic" (*logica vetus*).

Greek thought was, of course, kept alive at Byzantium, and later in the Arab world, especially by the Persian Avicenna (980-1037) and the Andalusian Averroës (1126-1198), who became known as "the commentator" for his attempts to salvage "pure" Aristotelian doctrine. The most controversial result was Averroës's view that there is a single, eternal active intellect for humanity; but far more devastating was his belief in the "unicity" of the possible intellect, which deprived the individual of immortality.

The twelfth century was the golden age of medieval Platonism. However, by the second quarter of that century, James of Venice had already translated into Latin some important works by Aristotle, including his *Posterior Analytics*, *Sophistici elenchi*, and *Metaphysics*. Michael Scot's most influential achievement was his translation of Averroës's commentaries on *De caelo*, *De anima*, *Metaphysics*, and *Physics*, together with Aristotle's texts, during the years he spent in Sicily at the court of Frederick II (c. 1230). Robert Grosseteste's important translation (from the Greek) of *Nicomachean Ethics* was executed c. 1247. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the Dominican William of Moerbeke not only perfected his knowledge of Greek by going to Greece but also became the most prolific translator

of Aristotle's works; his translations included the first Latin versions of *Politics* and *Poetics*. By 1260, about fifty-five of Aristotle's works had been translated into Latin. Beside this "authentic" Aristotle, however, there was a strong current of Neoplatonic thought in medieval Aristotelianism, in Arabic commentaries and then in the Latin west, where it was chiefly due to the influence of Augustine, Pseudo-Dionysius and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Book of Causes*. This is well illustrated in the unfinished *Summa Theologiae* (c. 1270-1275) of Albert the Great:

There are two manners of revelation. One manner is through the light connatural with us, and this is the manner of revelation to the philosophers. This light indeed cannot be except from the first light, of God, as Augustine says in the book, *The Teacher*, and this is very well demonstrated in the *Book of Causes*. The other light is for the perception of entities above the world. . . . The first light shines forth in things known through themselves, but the second in the articles of faith.

With the Aristotelian tools of induction and deduction, and the demonstrative syllogism, logic deposed grammar as the chief area of study, especially in the new university institutions. The University of Paris (founded in 1200) became the intellectual powerhouse of western Europe, despite the continuing opposition to such a powerful philosophical system of pagan origin. The provincial synod of Sens, in 1210, forbade all lecturing on the writings of Aristotle on natural philosophy and their commentaries. The University of Toulouse, founded in 1229, boasted that its masters were free to use Aristotle—until a papal ban was extended there, in 1245. Although Pope Innocent IV reiterated the general prohibition, within ten years all the current works of Aristotle were prescribed for the arts faculty at Paris. Some, indeed, considered "the philosopher," Aristotle, "a kind of precursor of Christ, an intellectual Baptist" (Knowles 1978, 229).

The blending of Aristotle's philosophical system with Christian belief was particularly successful in the encyclopedic writings of the Dominican theologians Albert the Great (Albertus Magnus, Doctor Universalis; c. 1200-1280) and Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274). Despite their valiant efforts to distinguish between rational enquiry and revelation—accompanied by a conviction that "almost the whole of

philosophy is directed toward the knowledge of God" (*Summa contra gentiles*, 1.4)—there was widespread disquiet in the ranks of Augustinian and Franciscan thinkers. Among the latter, Bonaventure (c. 1217-1274) attacked Aristotle's failure to grasp exemplarism as the cause of all his errors. In his Lenten sermons in Paris (late 1260s-early 1270s), Bonaventure highlighted three major obstacles for Christians: the belief in the "unicity" of the human intellect, which precluded the immortality of the individual; the eternity of the world, which denied God's creation and divine providence; and the independent study of philosophy, deemed to provide definitive wisdom and happiness rather than acting as the handmaiden of theology. This intellectual "divorce" was practiced, with dire consequences, by Siger of Brabant (who died c. 1283). Siger criticized Albert and Aquinas for distorting the Greek philosopher's thought. In his *De anima* (1269-1270), he gave currency to Averroes's theory that intellect is external to the individual. This provoked a sharp reaction from Aquinas, who denied that the possible intellect was a separate substance and reaffirmed the importance of free will (*On the Unity of the Intellect*, 1270). The year 1270 also saw the condemnation of thirteen philosophical errors and the excommunication of those who taught them: they included the doctrine of the eternity of the world and the "unicity" of intellectual souls. In 1277, after the inquisitor of France had summoned Siger and two others to appear before him, Archbishop Etsenne Tempier formed a commission of sixteen theologians that hurriedly condemned a hodgepodge of no fewer than 219 propositions (forty-four came from Siger, sixteen from Boethius of Dacia). Eventually, however, in his *Questions on the Book of Causes* (1275-1276), Siger recognized that the doctrine of the unique intellect was heretical (and, possibly, irrational). In *Paradiso* (10.133-138) Dante, strikingly, placed him among the wise. That other radical Aristotelian, Boethius of Dacia, boldly stated the dilemma with regard to the Christian belief in the resurrection of the body when he asserted: "Who does not believe this is a heretic; on the other hand, who seeks to know it by reason is a fool." Boethius also expounded the Aristotelian doctrine that the intellectual life is the highest good for man—one of the propositions condemned in 1277 ("that there is no more excellent state than to devote oneself to philosophy").

The discovery of Aristotle's *Politics* had far-reaching consequences for political thought. Here, Aquinas's most radical move was to deny Augustine's view of the state as a remedy for sin based on force. Instead, Aquinas propounded the Aristotelian view that human nature requires an organized state. Yet after 1277, the golden age of Christian syncretism for which Albert and Thomas had worked so valiantly was over. Symptomatic of the reaction by conservative churchmen is the following statement made by the Augustinian theologian Ugolino of Orvieto in the fourteenth century: "For the most part ethics is a false doctrine. . . . Aristotle did not know virtue but only the semblance of the virtues, nor did he give proper rules." Plato was soon to be in the ascendant once again. From 1367 to 1370, Petrarch wrote his famous Latin treatise *On His Own Ignorance and That of Many Others*, in which he attacked the pretensions of Aristotelian science and its inability to encompass the transcendent while he agreed with Augustine that Plato would undoubtedly have been a Christian if he had lived after Christ: "Aristotle explains what virtue is . . . but reading his works does not offer . . . those words that set on fire the heart and make it love virtue and detest vice. Whoever seeks them out will find them ... in Cicero and Seneca, above all." The way was open to Renaissance humanism and its philosophical syncretism, so memorably illustrated in Raphael's *School of Athens* (c. 1510), where we find Aristotle and Plato once again at center stage: Aristotle with a hand outstretched to cover the physical world, Plato with a finger pointing toward the transcendental world of ideas.

See also Albertus Magnus; Averroes and Averroism; Avicenna; Boethius; Bonaventure, Saint; Dante Alighieri; Petrarca, Francesco; Scholasticism; Thomas Aquinas, Saint

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Arithmetic

See Liberal Arts

Arnold of Brescia

The blurriness of the line separating radical reformers from heretics is dramatically evident in the career of the cleric and ecclesiastical critic Arnold of Brescia (c. 1100-1155). The backdrop for this drama was Patarine error, Hildebrandine reform, Italian communalism, and the struggle between pope and emperor. However, at many points the record is silent, sketchy, or contradictory. Of Arnold's origins and youth we know nothing, and the idea that he studied with Peter Abelard in

Paris c. 1115-1119 is speculation based on Arnold's later defense of Abelard. Whether or not Arnold was ordained, he became a canon of the Augustinian friary in Brescia c. 1120 and served as prior. His moral life remained free from criticism, even by his enemies. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, who heartily opposed both Arnold and Abelard, nevertheless described Arnold as "a man who comes neither eating nor drinking . . . whose life is as sweet as honey." John of Salisbury, who served in the papal court, said that Arnold was "a priest by office, a canon regular by profession, and one who had mortified his flesh with fasting and coarse raiment: of keen intelligence, persevering in the study of the scriptures, eloquent of speech and a vehement preacher against the vanities of the world."

In the mid-1130s, Prior Arnold became involved in a movement against Bishop Manfred of Brescia, whose efforts at reform had angered the local clergy and had, among the populace, added to the impetus for communalism. Arnold probably admired the bishop's efforts to end simony and clerical marriage, but he stood against the clerical hierarchy and sympathized with the people's defense of their political "liberties." Whatever his actual activity may have been, he was condemned as schismatic by the Second Lateran Council, was exiled from Brescia, and apparently wandered as an itinerant preacher in Lombardy in 1139-1140. In the spring of 1140, he traveled to Sens, where he accompanied Abelard in the latter's defense against the accusations of Bernard of Clairvaux. Abelard's failure to sway the council resulted in the condemnation and burning of books containing his errors and those of Arnold, a sentence confirmed by the pope. No works by Arnold survive, nor do contemporary references to any of his works, so it is unclear which books were meant in this sentence; it is also unclear whether Arnold's ideas were spreading through written sources as well as by his preaching.

Arnold immediately set himself up in Abelard's old school on Mont-Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, where he railed against Bernard and against the church's unholy wealth and temporal power. Reflecting Patarine ideas, and anticipating those of later groups, he fervently believed that preaching the gospel could not be accompanied by the accumulation and use of wealth and political authority, and that the church must divest itself of these things in order to adhere to the gospels. The clergy

had rights to no funds other than ecclesiastical tithes, first fruits, and freewill offerings and should have no hierarchical organization. The laity should be free to organize their communal life as they saw fit. These concepts were not heretical, but neither were they ideas with which any authorities of the period were comfortable. Bernard persuaded Louis VII to exile Arnold from French territory, and Arnold went to Zurich, where he continued to preach church reform and to be hounded by Bernard's missives. Moving to Passau in 1142 or 1143, he befriended the local bishop and papal legate, Guido. Arnold was subsequently reconciled with Pope Eugenius III at Viterbo in 1145 or 1146.

A penance imposed by the papacy, and possibly Guido's patronage, took Arnold to Rome shortly thereafter. Here he gathered a following because of his public sermons and disputations and his reputation for piety and asceticism. He continued to attack the vices and wealth of the clergy and the nature of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, gradually developing from a critic to a radical demagogue. His support came initially from the lower clergy and devout women and later, more broadly, from the lower classes in Rome, where antipapal communalism had been active since 1143. This pressure forced Pope Eugenius to flee in 1147, and from Brescia the pope issued an ineffective bull branding Arnold as a schismatic (though not a heretic) and forbidding the clergy to have contact with him.

The Roman aristocracy, dueling with the pope for political control of Rome, found the newly demagogic Arnold a useful ally who could deliver and control the support of the lower classes. The Roman senate and Arnold exchanged oaths of loyalty, in regard of which the senators refused to hand Arnold over to the pope, who had returned and made his peace with the new Roman republic in 1149. With this settlement between Eugenius and the republic, Arnold's influence began to wane, although in mid-1152 he nonetheless attempted a coup, supported only by the lower classes. According to Eugenius's agreement with the republic, his followers were to be made senators, and a new emperor would be elected in Rome but would remain only a symbolic figure in the self-governing commune. Despite its failure, this move led the pope to arrange the Treaty of Constance (1153) for mutual support with the newly elected but uncrowned Frederick I Barbarossa.

When Nicholas Breakspeare became Pope Hadrian IV in 1155, he demanded Arnold's expulsion and the dismantling of the republic and put the city under interdict during Holy Week to enforce his will. Both the mob and the senate quickly abandoned their republic and Arnold for the eucharist, and Arnold fled north toward Tuscany. At Brice he was captured by Cardinal Odo, but he was soon rescued by the counts of Campagna. When Frederick, advancing on Rome for his coronation, captured one of the counts, Arnold was exchanged for the hostage. In Rome, there was armed resistance to the return of the pope and to the imperial coronation (18 June 1155); and the subsequent flight of emperor and pope from Rome convinced Frederick that he should put Arnold before a canonical tribunal. The tribunal condemned Arnold, and the Roman prefect, or chief criminal magistrate, carried out the civil sentence of hanging and burning. Arnold's ashes were dumped into the Tiber.

Arnold's legacy is twofold, lending subsequent support to Roman republican communalism and to radical ecclesiastical reform: the poor and pure church. One strand leads to Brancione and Cola di Rienzo and the other to the Waldensians and Spiritual Franciscans. His most immediate effect may have been the establishment of the Arnoldist sect, whose members shared many of Arnold's ideas but in addition heretically denied the efficacy of the sacraments.

See also Eugenius III, Pope; Frederick I Barbarossa; Hadrian IV, Pope; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Investiture Controversy; Pataria; Rome

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Arnolfo Di Cambio

Arnolfo (c. 1245 or 1250-1302 or 1305) was one of the more prolific and innovative Italian sculptors and architects of the late thirteenth century. He was born near Florence, in the town of Colle Val d'Elsa, and was trained in the workshop of Nicola Pisano together with his contemporaries Giovanni Pisano and Tino da Camaino. Arnolfo, Giovanni, and Tino developed into strikingly different masters. While Giovanni's art became increasingly "expressionistic" and leaned more toward French Gothic, Arnolfo's and Tino's sculpture continued Nicola Pisano's more classical, reserved manner. During his later years, Arnolfo also distinguished himself as an architect in Florence.

Arnolfo is first documented in 1265 as one of Nicola Pisano's assistants on the Area of San Domenico in Bologna (1264-1267); he then worked on the pulpit for Siena Cathedral (1265-1268); and the Fontana Maggiore in Perugia (1277-1281). It is clear that by the time of the commission in Perugia, Arnolfo was already in the service of King Charles of Anjou. This is confirmed in a letter that Charles sent to the Perugian authorities in 1277, releasing the mason "Magister Arnulfus de Florentia" to work on a fountain. For Charles himself, who was resident in Rome as the senator of that city, Arnolfo served as a court mason, becoming conversant with ancient Roman art and architecture and the

decorative manner of the contemporary Cosmati workshops. Arnolfo's appointment at the court put him into position to receive royal commissions, such as a seated portrait of Charles dated before 1278 (now in the Museo Capitolino in Rome); it also led to important commissions from high-ranking curial patrons, including two altar canopies in Roman basilicas and a small though highly influential series of sepulchral monuments in Rome and Orvieto. Inscriptions of 1285 and 1293 establish that "Arnolfus" was responsible for the altar canopies in two Roman churches: San Paolo fuori le Mura and Santa Cecilia. These canopies, both of marble with rich Cosmati-style ornamentation, seem to have been part of larger redecorating projects at the two churches, projects in which the fresco painter Pietro Cavallini was also involved. For these commissions, or at least for the canopy in San Paolo, Arnolfo may have collaborated with Piero Oderisi.

Arnolfo's best-documented sepulchral works include tombs erected for Cardinal Guillaume de Bray (San Domenico, Orvieto, after 1282); Pope Honorius IV (Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, after 1287); Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi (San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, after 1289); and Pope Boniface VIII (old Saint Peter's, Rome, after 1303). Boniface's tomb, now destroyed, was part of an entire chapel; a recorded inscription on it mentioned "Arnolfus Architectus," indicating that Arnolfo had been responsible for both the architecture of the chapel and its sculpture. Finally, a statue of a deacon with a part of a curtain (now in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool) is believed to be a fragment from a fifth sepulchral monument. Of these tombs, de Bray's was perhaps the most influential, and today—despite a problematic reconstruction—it is the best preserved. This monument is a large wall construction with an elaborate base; an effigy and accompanying acolytes who draw back curtains in the middle register; and a kneeling resurrected de Bray, patron saints, a dedicatory inscription, and a Madonna and Child at the summit. Every surface that is not a figure is embellished with mosaic inlay in the Cosmati style.

The multiple figures in de Bray's tomb and the other tombs were also a feature of Arnolfo's unfinished (and now dismantled) facade for the cathedral of Florence (c. 1300); its original appearance is known from a sixteenth-century drawing in the Opera del Duomo in Florence. Many parts of this facade, both statuettes and relief carvings, are also

preserved in the Opera del Duomo. Arnolfo certainly received the commission for the facade in conjunction with his control of the architecture of the cathedral itself. He is widely believed to have been the architect of the cathedral, for which he was appointed *capomaestro* (foreman) in 1300.

Architectural historians also attribute to Arnolfo the designs of other building projects in Florence that were begun during a boom in the last decade of the thirteenth century. These buildings include the Benedictine church of the Badia, the Franciscan church of Santa Croce, and the civic Palazzo della Signoria. They are clearly indebted to his knowledge of late Roman and early Christian buildings and are characterized by bold powerful massing, large unencumbered spatial volumes, and—unlike the facade of the cathedral—a minimum of ornamentation. Today, only the Badia, which was substantially remodeled by Giorgio Vasari in the sixteenth century, gives little evidence of its original appearance. The Palazzo della Signoria strongly influenced the design of other civic *palazzi* in Tuscany as well as the development of private *palazzo* architecture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Arnolfo died sometime in the first decade of the fourteenth century.

See also Florence; Pisano, Giovanni; Pisano, Nicola; Rome; Tino da Camaino

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Arnulf of Carinthia

Arnulf (c. 850-899), grandson of Louis the German and son of King Carloman of Bavaria—was the last member of the Carolingian family to hold the office of Holy Roman emperor. Arnulf began his career as margrave of Carinthia in the service of his father. In 887, he led a revolt against his uncle, the ineffective emperor Charles III the Fat, and was elected ruler of the East Frankish kingdom. As king, he demonstrated considerable political talent in defending his realm against external enemies, resisting the efforts of powerful nobles to weaken the royal power, and winning the support of the clergy. After the death of Charles the Fat in 888, Arnulf recognized the non-Carolingians elected as kings of West Francia, Provence, Burgundy, and Italy. In return for his support in legitimatizing these rulers, and partly because of their respect for his Carolingian lineage, he was able to exercise a vague lordship over them. As a consequence of his preeminence among contemporary rulers, Arnulf emerged as a leading candidate to become emperor. In 894 and 895, he responded to the appeals of Pope Formosus for protection against Emperor Guy of Spoleto. Arnulf's capture of Rome in 895 led to his coronation as emperor in early 896. But he was paralyzed by a stroke soon thereafter and so was unable to exploit the imperial office to prevent the final dissolution of the Carolingian empire.

See also **Frankish Kingdom**

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Arrigo Da Settimello

Arrigo (Henry) of Settimello is Italy's leading Latin poet of what is called the twelfth-century Renaissance. Almost all we know about him is inferred from the only poem transmitted under his name, the 1,004-line *Elegia* ("Elegy," dated 1193 on the basis of internal evidence). Its speaker, conventionally and probably correctly assumed to represent the poet, is named Henry (Henricus; in Italian, Arrigo or Enrico). We are told that he is poor, of rural origin, and a priest; further, that he studied at Bologna, was once prosperous but has suffered a reversal of fortune and with it public disgrace, and is in the service of the bishop of Florence, to whom he issues a concluding appeal for relief. Local tradition, surviving paratextually in manuscripts of the poem as well as in a life by Filippo Villani, adds that Henry came from Settimello (near Prato), that the reversal in question was his loss of the nearby benefice of Calenzano, and that he served as *cancellarius* to bishops of Florence and of Volterra. Some of this information may be true.

Elegia is so called from its meter—elegiac distichs—and perhaps also because this verse form was thought particularly appropriate to sorrowful occasions. It is a lament in four books of 250 lines each, followed by a four-line conclusion. It consists largely of a diatribe against fortune (in Books 1 and 2) followed by a consolation from philosophy (in Books 3 and 4; the latter is chiefly precepts). This Boethian theme is expressed in a modern style of quasi-antique Latin verse made famous by such French contemporaries as Matthew of

Vendome and Alan of Lille. Henry's reminiscences of ancient and medieval *auctores* testify to his reading, and the presence of Ovid is especially notable: much of the dialogue is written in Ovid's elegiac manner. The combination of moral and stylistic excellence in *Elegia* made it popular for the next several centuries. It was read in schools, and "poor" or "humble" Henry (in Latin, *Henricus pauper*, in Italian, *Arrighetto*) was also excerpted in florilegia and is quoted or referred to, either in Latin or in one of two fourteenth-century Italian translations, by a wide range of later medieval Italian authors.

See also **Boethius; Latin Literature**

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Arrigo Testa

Most scholars consider the poet Arrigo Testa to be the same person as a powerful nobleman of that name who between 1228 and 1247, as a close ally of the emperor, was *podestà* (podesta) in several cities—among them Jesi, Siena, Ravenna, Lucca, and finally Parma, where, according to the chronicler Salimbene, he lived almost like a king. The podesta Arrigo died in a skirmish on the Taro River near Parma in 1247. If this identification is correct, the poet Arrigo Testa was a native of Arezzo, but the attributions that accompany his only surviving poem leave room for doubt. The Vatican Codex (Lat. 3793) attributes the poem to Notaio Arigo Testa da Lentino; Lentino is in Sicily, and there is documentary evidence for the existence of a Testa family there. This Arrigo Testa's canzone, *Vostr' orgogliosa ciera*, is noted for its skillful changes in tone.

See also **Italian Poetry: Lyric; Scuola Poetica Sictliana**

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Ars Dictaminis

Ars dictaminis is the medieval art of letter-writing. Between the late eleventh century and the mid-fifteenth century it involved a highly formalized code of rules for the composition of prose letters in Latin. *Dictamen* manuals did recognize that letters could also be composed in verse or in *prosimetron*, a mixture of prose and poetry; however, these manuals were themselves concerned solely with prose communication. While eloquent expression was emphasized, the primary goal of the instruction was practical: a letter was meant to persuade the recipient to grant whatever the writer was seeking. In classical antiquity, a letter had been considered a form of conversation and was not subject to rules; thus *ars dictaminis* was an original creation of medieval culture.

This art arose out of a need for increased communication in a society that was experiencing rapid economic and political development but had a low standard of literacy in Latin. The manuals, which set forth detailed rules and provided a wide range of sample letters, made letter-writing accessible even to people who had only a modest grasp of Latin. From its origins in Italy in the late eleventh century, *ars dictaminis* spread rapidly to northern Europe during the twelfth century. The styles varied from simple to elaborate, but the basic formulas and rules of organization remained remarkably similar throughout western Europe, thereby affording a standardized mode of international communication.

Medieval letters were a product of a highly oral culture, designed to be read aloud either by or to their recipients; thus they took on an oratorical character unknown in either ancient or modern letters. This helps to explain why the writers of manuals felt justified in utilizing, even as fragments, the rules governing oratory found in ancient textbooks such as Cicero's *De inventione* and the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Ad Herennium*. Like an oration, a letter was strictly divided into distinct sections. By 1150, the five divisions of the letter—(1) *salutatio*, (2)

exordium, (3) *narratio*, (4) *petitio*, and (5) *conclusio*—had become almost invariant. Frequently, the manuals supplied a choice of words or phrases appropriate for introducing parts 2 through 5. A large portion of every manual was usually devoted to discussing the formulas in the *salutatio* and *exordium*, which were cast to please and convince the reader. In contrast, very little space was given to the *narratio*, because this was potentially the part of the letter least amenable to structure. The intent of the manuals was to constrict the writer's freedom of invention, and so—citing Horace's dictum on brevity (*Ars poetica*, 25-26)—they emphasized that the *narratio* should be reduced to the briefest possible statement of facts. Like a speech, a letter was expected to be efficient, and no allowance was made for digressions that did not serve its central objective. From the late twelfth century on, the formal character of the letter was enhanced by the introduction of a series of prose meters to be used at the end (and in some cases the beginning) of clauses and sentences.

Letters conceived along such impersonal lines suited official purposes very well. Indeed, *ars dictaminis* provided an international language of diplomatic protocol in which formulas or structure signaled the favor or disfavor of those in power—or a subtle range of differences between favor and disfavor. At the same time, the manuals were tyrannical, imposing stylistic prescriptions and discouraging the qualities that give a personal letter its character: spontaneity and direct expression of thoughts and feelings. Furthermore, the demand for brevity (*brevitas*) gave the letter writer little opportunity for the kind of philosophical rumination and anecdotal meandering found in the personal letters of other eras. In Italy, the generation of Peter Damian (d. 1073) and Gregory VII (d. 1085) was the last until the advent of humanism in the fourteenth century to give correspondence a personal tone. The death of Peter of Blois in 1205 marked an eclipse, north of the Alps, of the ancient concept of a letter as conversation.

Alberic who is generally recognized as the author or the first manual of *ars dictaminis* (c. 1075), was a monk of Monte Cassino in the south, but almost immediately the lead in the development of the art shifted to northern and central Italy. For a brief time in the last third of the twelfth century, France rivaled Italy in creativity; but Italy regained predominance in the early thirteenth century, primarily because of the

work of three great masters in Bologna—Boncompagno da Signa, Bene of Florence, and Guido Faba—and thereafter never lost it. Copies or imitations of the writings of the three Bolognese masters are found today in libraries throughout western and eastern Europe.

Ars dictaminis appears to have had little effect on vernacular letters, which made their appearance early in the thirteenth century. Brunetto Latini's *Rettorica*, an uncompleted commentary on Cicero's *De inventione* written in Tuscan in the 1260s, represents the first attempt to provide rules for composing letters as well as speeches in the vernacular. Brunetto is also the probable author of *Sommetta ad amaestramento di componere volgarmente letterc*, this was the first manual expressly intended to teach letter-writing in the vernacular and was to remain the only one of its kind until the last half of the fifteenth century. From the fourteenth century on there were vernacular translations of Latin manuals, but these were not numerous. A survey of actual vernacular letters indicates that as late as the mid-fifteenth century they remained relatively idiosyncratic and were not subject to restrictive formulas. After that time, manuals and actual letters reflect the influence of Latin humanism rather than *ars dictaminis*.

In Italy, unlike France, the letter played almost no role in literary prose and poetry. The letter form is prominent in the *salutz* of mid-twelfth-century Provence and later in the French *salut d'amour*, the *dit*, and prose and poetic *romans*; but in Italy, with the exception of the *Filostrato* of Boccaccio (1313-1375), this form does not appear in the rich production of literary works in Provencal and native Italian dialects. The strong practical associations of the letter form in Italy perhaps hindered its use for other purposes.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the great age of *dictamen* was already past. The production of new Latin manuals continued undiminished for almost another century, but creativity had disappeared, and perhaps the major point of contention among the writers was the names and appearance of the signs of punctuation. During this period a new literary movement, humanism, was on the rise. The humanists were concerned, in part, with reasserting the classical concept of the letter as conversation, and so they represented a challenge to the dominance of *an dictaminis*. The first letters that survive in the new classicizing style are those of Geri d'Arezzo written

in the 1320s. Geri, clearly influenced by Seneca, implicitly adhered to the idea of the letter as conversation, although this idea was not made explicit until thirty years later, in Petrarch's introductory letter to *Rerum familiarium*.

If by 1400, *ars dictaminis* had ceded its control over the personal or private letter to humanism, it proved more resilient in the domain of the public or official letter. After 1400, even in Italian chanceries where humanists were in charge, it was difficult to make sweeping changes in long-standing traditions. As a result, during the course of the fifteenth century *ars dictaminis* came to be joined with humanism, creating the formulas and structure of a new official style characteristic of the early modern era.

See also Alberic of Monte Cassino; Brunetto Latini; Buon-compagno da Signa; Cicero; Guido Faba

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Ars Notaria

See Notaries

Ars Nova

Ars nova is the written tradition of polyphonic art music of fourteenth-century and early fifteenth-century Italy. The term was first used c. 1300 by Parisian music theorists to describe a notable advance in rhythmic notation. Although contemporary Italians did not use this term, modern musicologists have found it apt to describe distinctively new musical developments that began at about the same time in Italy. The Italian *an nova* maintained its indigenous genres and notation quite independent of French developments through the last quarter of the fourteenth century, but by the second quarter of the fifteenth century it had merged with the French style.

Music of the Italian *ars nova* was an elite art cultivated in only a few geographical regions, mostly at the courts of the Scaligeri (in Verona and Padua) and the Visconti (in Milan) and in elite circles in Florence. The extant repertoire comprises more than 600 works—madrigals, *ballate*, and *cacce*—composed between c. 1335 and 1420. There are also some thirty Latin motets and motet fragments (one dating from 1305); over 150 sacred works and *laude* that set sacred text to known *ballate*; some instrumental dance pieces; and a handful of instrumental arrangements of songs, presumably for keyboard.

The Italian *ars nova* has its roots in the troubadour art cultivated in northern Italy. Italians prized the lyrics and music of the troubadours more than their own vernacular works. Troubadours writing in Old Occitan were prominent in northern Italy beginning in the late twelfth century, and their songs were performed at northern Italian courts—Montferrat, Genoa, Ferrara, and Treviso—throughout the thirteenth century. Indeed, we owe more than half of the extant sources of troubadour lyric poetry to the antiquarian collecting efforts of the northern Italians from the mid-thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth. Of forty-one major extant manuscripts, twenty-seven are of Italian provenance. In addition, almost all of some twenty sources of *vidas* and *razos* of the troubadours, the biographical notices of the troubadours and commentaries on individual poems, were written in Italy, as was one of only two extant troubadour *chansonniers* with melodies (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S. P. 4, *olim* R 71 sup.).

In the early fourteenth century, Dante, who may have heard troubadour music in Verona at the court of Cangrande della Scala (whose sons Alberto and Mastino would be patrons of *ars nova*

composers), expressed his esteem for Occitan poetry; and the Florentine Francesco da Barberino cites twenty-five troubadours in his *Documenti d'amore* (c. 1315). The works still resounded for Petrarch, who names fifteen troubadours in his *Triumphus cupidinis* (*Triumph of Love*).

In the mid-thirteenth century, the period of the Sicilian school, and continuing in the *dolce stil novo* of the late thirteenth century, Italian poets composed vernacular lyrics not intended for musical settings, at first imitating the Occitan lyrics. (The break between poetry and music thus came in Italy more than a century before the break was acknowledged in France.) Dante stipulated in his *De vulgari eloquentia* (c. 1305; see II.3-4 and 8) that music was suitable more for the "mediocre" style of the *ballata*, while the more elevated *canzone* enjoyed its own natural musicality through the pleasing harmony of formal stanzaic structures, rhyme scheme, and syllable count. Although a few of Dante's *canzoni* and *ballate* were set to a simple monophonic music by friends (Dante names in *Purgatorio* 2 one Casella, none of whose music survives), his authority confirmed a clear split in *ars nova* between higher poetic forms not set to music (*canzoni* and some *ballate*) and lesser poetic genres suitable for musical settings (*ballate*, madrigals, and *cacce*). Almost all the early madrigals and all the *cacce* were *poesie per musica*: poems written solely to be set to music and not considered literary works. Indeed these forms earned the contempt of literary theorists such as Francesco da Barberino and Antonio da Tempo.

The poetic genres set to music in *ars nova* are systematically defined in the anonymous *Capitulum de vocibus applicatis verbis* (Veneto, c. 1315-1320), a brief treatise that complements one manuscript of Antonio da Tempo's more thorough treatment, *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis* (1332). *Capitulum* covers all the secular genres of *ars nova*: *ballade*, *rotundelli*, *motteti*, *cacie* or *incalci*, *madrigalia*, and *soni* or *sonetti*. The *ballata*, motet, *caccia*, and madrigal are the principal genres; Italian *rondeaux* (*rotundelli*) are extremely rare (there is only one known example); and *soni* is a term contemporaries applied to *ballate* not intended for dancing.

Of these forms, the *ballata* was the most popular. We have texts of some *ballate* or *danze* copied into late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century notarial acts from Bologna, always without music, doubtless

because courtiers were expected to improvise suitable music for dancing. Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1348-1353), which includes eleven complete *ballata* texts, affirms the popularity of *ballata* performances among upper-class Florentines. *Ballate* could be sung by a soloist as others listened, danced, or joined in at the *ripresa*; *ballate* were also performed as pure instrumental music. (Such practices are illustrated by the nine figures in a round dance with a singing tambourine player in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco *The Effects of Good Government*, c. 1338–1340, in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena.)

None of these *ballate*, however, is part of the written *ars nova* repertoire. Nino Pirrotta emphasized the exceptional nature of written music in the Middle Ages, music reserved for special occasions by a very limited elite, and we must remind ourselves that the sophisticated *ars nova* polyphony which we prize today was not much known at the time. Instead, one was far more likely to encounter simple *ballate*, the dance songs performed throughout fourteenth century; or—even more likely—one might encounter lay societies throughout Italy singing *laude*, spiritual counterparts to the *ballata*, perhaps as sacred *contrafacta* of lost secular *ballate*.

The few examples of written monophonic *ballate* we have are doubtless far more sophisticated than the everyday fare, and no longer suitable for dancing: five in the early Rossi Codex and a few more among the earlier composers in the Squarcialupi Codex. After c. 1360, however, the *ballata* was transformed into a polyphonic genre, composed first in two voices and later in three. It soon surpassed the madrigal as the most popular genre, and in the end a full two-thirds of the *ars nova* repertoire, more than 400 works, are polyphonic *ballate*. Francesco Landini alone wrote 141. As a further indication of their popularity, many of Landini's *ballate* were adapted as sacred *laude*.

Though not found in Dante's writing, the madrigal was established in his lifetime. The first mention appears in Francesco da Barberino's Latin gloss to his *Documenti d'amore* (c. 1315; Vol. 1, 260, in Egidi's edition), and it is likely that a gloss later in the work also refers to early cultivation of the madrigal: "In my opinion, the old songs, exhibiting the *dolce stil novo* [*habentibus dulces novas*] and few notes, have more to delight the spirits of discriminating listeners" (Vol. 3, p. 20). Francesco may thus characterize an important trait of the new style, the

exuberant melismas prominent in the madrigal. The description of the madrigal in *Capitulum de vocibus applicatis verbis* mirrors the actual compositions found in the manuscripts, calling for strophes of seven or eleven syllables, a tenor in long notes and one or two other voices in short notes, in perfect time and in *aere italico* (*duodenaria* division), mixing in passages in *aere gallico* (*novenaria* division), especially at the *ritornello* (refrain). The earliest extant madrigals, twenty-nine works for two voices, appear in the Rossi Codex of around 1350, though perhaps some of this anonymous repertoire can be pushed back to about 1335. The simple harmonies supporting exuberant *fioretture* of the earliest written madrigals suggest earlier cultivation in an oral tradition. In fact, striking variants among works in concordant manuscripts may document a continuing wide latitude for improvisation; the variants go well beyond what one sees in contemporary French works.

A "classic" *ars nova* madrigal style is seen in works of the first generation of northern composers. The texts are pastoral, as called for in *Capitulum de vocibus applicatis verbis*, often embedding *senhals* (code names), emblems, and symbols. After c. 1360, the popularity of the madrigal waned, although madrigals continued to be written up to c. 1415, and many of the few extant examples are autobiographical, moralizing, or occasional. Two-voice polyphony was always favored for the madrigal: about 90 percent of the some 200 extant *ars nova* madrigals are for two voices.

No *cacce* survive of the type defined in *Capitulum de vocibus applicatis verbis*, involving five singers and a technique of voice exchange. Those we have (there are only about twenty-five *cacce* in the entire *ars nova* repertoire) use two voices in canonic imitation over an accompanying voice without text. The texts, descriptive of hunting or other highly evocative outdoor scenes (fishing, sailing, market scenes, etc.), are either in madrigal form (most with *ritomelli*) or in unrhymed irregular heterometric lines in long stanzas.

Scholars have only recently isolated characteristics of an indigenous Italian *ars nova* motet genre. About thirty works are known, many surviving only as fragments; a few are for sacred functions, but most celebrate doges, bishops, and powerful lords. Cultivation of the motet may have depended on local custom; as noted above, the madrigal takes on the occasional function of the motet in late fourteenth-century

Florence.

It is often stated that Italian *ars nova* music came from nowhere, since it lacked the polyphonic tradition long established in France; and that it disappeared without a trace, forced aside by French art. The actual situation is more nuanced. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, neither France nor Italy cultivated polyphonic settings of vernacular lyrics. French polyphony, primarily in the form of the Latin and French motet, was the art of highly specialized clerics centered in Paris, a milieu for the most part completely separate from the southern troubadours and northern *trouvères*, with their vernacular lyric poetry and monophonic music. Just as the application of polyphony to French lyrics in the fourteenth century was a new development, accomplished at the hands of poet-clerics such as Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300-1377), so too lyrics were first set to polyphony in fourteenth-century Italy at the hands of university trained clerics, composers who were for the most part priests, members of religious orders, or church organists.

Simple two-voice polyphonic elaboration of plainchant had been described in Italy as early as Guido of Arezzo (c. 995-c. 1050), and a few unmeasured written examples of this mainly improvised practice survive from the thirteenth century onward (*cantus planus binatim*). The learned polyphony of France, the motet, derived from Parisian liturgical polyphony of the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth, does not seem to have been known in Italy until the late thirteenth century. Italians soon became conversant with the leading theory of French mensural notation, that of Franco of Cologne (c. 1280), judging from the many surviving abbreviations of Franco's theory copied in Italy, beginning with the formula *Gaudent brevitatem moderni*.

The French *ars nova* of the early fourteenth century, propounded by a circle of clerics in Paris, expands Franco's theory, providing a rational and flexible notational system for motets. The French mathematician Jean de Muris proclaimed that "what can be sung can also be notated," discussing intricacies of syncopation and the proportional combination of meters that would not be utilized even in the practical sources for many years. An indigenous Italian notational system developed from the same foundation in Franco, but apparently Italian notation was designed from the start to serve practicing musicians; it was a means of

notating and organizing the virtuosic and flowery vocal style lamented by Francesco da Barberino.

An early treatise attached to one of the Franconian *Gaudet brevitatem moderni* compendiums lays out the essentials of Italian *ars nova* notation at the earliest stage: (1) imperfect time, or duple meter, now coequal with perfect time, or triple meter ("perfect" time was cultivated first by the French because of its doctrinal authorization in the Trinity); and (2) division of the imperfect breve into faster notes, four or six semibreves. *Capitulum de vocibus applicatis verbis* labels the subdivision of the imperfect breve into six semibreves the "French air" (*aer gallicus*), and indeed this division is ubiquitous in motets and songs of the French *ars nova*; the subdivision of the imperfect breve into four semibreves is labeled the "Italian air" (*aer ytallicus*). Two other early treatises indicate the delimitation of semibreve groups by dots of division, similar in function to the modern bar line.

Marchettus of Padua stands as the primary figure in the systematic codification of the new developments in Italian notation. Jacopo da Bologna, in his madrigal *Oselletto saivaço*, mentions "Filipoti e Marcheti," acknowledging the two musical authorities, Philippe de Vitry on the French side and Marchettus on the Italian side. Marchettus's early motet, *Ave regina coelorum/Mater innocencie/Ite missa est*, probably composed while he was serving as cantor at the cathedral of Padua (1305-1307), gives little evidence of a new style. Marchettus must therefore have consolidated the new notational system between c. 1310 and 1320. His *Pomerium in arte musice mensurate*, written at Cesena c. 1317-1319, documents a fully formed system.

In Marchettus's theory, the perfect breve of Franco and the newly accepted imperfect breve are subject to three levels of division. The perfect breve can be divided into three semibreves (*ternaria*), and these three can in turn be divided into six minims (*senaria perfecta*), nine minims (*novenaria*), or twelve minims (*duodenaria*). The imperfect breve can be divided into two semibreves, and these two can be further divided into four minims (*quaternaria*), six minims (*senaria imperfecta*), or eight minims (*ottonaria*). Letters served as meter signatures: .d. for *duodenaria*, .o. for *ottonaria*, etc. Confirming the "airs" noted in *Capitulum*, Marchettus observed that Italians preferred the divisions featuring binary groupings—*senaria perfecta*, *ottonaria*,

and *duodena ria*—while the French preferred ternary groupings. The rhythmic profile of the *senaria imperfecta* was so distinct from the *senaria perfecta* that Marchettus advocated identifying them by nationality: G (*gallicus*), or Y (*ytallicus*). Meter signatures of .sg. (*senaria gallica*) and .sy. (*senaria ytallica*) are indeed encountered in the Rossi Codex, and such changes within a composition are common in the madrigal. Gallo has related the facile shifts between styles perceived as French and Italian to the bilingualism common among northern Italian poets.

As in the early French *ars nova* practice, the actual durations of individual semibreves within a group could vary, depending on the context. (Marchettus dubbed certain default durations—which were distinct from the French defaults—the *via naturae*, and departures from the norm the *via artis*.) In France, from about 1320 on, the systematic addition of stems to all short notes (minims) allowed strict prescription of all durations, and the dots delimiting measure were eliminated, facilitating the notation of hockets that helped articulate sections in highly structured motets. The revised French system easily allowed the notation of complex syncopations, something that was very restricted in the Italian system. The Italians retained the dots of division, allowing for a more exuberant melismatic *melos*. Italians also cultivated the possibility of changing meters and contrasting metrical patterns in ways very different from the French. In the end, the greater flexibility and international currency of the French system won the day, but the Italian system maintained itself as the ideal notation for indigenous genres and was strongly defended as late as 1412 by Prosdocimus de Beldemandis at Padua (*Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis ad modum ytallicorum*). The system is still used, with modifications, in the Florentine manuscript known as the Squarcialupi Codex (1410–1415).

The first generation of composers of extant songs—Piero, Giovanni da Cascia (Giovanni da Firenze), and Jacopo da Bologna—worked in the 1340s and 1350s at powerful northern Italian courts. References in their works link all three composers first to the court of Luchino Visconti (r. 1339-1349) in Milan, and later to the court of Mastino II della Scala (d. 1351) in Verona, where each man contributed to a cycle of eleven madrigals that hide the *senhal* "Anna." Jacopo's career is the most thoroughly documented from references in his works, and we can

follow him from service to Luchino Visconti, for whom he wrote two motets, to Mastino II and then Alberto della Scala in Verona, where he met Petrarch and set the madrigal *Non al suo amante*, the only work of Petrarch set by a fourteenth-century composer. After the death of Alberto in 1352, Jacopo returned to the Visconti and wrote a triple madrigal (*Aquil' altera/Creatura gentil/Ucel di Dio*) celebrating either the coronation of Emperor Charles IV in 1355 or the marriage of Gian Galeazzo Visconti and Isabella of Valois in 1360. (Gian Galeazzo was known as the conte di Virtù, a name deriving from the county of Vertus in Champagne that he acquired as part of the dowry; two anonymous *istampite* (instrumental dances)—*Virtù* and *Isabella*—may also refer to this marriage.) Most of the more than sixty known works of this earliest generation of composers are two-voice madrigals, though Piero was particularly important in consolidating the *caccia* style. Many of the works continued to be copied in later Tuscan sources, and Simone Prodenzani still referred to works of Giovanni and Jacopo in his *Saporetto* (c. 1415).

Cultivation of *Ars nova* polyphony in Florence was centered in convents and churches, especially San Lorenzo, Santa Trinità, Santa Felicità, and Santo Spirito. The first generation of Florentine composers of extant songs includes Gherardello da Firenze (d. 1362 or 1363), who was active at exactly the same time as the first generation of northerners; Vincenzo da Rimini (Vincenzo da Imola), Lorenzo da Firenze (Lorenzo Masini), and Donato da Cascia, who were slightly older, were active c. 1350–1370. About sixty works are known from this first group of four composers, mostly two-voice madrigals, with a strong representation of influential monophonic *ballate* by Gherardello and Lorenzo, and a handful of *cacce*. Lorenzo, who may have been Landini's teacher at San Lorenzo, set two works by Boccaccio: a *baliata* (*Non so qual i' mi voglia*) and a madrigal (*Come in sul fontefit preso Narciso*). Both Vincenzo and Lorenzo set the madrigal *Ita se n'era a star nel paradiso*, which alludes to Il Paradiso, the villa of the Alberti family at Florence. Gherardello and Lorenzo left a few movements for the mass which apply the madrigal style to sacred music.

The next stage is represented by Niccolò da Perugia and Francesco Landini (c. 1325–1397). Niccolò's work includes, for the first time, a preponderance of two-voice *ballate* (half of some forty works), some on

moralizing texts, many of which are *balla-tae minimae* of the type described by Gidino da Sommacampagna. One of Niccolò's madrigals, *O giustizia regina al mondo nacque*, is attributed to "Giovanni Bocchasi" (possibly Boccaccio) in a text source.

The extraordinary output of Landini— 154 works that make up a full quarter of the entire surviving *Trecento* repertoire— place him in a category of his own. All but fourteen of his works are polyphonic *ballate*, elevating the *ballata*, first two-voice and later three-voice, to a role analogous to that of the contemporary French fixed forms. This decisive shift in emphasis is seen in all the Florentine composers who followed Landini. It is possible that Landini was active in Venice for a time during the 1360s, when he may have written motets for the doges Marco Cornaro (1365-1368) and Andrea Contarini (1368-1382). Villani reports that Pierre de Lusignan, king of the French outpost at Cyprus, gave Landini the *corona laurea* (1362, 1365, or 1368), and the miniature of Landini at the head of his collection in the Squarcialupi Codex depicts him with his laurel wreath. But his professional ties to Florence are attested to as early as 1361. Landini figures prominently in Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's account of Florence set in 1389, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti* (c. 1420). Not only does he sing and play the organetto; he also enters into philosophical and political discussions. A surviving poetic invective against humanist attacks on William of Occam's logic confirms his scholastic training.

Although most of the texts set to music were probably written by the composers themselves, Gherardello, Lorenzo, Donato, Niccolò, and Landini set several texts by known poets, including Franco Sacchetti and Niccolò Soldanieri (some are cited in the *Novelle* of Giovanni Sercambi), and isolated texts by others (Cino Rinuccini, Antonio degli Alberti, Rigo Belondi, and Bindo d'Alesso Donati). Of these, the *ballate*, madrigals, *cacce*, and *canzonette* of Sacchetti are particularly significant because he arranged the texts in chronological order in his *Libra delle rime*, thus providing some valuable chronological anchors to specific ranges of years from 1354 to 1380. It is a revealing commentary on the state of survival of this music that of the thirty-four texts Sacchetti lists with a composer's name, only twelve are extant.

A younger Florentine generation includes Andrea da Firenze (Andrea de' Servi, died c. 1415), Paolo da Firenze (Paolo Tenorista, c. 1355-1436),

and Giovanni Mazzuoli (Jovannes Horganista de Florentia, c. 1360-1426). Andrea, Paolo, and Giovanni Mazzuoli were all closely associated with Landini, Giovanni perhaps as his pupil. Almost all their works are *ballate*; among Paolo's thirteen madrigals is the famous victory madrigal *Godi Firenze*, commemorating the conquest of Pisa by Florence in 1406.

Recent research, based on newly discovered fragmentary manuscripts, careful reexamination of the previously known manuscripts, and meticulous archival work, has begun the difficult task of teasing out the intricate connections that characterize musical culture in northern Italy in the turbulent years around 1400. One important center was at Padua, where Bartolino da Padova (fl. c. 1365-1405) and Johannes Ciconia (c. 1373-1412) were active. Four or five of Bartolino's songs can be associated with political events relating to the ruling Carrara family, and three works antagonistic to the Visconti may indicate a stay in Florence from 1388 to 1390, when that family occupied Padua.

Johannes Ciconia, from Liège, is the most distinguished of the many Netherlanders active in northern Italy in this period. He may have been a pupil of Filippotto de Caserta at Pavia, settling in at the cathedral of Padua from at least 1401 until his death in 1412. Ciconia's output, some of it widely transmitted, includes about twenty secular works (mostly Italian), about ten movements for the mass, and about ten Latin motets, many of them datable political works from the period between 1390 and 1409, honoring, for example, the conciliarist Francesco Zabarella (archpriest of Padua cathedral, law professor at the university, and probably Ciconia's patron) or Michele Steno (doge of Venice, 1400–1413). The work honoring Michele Steno, *Venecie mundi splendor/ Michael qui Stena domus*, acknowledges the Venetians' conquest of Padua. (Enough motets survive honoring Venetian doges—beginning with Francesco Dandolo in 1329—to suggest that such ceremonial motets were well known in Venice throughout the fourteenth century and early fifteenth century.)

The very different milieu at the court of Gian Galeazzo Visconti (r. 1378-1402) in Pavia provides a model of the complex interrelationships of French and Italian culture possible during this period. Gian Galeazzo's close political and dynastic relationship to the French court,

firmly established by his wedding to Isabella of Valois in 1360 and confirmed when his daughter Valentina married Louis of Orléans, brother of King Charles VI, in 1387, was a center for the diffusion through Italy of complex French music of the *ars subtilior*. His library contained a narrative by Guillaume de Machaut and a book of French motets. A manuscript copied at Pavia in 1391 (now at the Newberry Library in Chicago, MS 54.1) contains treatises on music theory attributed to Marchettus of Padua, Johannes de Muris, and Filippotto da Caserta, with an intricate *ars subtilior virelai* by the French composer Jacob de Senleches, *La harpe de mélodie*, copied in a unique musical notation that resembles a harp. A sample of some other works written specifically for Gian Galeazzo include Antonello da Caserta's madrigal *Del glorioso titolo d'esto duce*, perhaps composed for his coronation as duke of Milan in 1395; Bartolino da Padova's madrigal *Alba colomba*, perhaps composed for his entry into Padua in 1388; and Johannes Ciconia's canon *Una panthera in compagnia de Marte*, composed for a visit to Pavia of a Lucchese ambassador in 1399.

It now seems likely that before his service at Padua cathedral, Ciconia was at the Visconti court, possibly from 1390 to 1401. Ciconia's *virelai Sus une fontayne* pays homage to the older composer Filippotto da Caserta by quoting music and text from three of Filippotto's French ballades. Filippotto was an Italian composer who did not cultivate Italian *ars nova* genres at all, preferring the intricate genres with French texts favored at the Visconti court. After the death of Gian Galeazzo in 1402, the main composer at Milan, Matteo da Perugia, also cultivated French forms almost exclusively. His works include about two dozen French *ballades*, *virelais*, and *rondeaux*, and only two Italian *ballate*. From 1402 on, Matteo served Pietro Filargo (Peter Philarges), who was archbishop and, beginning in 1405, cardinal at the then unfinished cathedral of Milan. (Filargo had once taught theology at the Sorbonne but now taught at the University of Pavia, and he had been an adviser to Gian Galeazzo Visconti.) Matteo followed Filargo to Pisa, where the latter was elected Pope Alexander V in 1409; after Filargo's death in 1410, Matteo continued in the service of the antipope John XXIII, finally returning to the cathedral in Milan in 1414.

Antonio Zacara da Teramo (died c. 1413-1415), who lived in Rome from at least 1390 to 1407, served as papal singer and scribe under

popes Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII and was *maestro di cappella* in the chapel of the antipope John XXIII in 1412-1413. Some scholars wonder if Zacara joined the antipope Alexander V in 1409 at Bologna; but since some of his intricate songs in *ars subtilior* style were written for the Visconti, he may have served Giovanni Maria Visconti (r. 1402-1412) at Pavia between 1408 and 1412. Zacara has only recently been recognized as one of the most important and original composers of this period. His works, including about twenty secular pieces and about fifteen settings for the Gloria and Credo, had a very wide geographical distribution.

The French, Netherlandish, and English music known in such northern Italian courts and chapels probably arrived there initially through extensive commercial contacts with the Low Countries, and a significant southward migration began with the Great Schism in 1378. Formerly, clerics in the Low Countries had gone to Paris or Avignon to further their education or careers; now they went to countries that were obedient to Rome, taking their music with them. A typical expression of the facile mixing of Italian and French secular polyphony is seen in a literary source, *Il saporetto* (c. 1415) of Simone Prodenzani of Orvieto. Among a series of forty-eight sonnets devoted to "worldly pleasure" are several celebrating one Sollazzo, a fictional musically talented performer who sings or plays a number of named works on the harp, lute, organ, cembalo, and other instruments. Besides Italian *ars nova* pieces by late composers and known poets (including works of a Sicilian woman), Sollazzo performs a French repertoire of the sort heard at the courts of powerful northern lords and in the private chapels of cardinals and popes, as well as dance tunes from Spain and Germany. Keyboard arrangements of French and Italian songs, along with dance tunes and liturgical pieces—exactly the repertoire performed by Sollazzo—are preserved in the Faenza Codex, a manuscript possibly of Ferrarese provenance (Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 117).

Of the manuscripts containing music of the Italian *ars nova*, the Rossi Codex is the earliest, preserving music of the first generation of northern composers (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossi 215, with additional fragments at Ostiglia, Fondazione Opera Pia don Giuseppe Greggiati, fragment without signature), probably copied for the Scaligeri in Padua and Verona c. 1350. All thirty-seven extant

works in Rossi are transmitted anonymously, although concordances establish that five of them are by Piero or Giovanni da Cascia.

The proud tenacity with which Florentine elite circles held on to the fast-disappearing *ars nova* traditions is seen in the great Squarcialupi Codex. With 352 works, of which 150 are *unica*, it is the largest and most important source for the Italian *ars nova*. On the other hand, the idea of a homogeneous Italian *ars nova* repertoire that the Squarcialupi Codex seems to suggest is illusory. There are four other large Florentine sources: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichiano 26, a major source for Landini's works which is also strong on music of the first-generation northerners; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Fonds Italien 568, important for the later generation of Florentine composers, especially Paolo; London, British Library, MS Additional 29987, the unique source for many monophonic instrumental *istampite*;; and the recently discovered manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo, MS 2211, a palimpsest that once rivaled the Squarcialupi Codex in size, copied c. 1417-1420. (Because of erasure and overwriting in the sixteenth century, most of the works in San Lorenzo 2211, including a collection of Giovanni Mazzuoli's songs, all *unica*, are not recoverable in their entirety.) Unlike the Squarcialupi Codex, all these manuscripts include a fair sampling of French songs, usually added to occupy space left at the bottom of folios after the copying of Italian works.

Several sources preserve a portion of the diverse musical culture of Padua during the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth. According to current research, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Nouvelles Acquisitions Francisques 6771—the so-called Reina Codex—was copied in Venice or Padua, although the repertoire it transmits is very inclusive and does not seem to reflect the tastes of a single court. A large manuscript known as the Lucca Codex or Codex Mancini, also a fragment (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," MS 3065), was probably copied at Padua and reflects the musical tastes of the Carrara, though it also contains some of the repertoire of the Visconti at Milan and Pavia c. 1390-1408. For Padua cathedral and the abbey of Santa Giustina, what was once a large repertoire of motets, music for the mass, and Italian and French songs survives only in several fragments. Given the high foliation

numbers on some of them, these fragments seem to have been parts of large manuscripts, reminding us that important centers in northern Italy remain less known to us simply because of the accidental preservation of more complete Tuscan sources.

Finally, the main corpus of the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MSa .M.5.24, reflects the taste of the Pavian-Milanese orbit, and the last section of this manuscript contains a repertoire from the chapel of the antipope Alexander V at Bologna. The Modena manuscript, important for the French *ars subtilior* style, is the unique source for works of Matteo da Perugia.

It should be clear by now that the term *ars nova* is no longer very useful in discussing the local musical culture of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Italy. The movement effectively ends with the Council of Constance (1414-1418), which brought together hundreds of musicians from all over Europe in the retinues of ecclesiastical and secular princes. After the council, many musicians continued the southward migration that had begun during the schism of 1378. Among them were the young Guillaume Du Fay of Cambrai, who followed the Malatesta entourage to Italy and played a crucial role in the merging of the French and Italian musical traditions. Later in the century more northerners joined an expanding papal chapel, as well as the important courts of King Alfonso I of Aragon at Naples, Leonello and Ercole I d'Este at Ferrara, and Galeazzo Maria Sforza at Milan. Northern practices in music were also encouraged by the Medici in Florence. The French notation and French forms brought by the northerners put increased pressure on indigenous art music; and although Italian polyphonic art music exerted some influence on the foreign composers, it soon disappeared. Fifteenth-century Italian humanists preferred simpler oral traditions to the earlier scholastic polyphonic techniques and notation, and the Venetian nobleman Leonardo Giustiniani (c. 1390-1446) popularized simple songs, *giustiniane*, in dialect (the music of this improvised art is of course lost). The next important body of Italian music that survives is the *frottola* repertoire, cultivated at Mantua under the patronage of Isabella d'Este and printed by Petrucci in Venice in the first years of the sixteenth century.

See also Antonio da Tempo; Ballata; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Caccia;

Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Francesco da Barberino; Giovanni da Cascia; Guido d'Arezzo; Jacopo da Bologna; Landini, Francesco; Lauda; Madrigal; Marchetto da Padova; Motet; Niccolò da Perugia; Prodenzani, Simone; Sacchetti, Franco; Squarcialupi Codex.

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Ars Praedicandi

See **Preachers and Preaching**

Art

See *specific arts; individual artists*

Arthurian Material in Italy

The term "matter of Britain" refers to a group of narratives that were originally independent but became fused in literary tradition by virtue of their British setting and themes: the adventures of the legendary King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table, the quest for the Holy Grail, the downfall of Camelot, and the two pairs of lovers Lancelot and Gueneviere and Tristan and Isolde. Scholars generally agree that the story of Tristan developed in Wales from the ninth to the twelfth centuries and identify Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (c. 1136) as the earliest written source for the vernacular Arthurian cycle.

These powerful narratives circulated throughout Europe, serving as popular entertainments in oral performance as well as favorite reading matter for newly literate laymen and laywomen. The tales were transmitted by troubadours and other travelers from France and Provence—where literary forms in the vernacular had already developed—to the Sicilian court of Frederick II and into northern Italy.

Nonliterary and extratextual evidence proves that this material was already being widely diffused in the twelfth century: Arthurian characters decorate the cathedrals at Modena, Otranto, and Bari; the names of Arthurian heroes were included in onomastics; and there are references or allusions to these characters by early poets like Giacomo da Lentini and Guittone d'Arezzo, in early narratives like *Il novellino* and *I conti di antichi cavalieri*, in didactic poems like *Intelligenza* and Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo*, and even by Saint Francis. French romances were copied at Naples in the late thirteenth century. In the

Divine Comedy, Dante refers to the prose *Lancelot* (in a famous passage in *Inferno* 5) and to the vulgate *Mart Artu* (in *Inferno* 32). He also refers to an episode from *Lancelot* in *Convivio* and praises the text in *De vulgari eloquentia*. In the mid-fourteenth century, Petrarch (in *Trionfo d'amore*) and Boccaccio (in *Decameron*) refer explicitly to Arthurian romances.

As literacy spread in Italy because of intense urbanization and commercial activities, the demand for reading matter was met not only by original compositions in Italian but also by *volgarizzamenti*, texts translated from other languages. Modern literary critics tend to dismiss the *volgarizzamenti* as imitations, but the process by which they were created must be understood not in the modern sense of literal translation but rather in the medieval sense of freely reshaping and reordering preexisting material, and even innovating, according to the tastes and norms of a particular author or audience. Although Old French sources for episodes and characters can be identified, such elements were elided, omitted, and combined in new ways to produce, in effect, a new text.



Scenes from Arthurian romances on archivolt, and from Aesop's fables on architrave (school of Wiligelmus), Porta della Pescheria (detail), *Duomo*, Modena. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz,

Several anonymous Arthurian romances in various dialects have

survived in fourteenth-century manuscripts. Three of them—*Tristano Riccardiano* (considered the earliest Arthurian text copied in Italian), *Tristano Panciatichiano*, and *Tristano Corsiniano*—are named for the collections where the manuscripts are conserved; and one, *Tristano Veneto*, is named for its dialect. Other such manuscripts are *La tavola ritonda* (*The Round Table*), *La storia di Merlino* (attributed to the Florentine chronicler Paolino Pieri), and *Palamedes* (also called *Girone il cortese*). Fragments and book inventories that are now coming to light testify to the widespread popularity of this literature in Italy.

Focal episodes from the Arthurian romances were set in verse in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century *cantari*: *Febusso e Breusso* retells an episode in *Palamedes*; *La pulzella Gaia* deals with the love of Morgan's daughter for Gawain; and *Carduino* contains material from the *enfances* of Perceval and the adventures of Guinglain. (*Enfances* are a medieval genre in which the legend of a hero is completed by recounting his childhood or origins.) The Florentine poet Antonio Pucci (1318-1388) composed a *canzone* about Gawain as well as two *cantari* about Gismirante. Other *cantari* based on the prose *Tristan* and the vulgate *Mort Artu* are *La morte di Tristano*, *La vendetta che fe meser Lanzelloto de la morte di meser Tristano* (*The Revenge of Lancelot for the Death of Tristan*), *Tristano e Lancielotto*, and *Lancellotto*.

In fifteenth-century Tuscany, the "matter of France" eventually overshadowed the "matter of Britain," but surviving library inventories of the house of Savoy, the Este at Ferrara, the Gonzaga at Mantua, and the Visconti and Sforza at Milan prove that the Arthurian romances remained important. The story of Tristan was apparently more popular in Tuscany than that of Lancelot; but in the north manuscripts of *Lancelot* were copied and read in the original French, and there were other versions in Franco-Italian dialect and a few in local vernaculars. Social differences may explain the readers' differing tastes: bourgeois entrepreneurs in Florence were drawn to the combative exploits of autonomous warrior heroes while the more feudal northern cities preserved the courtly literature they had inherited from France. Thus the several popular prose narratives by the Florentine Andrea da Barberino and others shunned the adulterous love themes of Arthurian literature and restored the knight-errant as a defender of family and *patria*, whereas the Ferrarese poet Boiardo, and later Ariosto,

nostalgically fused the love theme with the tale of the warrior hero Orlando in an unprecedented intermingling of the two "matters."

See also Cantar; Canzone; Carolingian Material in Italy; Lancelot; Tavola Ritonda; Tristan, Volgarizzamenti

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Arti Maggiori and Minori

See Guilds

Ascoli Piceno

Ascoli Piceno, the ancient Roman Asculum, is in the region of the Marches (Marche), at the confluence of the Tronto and Castellano rivers, on the east side of the Apennines in an alluvial plain. It has been inhabited since the Iron Age. Ascoli became a Roman colony in 286 B.C., and many remains of Roman structures survive: the late republican Gemina gate, parts of the Augustan theater and of several temples, and two bridges—the Solesta over the Tronto and the Cecco over the Castellano. Pompeo Strabo spoke of its streets as *strade breve*, to suggest its small size. Ascoli was mentioned by Julius Caesar in *De bello civile* (*On Civil War*), by Cicero in *Pro Sulla* (*Oration for Sulla*), and by Paul the Deacon in *Historia Longobarda* (*Lombard History*). The city was taken by Caesar during the civil wars and became an

important market for several centuries. In the Roman era, as now, the region produced cereals, wine, fruit, olives, honey, and silk. Christianity was introduced to Ascoli in the fourth century by Saint Emidius, and the town was for a while the seat of a bishop. In 544, Ascoli was occupied by the Goths under Totila (Procopius, *De bello gothicum*, 3.2). In 578, it was seized by the Lombards, who controlled it for almost two hundred years until it passed to the church in 774. In the mid-ninth century, it twice repelled attacks by Saracens, and by 1185 it had become a free commune. Frederick II conquered it in 1242 and granted it free institutions and privileges; these were respected even after Ascoli returned to the control of the church upon the death of Manfred in 1267. There were several episodes of seigneurial rule, such as that of Galeotto Malatesta (1349-1356).

In addition to its Roman remains, Ascoli preserves a number of Romanesque churches in the Lombard style. For example, the twelfth-century octagonal baptistery has a characteristic blind arcade adorning the surface of each exterior wall. Other Romanesque churches from this period include San Vittore, which has Byzantine frescoes; Santa Maria inter Vineas, with its beautiful thirteenth-century bell tower; Sant' Angelo Magno (1292); San Gregorio; Santi Vincenzo e Anastasio; San Tommaso; and San Venanzio. The civic buildings include the imposing Palazzo Comunale (late twelfth century) and the Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo (thirteenth century).



Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo, Ascoli Piceno. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Ascoli Piceno's large Gothic church, San Francesco, was begun in 1258 and consecrated in 1371. With its octagonal piers, it reflects the plan of the cathedrals of Florence and Siena. The Gothic arches of the nave rest on octagonal columns, and double *trifora* designed by the Embriachi of the late fourteenth century appear in the clerestory above the nave. Other churches begun in the fourteenth century but completed later are Sant' Agostino (1317), Saint Peter Martyr (1332),

and San Giacomo. A fortress constructed by Galeotto Malatesta in 1349 was rebuilt in the sixteenth century by Antonio Sangallo the Younger for Pope Paul III.

Among Ascoli's notable citizens during the late Middle Ages are Pope Nicholas IV (1288-1292); the poet and astrologer Cecco d'Ascoli (Francesco Stabili, 1269-1327), who was burned as a heretic in Florence; and the fifteenth-century humanist Enoch d'Ascoli.

See also Cecco d'Ascoli

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Assisi, a city on the lower slope of Monte Subasio, today has a population of about 25,000. It is part of the province of Perugia and the region of Umbria. Despite its small size and somewhat isolated location, it is one of the sites in Italy most frequently visited, especially by pilgrims who come to venerate Saint Francis and Saint Clare and by tourists who come to see the basilica of San Francesco, which contains the world's greatest collection of late medieval and early Renaissance painting.

Assisi was the Roman town Assisium, incorporated into the republic c. 300 B.C. Its most famous citizen in ancient times was the poet Propertius. It still has visible Roman remains, most notably the front of what is called the temple of Minerva, which greatly impressed Goethe when he visited the city in 1786, in the Piazza Comunale. In ancient Assisi, when the piazza was much lower, a flight of steps led up to this grand building. The original forum has been excavated and can be visited; it is literally a walk under the present piazza. Other ancient remains in Assisi include the outline of its amphitheater.

Christianity came to Assisi perhaps in the third century after Christ, and by tradition its first missionary and martyr was Saint Rufinus (San Rufino), to whom the cathedral of Assisi is dedicated. Little is known about Rufinus, or about the other early martyrs; written accounts of their lives date from several centuries later and are historically unreliable. There is better evidence for evangelization in the area by Saint Felician, who became a victim of the persecution by Emperor Decius c. 250.

There is documentary evidence that an episcopal see was established in Assisi by 545; that year, the Gothic king Totila sent the bishop on a diplomatic mission after having taken the city, which had been garrisoned by a Byzantine army. Assisi eventually became a part of the duchy of Spoleto when the Germanic Lombard tribe captured the region from Byzantium shortly after 568. Occasionally, the name of a bishop survives in the papal archives, but otherwise we know almost nothing about the development of the town during the Lombard period. Although the Lombards submitted to the Franks and Assisi came under Charlemagne's control, we have almost no information about specific events in Assisi; however, there is a legend—recorded much later—that Charlemagne personally conducted the siege which led to the city's

surrender to him.



Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Roman temple) and Torre del Popolo, Assisi. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The ninth and tenth centuries are as "dark" for Assisi as for much of the rest of Europe. Muslim and Magyar raiding parties entered Umbria, but we do not know whether they ever attacked Assisi. A few records survive concerning the local bishops, but these have to do with land and give us little insight into the city's development. Still, it does appear

that the bishops were involved in the defense of some of the lands of their dependents. The crypt of the church of Santa Maria dates from this period; it is the oldest Christian structure in Assisi.

As we look at the increasing documentary evidence from 1000 to 1200, we find a succession of conflicts: some common to many other Italian towns of the time, others peculiar to Assisi. The most important of those that were unique to Assisi was a struggle over which church would serve as its cathedral. Ultimately, San Rufino replaced Santa Maria as the cathedral—a triumph for the canons and the old feudal nobility over the bishop.



Rocca Maggiore, Assisi. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

As noted above, Assisi was a part of the duchy of Spoleto, a territory that had been long governed, at least indirectly, by the Holy Roman emperors in Germany. However, the papacy claimed that the area had been "donated" to the church by previous emperors. At the end of the twelfth century, the question whether Assisi came under the Holy Roman empire or the church had serious consequences, because Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190) and the popes who were his contemporaries were usually at odds. In 1198, people from Assisi stormed the powerful fortress above the city, La Rocca; they expelled the German soldiers and then destroyed it. However, Assisi was not about to trade one master for another, and the city sought to establish

its independence, at least de facto.

Being an object of dispute between two superpowers was not Assisi's only problem. It was also involved in a sharp rivalry with Perugia, a larger city just a few kilometers away. In 1202, Assisi and Perugia fought for control of some of the small towns and farmland between them, and Perugia was the victor.

There were also numerous conflicts within Assisi. Serious tension existed between the bishop, who was the spiritual head of the city and also a great landholder, and the local secular lords. Furthermore, there was conflict between those wealthy landed aristocrats and the town's increasingly wealthy merchants. Some of the various conflicts were not fully separate from one another. For example, it was the *comune* of Assisi, a group of leading townspeople, who destroyed La Rocca in 1198, and several powerful aristocratic families were exiled to Perugia. As the *comune* took charge of Assisi in the early thirteenth century, it came into conflict with the bishop.

In the midst of all of this tension and change, the city's most famous native, Francis of Assisi, was born in 1181 or 1182. He may have taken part in the destruction of La Rocca when he was sixteen; and he fought for Assisi against Perugia in 1202 and was taken as a prisoner of war. He briefly joined a military recruiter who was organizing an army to fight the German ruler of Sicily. At the end of his life he wrote a song for the purpose of bringing peace between the bishop and the leader of the *comune*.

Assisi was never one of the largest or most important cities in central Italy, although it did have some international merchants, including the father of Francis of Assisi. It was not able to defend itself in the long run against Perugia. And as the papacy aggressively asserted control over the papal states, Assisi was essentially absorbed into that larger political entity. During the fourteenth century, when the church was struggling to keep control of the papal states while the popes were living in Avignon, Cardinal Albornoz reconstructed La Rocca above Assisi. It still stands as a reminder of Assisi's place in the papal states. Assisi's political history from the fourteenth century to the present is a chapter in the history of the papal states and then in that of the nation of Italy.

Though Assisi was not a major economic or political force, even in

Umbria, it developed an importance out of all proportion to its size by being the birthplace and, even more significantly, the burial place of two of the greatest saints in the Catholic church: Saint Francis (or Francesco) and Saint Clare (Chiara). Francis died in 1226 and was canonized in 1228, the same year that pope Gregory IX laid the cornerstone for the church in which Francis is buried, the basilica of San Francesco at the western end of the city. Pilgrims flocked to visit the tomb of Saint Francis, and the friars and their patrons hired many of the greatest artists from Italy and from beyond the Alps to decorate the basilica. The stained-glass windows were made largely by French and German craftsmen, and the walls were decorated by a "who's who" of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian painters including Giunta Pisano, Cimabue, Jacopo Torriti, Giotto, Simone Martini, and Pietro Lorenzetti. Near the eastern end of Assisi is the somewhat smaller basilica of Santa Chiara, begun almost immediately after her death in 1253. Seven hundred fifty years later, the city is still crowded with pilgrims and with visitors who come to see these churches.

Assisi remained an important place in the twentieth century. During World War II, thanks largely to its mayor, Arnaldo Fortini, the city was saved from destruction; and it also was the center of an underground that protected Jews from persecution. John Paul II, who became pope in 1978, once called for the world's religious leaders to come to Assisi for a day of prayer; he was joined there by the Dalai Lama, the archbishop of Canterbury, and leaders of many religious traditions including a Native American of the Crow nation in Montana. Such a gathering could not, perhaps, have taken place anywhere else but the city where Saint Francis had embraced lepers and preached to birds.

There are no books in English that provide a straightforward history of Assisi, but most books about the lives of Saint Francis and Saint Clare contain some historical setting. By far the best source for learning about Assisi is Fortini's *Francis of Assisi* (1981). Fortini was mayor of Assisi for many years and knew the documentary evidence for the city's history better than anyone else. It has been suggested that his book really should be titled *Francis and Assisi*, since the city is as important to the author as the saint. Two other books that are ultimately concerned with Francis of Assisi also contain a great deal of information about the city. The more accessible of the two is Brown

(1982). The second, which is also valuable, is a collection of essays: *Assisi al tempo di San Francesco* (*Assisi in the Time of Saint Francis*, 1978). Although Assisi was not one of the most important cities to develop in Italy in the Middle Ages, it is included in books that deal with the medieval city-republics. A rather concise example is Waley (1988); a more thorough but perhaps less readable account is Jones (1997).

See also Cimabue; Clare, Saint; Francis of Assisi; Giotto di Bondone; Lorenzetti, Pietro and Ambrogio; Martini Simone, Perugia;

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Asti

Asti is a town in the region of Piedmont, on the Tanaro River and along an ancient Roman road, the Via Fulvia. The ancient name of the community is pre-Roman and is found in inscriptions as Asta; Pliny (in *Natural History*, 3.49) records the name as Hasta Pompeia. The Roman settlement dates from the second century B.C. During the later years of the Roman empire, in the fifth century after Christ, it was attacked by

Alaric. According to one tradition, Saint Siro was the first bishop of Asti, in the mid-first century; but other traditions suggest a certain Saint Evasio, in the third century. The first documented evidence for the bishopric dates from the fifth century. The city suffered invasions by the barbarians and came under the control of the Ostrogoths, who gave it a certain importance. Under the Lombards, in November 596, it became a duchy. Duke Aribert ruled there before he was chosen king. Under the Franks, it was the seat of a lineage of counts, of whom the best-known is Suppone (d. 887). In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the archbishops were recognized by the German emperors as civic leaders who exercised comital authority in the city (i.e., authority ranking with that of a count). However, by the end of the eleventh century the commune was beginning to challenge the bishops' authority. As a result of its defiance of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, Asti was destroyed in 1155; but four years later, in 1159, the emperor was forced to recognize its autonomy. In 1168, in an attempt to escape the hegemony of the marquis of Montferrat, the commune allied itself with the Lombard league; after an attack by Frederick I in 1174, however, it returned to the imperial side. This status was confirmed by the Peace of Constance in 1183.

Despite the factional struggles in subsequent years, Asti, which had an advantageous geographic location, became a center of commerce and banking. During this period it was one of the wealthiest cities in Piedmont, and its merchants and bankers were actively involved in commerce with France and Flanders, to such an extent that it competed favorably with economic centers such as Milan, Piacenza, Florence, Siena, and Lucca. In the second half of the thirteenth century the city was one of the staunchest opponents of the ambitions of Charles of Anjou. In 1275, Asti, in alliance with Genoa, Pavia, and the marquisate of Montferrat, won a decisive military victory at Roccavione. At the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, internal strife between Guelf and Ghibelline families—respectively, the Solaro and the de Castello—prepared the way for a number of overlords such as the prince of Acaia; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Robert of Anjou; the house of Savoy; and the Visconti family of Milan. In 1387, when Valentina, daughter of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, married Louis of Orleans, Asti became part of her dowry. In this connection, the city

became one strand of the interests that drew the French royal family into Italian affairs during the late Middle Ages.

While Asti still retains some traces of its Roman and medieval buildings, its most important religious and private structures date from the late medieval and postmedieval periods. The Romanesque-Gothic Collegiata di San Secondo (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries), the crypt of Saint Anastasius, the Baptistry of Saint Peter (twelfth century), and the cathedral—which was begun in the fourteenth century and is in the Piedmontese Gothic style—have undergone significant renovations. A number of fine public and private palaces from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries survive.

See also Frederick I Barbarossa; Lombards; Milan; Montferrat, Marguisate of; Visconti Family

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Astrology

Astrology is the divination of the supposed influence exerted on human affairs and earthly events by the stars, and especially by six of the other planets. This modern definition distinguishes astrology from astronomy, the scientific study of the universe outside the earth's atmosphere; but before the seventeenth century the two terms were often used indifferently to designate the study of the stars, which at that time might embrace both pursuits. Although astrology is a pseudoscience, at

least some of its practitioners did, like astronomers, apply a high level of mathematical skill. The Greeks found such studies already well advanced in Egypt and Mesopotamia; borrowing selectively, they developed their own system, which was definitively formulated c. A.D. 150 by Ptolemy in his *Almagest* (on astronomy) and *Tetrabiblos* (or *Quadripartitum*, on astrology). Educated Romans, who were bilingual, never bothered to translate these technical works into Latin but studied them in the original Greek. To be sure, Latin authors wrote about the nonmathematical aspects of the study of stars, but their works were addressed to a nonprofessional audience who approached *astronomia-astrologia* as one of the seven liberal arts. Even the most detailed Latin treatise on astrology—*Mathesis*, by Julius Firmicus Maternus of Syracuse (fl. c. 335)—failed to explain how to cast a horoscope. Consequently, after the knowledge of Greek died out in Italy in the 500s, no one in the Latin west was able to practice astrology on its own terms until the twelfth century, when the relevant manuals of geometry and astronomy were finally translated into Latin.

The church fathers disapproved of astrology because it seemed to deny man's free will, but they felt that they could not dismiss it as the work of demons as they dismissed most pagan magic. Their reasoning was that astrology had been considered simply a natural phenomenon in Greek science, and also that it was authorized by the biblical story of the three Magi, to whom a star announced the birth of Christ. The Latin fathers favored a solution proposed by Tertullian (c. 200): although astrology was natural, it was no longer licit after the birth of Christ. Calcidius, a Christian Neoplatonist (c. 394, possibly at Milan), purportedly resolved the issue by limiting the effects of the stars to the human body, leaving the mind and will free. Augustine (d. 431) went further, denying the efficacy of astrology altogether; his (sound) argument was that twins often differ in character and fortune.

For various reasons, the founders of the liberal arts curriculum tended to exclude astrology. Martianus Capella (fl. 410-439) considered the casting of horoscopes an art but not a liberal art; Cassiodorus (died c. 483) considered it contrary to the Christian faith and hence something that should not be studied by monks. Consequently, astrology had no place in the Latin monastic culture of subsequent centuries. It was deplored by Isidore of Seville (d. 636) and ignored by

Bede (d. 735), and it played no part in the Carolingian Renaissance. When Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester II), who was reputed to be a magician, visited Rome in 970, he found that astronomy was "almost completely unknown in Italy," and what little equipment he had brought with him from Spain was inadequate to do astrology. It would seem that in rejecting astrology, western Europe was simply making a virtue of necessity, since it had no access to the information that was needed to cast even a simple horoscope.

Meanwhile, astrology flourished in the east; and beginning c. 800 it was assimilated, refined, and expanded by the Muslims, who translated the key works of Greek science into Arabic. By 1000, the sophisticated Arabic astrology was well known to the Muslim neighbors of Catholic Europe in Sicily and Spain. Christian scholars were eager to improve their knowledge of the quadrivium, but the opportunity came only after the reconquest of significant centers of Muslim culture—Palermo in 1072, Toledo in 1085. In the course of the twelfth century, the greater part of Greek science was translated from Arabic into Latin, including the works of some three dozen Hellenistic and Muslim authorities on astrology and astronomy. Most of the translations were done in Spain, especially at Toledo under the patronage of the local archbishop. Scholars flocked to Spain from every part of Europe to do the translations; these scholars included two Italians. Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187) was the most prolific translator; at Toledo he translated Ptolemy's *Almagest* as well as many other mathematical, medical, and philosophical works, including six astrological treatises. Plato of Tivoli, working in Barcelona (c. 1134-1145), specialized in astrology; he translated eleven works, most notably Ptolemy's astrological textbook *Tetrabiblos*. By 1200, Greek and Arabic astrology was at the disposal of the Latin west.

Before native Italians had mastered the new doctrines, a wandering scholar from Spain, Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra, composed an important manual of astrology at Lucca in 1148. From 1140 to 1161, he visited a series of Jewish communities in Italy, France, and England. For his hosts, he wrote many biblical commentaries and a few secular treatises, including the *Beginning of Wisdom*, which presented the basics of Arab astrology. This treatise was translated into French in 1273, and the French version was translated into Latin twice—first by Henry Bate at

the papal curia in Orvieto in 1292 and then by Peter of Abano at Padua in 1293.

In the thirteenth century, the University of Bologna became a center for astrology. In 1220, it attracted Michael Scot from Spain, where he had been translating from the Arabic. Frederick II and his enemies, the cities of the Lombard league, sought Scot's advice as an astrologer. Michael dedicated to the emperor an enormous introduction to astrology, describing how to read "astrological character" from physiognomy and other traits. After Scot's death in 1235, Frederick's chief astrologer was Theodore of Antioch; but on one occasion Frederick was advised by Italy's first great native astrologer, Guido Bonatti of Forlì (c. 1210-c. 1297). After studying medicine and astrology at Bologna, Bonatti practiced both arts at Forlì and occasionally advised Ghibellines and Ghibelline powers, such as Ezzelino da Romano, Guido Novello, the commune of Florence (1259-1261), and Guido da Montefeltro (1275-1283). Bonatti's massive *Liber astronomicus*—a veritable *summa* of astrology—became the standard Latin introduction to the subject, being somewhat shorter than Scot's and more traditional in approach.

Christians, of course, could not believe that the stars deprived man of his free will, so extreme astrological determinism was deemed heretical (e.g., by the bishop of Paris in 1277). But scholastics steeped in Greek philosophy had to admit that astral influence was a natural, "scientific" phenomenon. Thus Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) wrote a *Speculum astronomiae* (*Mirror of Astronomy*) in which he distinguished between licit and illicit astrology; he was confident that the will could not be bound by the stars, and he defended astrology as a natural science, while condemning its magical applications in demonolatry, necromancy, and divination. His pupil Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) was more guarded, allowing that the stars could influence the human body but not the mind. Thus the Inquisition had reason to consider the more extreme claims of astrology heretical, though accusations were few and condemnations rare. The Inquisition was investigating certain astrological opinions of Peter of Abano when he died (c. 1316), but it is unknown which ones were objectionable and it is doubtful that he was ever condemned. Cecco d'Ascoli certainly was burned at the stake in 1327, ostensibly for contumaciously continuing to teach extreme astral

fatalism, but this may well have been a convenient pretext seized on by his enemies (as with Joan of Arc). Neither case discouraged Italians from studying astrology, which flourished as never before during the next generation.

Peter of Abano was the most original astrologer of the Latin Middle Ages. After studying in Constantinople and Paris, he returned to teach at Padua. His masterwork is the *Conciliator* (1310), in which he discusses and resolves with astonishing erudition some 200 scholastic questions, mostly medical but often involving astrology: e.g., "Whether a doctor today can help the sick by his knowledge of astronomy." Peter argued that the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the first degree of Aries produces great prophets, such as Christ and Moses, and that human history is cyclical, being governed by each of the seven planets in turn for a period of about 354 years. His achievement was a magisterial synthesis of scholastic philosophy and medicine, in which astrology was seen as the controlling force of nature.

The learning of Cecco d'Ascoli was merely commonplace, however high an opinion he had of himself. His lectures at Bologna included an astrological rationale of the life of Christ but otherwise were conventional enough. He was, however, the first to write in Italian about astrology, in *L'acerba*, a rambling, obscure encyclopedic poem with satiric asides—directed, for example, against Dante—and with a strong admixture of folklore and magic.

By the fourteenth century, astrology was an accepted part of Italian cultural life. Dante believed that "it is without doubt within the capacity of human understanding to comprehend the mover of the heaven, and his will, through the motion thereof" (*Epistle* 5.8). Accordingly, Dante's *Comedy* teems with astrological allusions, especially in the planetary heavens of the *Paradiso*. Petrarch was ambivalent about astrology, as he was about medicine and much else. Although he befriended astrologers, praised their accuracy, and often took astrology for granted, still on occasion he could be skeptical and wary of charlatans. Boccaccio lavished fulsome praise on the Genoese astrologer Andalò di Negro, under whom he studied at Naples in the 1330s.

Astrology was cultivated intensively throughout Europe in the fourteenth century, and Italy was no exception. Boccaccio's teacher,

Andalò di Negro (died c. 1340), wrote a short introduction to judicial astrology as well as several treatises on how the stars affect procreation. Two Italian friars wrote on medical astrology. One, a Dominican named Niccolò di Paganica, who was born near Aquila in the Abruzzi, compiled a brief summary of astrological medicine in 1330, which he rededicated to the Visconti ruler of Bologna in the 1350s; Petrarch's copy of this work survives in Venice. The other friar, Augustine of Trent, a native of Brescia, was an Augustinian who taught at Perugia and was chaplain to the bishop of Trent. In 1340, he composed an astrological explanation of the plague that was then raging, well before the black death of 1348. Other, less distinguished Italian astrological authors of the period include Master Romano, a physician of Rome (c. 1300) who summarized the ways in which a planet's influence could be modified; Thaddeus of Parma, who drew up a bibliography and classification of astrology and the occult arts for his students at Bologna in 1318; and Paolo Dagomari of Prato, who included rules for making astrological calculations in his *Trattato d'abbaco* (*Treatise on the Abacus*, Florence, 1339).

The proliferation of astrology in medieval Italy depended on two conditions: first, the availability of suitable textbooks, which were provided by the twelfth-century translators; and second, the systematic exposition of these texts in the universities. Although Bologna seems to have been a center for astrological studies from the days of Scot and Bonatti onward, the details of the curriculum were first set down in the university statutes of 1404. By then, astrology was an independent four-year degree program on a par with philosophy and medicine. The curriculum included arithmetic, Euclid's *Geometry*, and astronomy, with special stress on the use of tables of planetary positions; the chief astrological texts were Alcabkius's *Introduction* and Ptolemy's *Quadripartium* (*Tetrabiblos*) and *Centiloquium*. Once established, academic astrology enjoyed a long life. As late as 1799, the university statutes at Bologna required the professor of astronomy to draw up an annual almanac for medical use.

See also Bonatti, Guido; Cecco d Ascoli; Michael Scot; Pietro Abano; Thomas Aquinas, Saint

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Astronomy

See **Liberal Arts**

Ataulf

Ataulf (Ataulphus, Atawulf, Aistaulf; d. 415) was king of the Visigoths from 410 to 415, having succeeded his brother-in-law Alaric. After the death of Alaric and during the movement of the Visigoths through Italy, Ataulf led them in their continuing march northward—eventually, out of Italy into Provence and Aquitaine, taking advantage of the discord among Roman governors in the region. He obtained the recognition of the western emperor Honorius to establish his people ostensibly under the authority of Rome, but in fact as an independent regime ultimately focused in Spain, the first of the eventual Germanic successor states in the west. His ties to the imperial regime were strengthened by his

marriage to Honorius's sister Galla Placidia at Narbonne in 412. He was assassinated by his political opponents in Barcelona.

See also **Galla Placidia**

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Attila the Hun

The Huns appear to have been related to the Hsiung-Nu, a Turkish-Mongolian people who are mentioned in Chinese records of the early centuries after Christ. They eventually made their way across central Asia, and they acquired a fearsome reputation as savage warriors who lived mainly on horseback. Around a.d. 370, the Huns halted their advance north of the Danube River. For a time their relations with the Romans were like those of other barbarians, and they often served as auxiliaries in the Roman army. In the fifth century, however, they once again grew restive. In the early 420s, the Hun king Rua had to be bought off by the Romans with a subsidy of 350 pounds of gold per year.



Attila. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 137v.

In the late 430s, Rua's sons Attila (c. 435-453) and Bleda succeeded to the throne. Around 445, Attila murdered his brother and became sole king. He imposed increasingly severe terms on the eastern Roman emperor Theodosius II (402-450), raising the yearly subsidy first to 700 pounds of gold and then to 2,100. In 447, the Romans even agreed to evacuate a strip south of the Danube five days' march wide.

Subsequently, Attila's interests seem to have turned toward the west, and to the princess Justa Grata Honoria, elder sister of the western emperor Valentinian III (425-455). Around 449, she had been apprehended in an illicit love affair and exiled to Constantinople. She then sent her ring to Attila and appealed to him for help. At this, Theodosius II, who already had enough problems with the Huns, immediately dispatched her back to Italy—with the recommendation

that Valentinian turn her over to Attila.

Valentinian refused, and what happened next is described by the historian Priscus, who had visited Attila's camp in 448. According to Priscus, Attila:

... sent men to the ruler of the western Romans to argue that Honoria, whom he had pledged to himself in marriage, should in no way be harmed. ... He sent also to the eastern Romans concerning the appointed tribute, but his ambassadors returned from both missions with nothing accomplished. . . . Attila was of two minds and at a loss which he should attack first, but finally it seemed better to him to enter on the greater war and to march against the west, since his fight there would be not only against the Italians but also against the Goths and Franks. . . . He sent certain men of his court to Italy that the Romans might surrender Honoria. ... He also said that Valentinian should withdraw from half of the empire. . . . When the western Romans held their former opinion, he devoted himself eagerly to preparation for war.

When Attila led the Huns and their subject peoples across the Rhine into Gaul in 451, the situation looked bleak for the Romans. The Roman army then consisted of little more than barbarian mercenaries in the personal service of Flavius Aetius, a "patrician and master of soldiers" (field marshal), who had once been a hostage of Attila's and who had skillfully played one barbarian group off against another for twenty-five years. The other powers in western Europe—the Visigoths in Aquitania and the Franks in the Rhineland—decided that they had more to fear from the Huns than from the Romans, and Aetius became the leader of an unlikely coalition of Visigoths, Franks, and what remained of the Roman army.

The Gallic chronicler Prosper, writing a few years later, noted, "Once the Rhine had been crossed, many Gallic cities experienced Attila's most savage attacks." In the next century, Gregory of Tours related that after destroying Metz, the Huns "ravaged a great number of other cities" before finally attacking Orleans, which was strongly defended. Unable to take Orleans, Attila began a strategic retreat northward. In July, it seems, between Troyes and Chalons-sur-Marne (ancient Catalauni), Attila was brought to battle on the Mauriac plain (the modern Mery-sur-Seine), about 20 miles (32 kilometers) northwest of Troyes, 35 miles (56 kilometers) south of Chalons, and next to the so-

called Catalaunian fields.

According to the sixth-century Gothic historian Jordanes, there ensued "a battle ghastly, confused, ferocious, and unrelenting, the like of which history has never recounted." In the melee, the aged Visigothic king, Theoderic, was thrown from his horse and trampled to death by his own men, and Attila was nearly slain. The Huns then retreated to their camp, which had been fortified by their encircled wagons. On the following day, neither side felt strong enough to resume the battle; it was later said that 165,000 men had been slain. While the members of the Roman coalition debated what to do next, Attila is said to have stood atop a funeral pyre threatening to immolate himself rather than be taken captive. Neither Attila nor Aetius was in any condition to carry on the fight. Attila withdrew back across the Rhine.

However, Attila returned the next year and passed through the inexplicably undefended Alps into Italy. His forces destroyed Aquileia and captured Milan. Then, according to a pious legend, the Huns were induced to withdraw by an embassy of Pope Leo I, who was assisted in his efforts by apparitions of saints Peter and Paul. Disease, starvation, and the rumored arrival of reinforcements from the east also would have influenced the Huns' decision.

In 453, on his wedding night, Attila died. In 454 the subject peoples of the Huns revolted, inflicting a disastrous defeat upon their erstwhile masters in the battle of the Nedao River. The Huns never again posed a serious threat to the Roman empire, although the western empire soon succumbed to the encroachments of other barbarians who were neither as savage nor as feared as the Huns had been.

Attila himself subsequently developed a reputation as the epitome of the barbarian. Christian moralists referred to him as the "scourge of God" for his perceived role in punishing sinful Christians. In modern times, it has been suggested that a victory by the Huns would have caused irreparable damage, jeopardizing the future of western civilization. The defeat of Attila's invasion of Gaul has been portrayed as a victory of civilization over barbarism, and a turning point in history.

See also **Huns**

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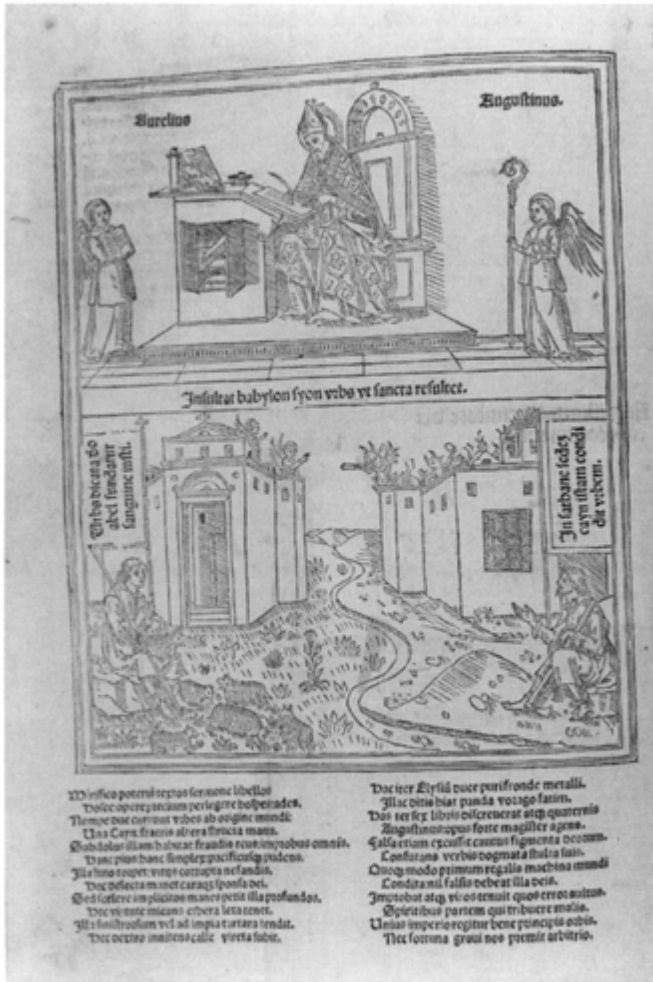
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Augustine, Saint

Augustine (354-430), bishop of Hippo in Roman Africa from 396 to 430, was the predominant force behind the development of the western church in his time. Because of his eloquent defense and interpretation of church doctrine, he is generally considered the preeminent intellect of Christian antiquity. The theology he developed, which melded the scriptures of the New Testament with the Platonic ideas of Greek philosophy, had a profound effect on Christianity during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and remains a powerful influence today.

Augustine's *Confessions*, the autobiographical account of his first thirty-three years, contains most of what we know about his early life. He was born on 13 November 354 in Thagaste in North Africa. His father, Patricius, was a pagan and remained so until just before dying; but his mother, Monica, was a devout Christian. Although Augustine was not baptized as an infant, his early education included Monica's lessons on Christianity. When he was about sixteen, his parents sent him to Carthage to be educated further. During his time in Carthage, he took a mistress, who bore him a son, Adeodatus, in 372. Although he never married her, their relationship lasted fifteen years. In Carthage,

Augustine encountered Cicero's *Hortensius* (now lost), and this work inspired him to study philosophy. His desire for knowledge also led him to explore the scriptures, but to his great disappointment he found them simplistic in content and form. Christianity, he concluded, was for the uneducated and uncultured.



Augustine, *De civitate Dei*. Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 1489. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Augustine then turned to Manicheism, when he was nineteen. The

Manichees criticized the contradictions and mysteries of the Christian faith, though they did accept the truth of certain Christian teachings. They focused on the demonic, believing that opposing forces of good and evil, represented by light and dark, were struggling for control over the world. Their use of astrology also fascinated Augustine, and for about ten years he remained a member of this sect.

Augustine started a school of rhetoric at Carthage in 374. Subsequently, he also began to enter—and win—rhetorical contests. His activities in this regard led to a meeting with the proconsul Vindicianus, who was presiding over a contest in which Augustine took first prize. Augustine began to cultivate a friendship with Vindicianus, who encouraged him to give up astrology. In 380, Augustine published his first book, *On the Beautiful and the Fitting*. He began to study astronomy and started to question his Manichean beliefs.

Augustine's confidence in the Manichees continued to decline, not only because of his intellectual doubts about their teaching but also because he began to be critical of the moral delinquency he encountered among them. He closed his school and departed for Rome. He stayed there for a year, and although he was still nominally part of the Manichean community in Rome, his interest in philosophy began to increase. Now twenty-nine years of age, he successfully applied for a position as a professor of rhetoric in Milan.

Augustine's time in Milan would have a profound effect on his religious beliefs, as it was here that he made the acquaintance of Bishop Ambrose, the most influential Christian churchman of the day. Influenced, perhaps, by Ambrose's sermons, Augustine became interested in Neoplatonic writings, which led him to abandon his Manichean beliefs. On the advice of his friend Theodorus, a philosopher, he read the Platonists Plotinus and Porphyry and was delighted by their writings. But their emphasis on the spiritual world left Augustine feeling unfulfilled, as he was also concerned with his physical being and sought instruction on how best to control his passions and emotions. His study of Neoplatonism, which grafted philosophy onto theology, drew him further into an investigation of Christian thought.

Consequently, Augustine turned to the gospel of Saint Paul for answers to his questions. In the eighth book of his *Confessions*,

Augustine describes his struggle with faith and his contempt at his own inability to control his physical desires. He describes his final conversion in a garden in Milan—where, on hearing a childlike voice saying, *Tolle, lege; tolle, lege* ("Pick up and read"), he opened his text to Romans 13:14 and read Saint Paul's message about physical concupiscence. It was now August 386.

Following his conversion, Augustine resigned from his teaching position and traveled to Cassiciacum with his mother, his son, and a few students. In the next two years, he wrote at least four books. He was baptized by Ambrose in 387.

After Monica's death in 388, Augustine set up the first monastic community in Latin Africa. His quiet life of writing and contemplation was not entirely satisfactory; at one point he earnestly considered leaving his community to take up a solitary life in the desert. The death of his son Adeodatus c. 390 gave him a deep sense of disappointment yet renewed his commitment to his work. On a visit to Hippo Regia in 391, he was compelled to take up the responsibilities of the priesthood as an assistant to the elderly Bishop Valerius. Five years later, after Valerius's death, Augustine became the bishop of Hippo. Until his own death thirty-four years later, he served the community of Hippo Regia as its religious leader and as the presiding judge in its civil court. He also continued his career as a prolific writer. At the time of his death he had completed 113 books and had written more than 200 letters. In addition, nearly 500 of his sermons are still extant. Some of Augustine's writings were directed against Manicheism. His thirteen books on this subject, in which he attacked almost every aspect of Manichean beliefs and defended the Christian scriptures, led to the demise of Manicheism as a religion.

As Augustine understood it, his role as bishop included being a defender and interpreter of church doctrine. Thus he also excoriated the Donatists, who believed that the church had been too forgiving of those who had abandoned their faith during the reign of the emperor Diocletian. The Donatist schism had long been a problem for the state and the church; in fact, the Roman police had to protect the countryside from the secular branch of the group, known as the Circumcellions, who roamed about terrorizing Catholics. Augustine spoke out against the Donatists' criticisms of the Christian church; in his anti-Donatist

arguments he stressed the unity of the Catholic church, maintaining that a schism denied the Holy Spirit's true gift of charity. Augustine also argued against the Donatists' belief that the sacraments were effective only when delivered by a human minister who was undefiled—that is, free of serious sin. The attempts to reach a peaceful agreement between the church and the Donatists culminated in 411, in a council at Carthage, where Augustine argued against Donatism before Marcellinus, the imperial commissioner. The verdict was in Augustine's favor; the Donatists were cast out as misbelievers and Donatism was forced to go underground.

In 412, Augustine turned his attention to the Pelagians, another sect he regarded as heretical. The founder of this movement, Pelagius, had visited Rome c. 400 and had claimed to be horrified by the decline he observed in the moral standards of the church. Pelagius denied original sin and declared that salvation could be attained by sheer willpower. Moreover, he asserted that humanity did not require redemption, because each individual had a choice about whether or not to sin; consequently, he considered Jesus Christ not a savior but rather an inspiration or role model. Augustine found this view of sin and salvation simplistic; he responded with the argument that humanity can rely only on God for salvation and that true salvation can occur only when humanity recognizes its absolute dependence on God.

While he was confronting the Pelagians' challenge, Augustine worked on his masterpiece, *De civitate Dei* (*The City of God*). This was a time of political and religious instability; an attack on Rome by Alaric in 410 had made the Romans fear that Africa was next, and the church was being blamed for the decline of the empire. During the crisis, Augustine was primarily responsible for holding the Christian church together. When the tribune Marcellinus asked Augustine to write a work that would address the situation, he spent fourteen years writing *The City of God*. The work deals with such timely concerns as the pagans' accusation that the disaster was a result of Rome's apostasy, but it also narrates the history of human and divine affairs from before the earth was formed until its final destined end. Augustine died on 28 August 430, while Vandal armies were besieging Regia Hippo. That he had been able to contribute so much to theological and philosophical thought during the fall of Rome was a remarkable achievement.

See also Neoplatonism; Pelagius and Pelagianism; Plato

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Authari

Authari (d. 590) was a king of the Lombards (r. 584-590). He was the son of Cleph, who had been selected king in 572 following the assassination of King Alboin. Cleph in turn had been assassinated in 574, and from then until 584 there was an interregnum during which the Lombard dukes pursued their own interests at the expense of the kingdom as a whole. The inevitable weakness that resulted invited invasion by the Franks, and this threat encouraged the dukes to elect Authari in 584.

The Lombard historian Paul the Deacon reports that, in order to strengthen the monarchy, each of the dukes gave up half of his lands to create a royal domain. This land base continued to support the Lombard kings as long as the Lombard kingdom lasted, and it freed them from the necessity of collecting the land tax which the Byzantines had attempted to reintroduce following their defeat of the Ostrogoths in 552.

To meet the threat posed by the Franks, Authari sought an alliance with the Bavarians. That alliance was sealed by Authari's marriage to

the Bavarian princess Theodolinda, who came to Italy with a Catholic entourage and gained a reputation there as a patron of the arts (she is credited with making a number of important artistic gifts to the cathedral of Monza). According to Paul the Deacon, when Authari died Theodolinda was asked to select a new husband to succeed him as king, and she chose Agilulf, duke of Turin.

See also Agilulf; Lombards

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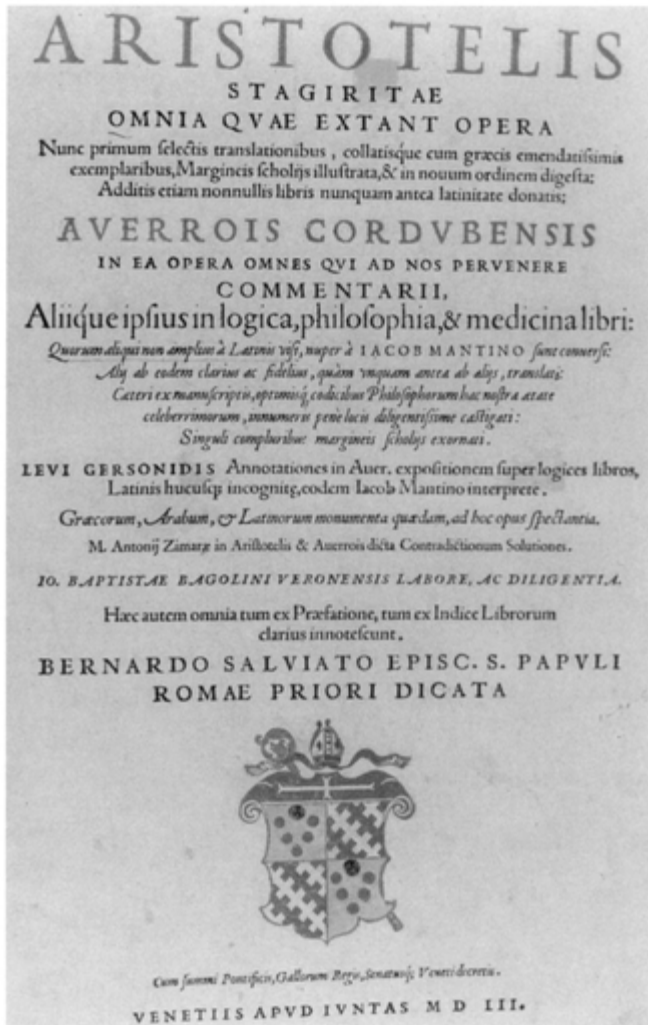
Avanzo, Jacopo

See Altichiero da Zerio

Averroës and Averroism

Ibn Rushd (Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Rushd, 1126-1198), known in medieval Europe as Averroes, was born in Cordoba in Muslim Spain to a family of scholars and Islamic jurists. He himself became a judge as well as a physician and astronomer and is considered one of the most important philosophers of the Middle Ages. He served the rulers of the Almohad dynasty, who controlled Arabic

Spain from their capital in Marrakesh. Around 1169, the renowned philosopher and physician Ibn Tufayl (1105-1185) presented him to the caliph, Abu Yaqub Yusuf (r. 1163-1184). The caliph, who was knowledgeable in philosophy but perplexed about abstruse areas in the philosophy of Aristotle, assigned Averroës the task of writing interpretations of Aristotle's books. Averroës began this work while acting as a judge in Seville and in Cordoba, where, according to some sources, he was the chief justice. In 1182, he succeeded Ibn Tufayl as chief physician of the Almohad court. After the death of Abu Yaqub Yusuf, Averroës served his son, Yaqub al-Mansur (r. 1184-1199), with whom he discussed philosophy and from who he received great privileges. In 1195, however, because conservative religious scholars were putting pressure on the caliph, Averroës fell from favor. His books were burned, and he was exiled to Lucena, near Cordoba, where he was further criticized for his philosophy. The caliph later called Averroës back to Marrakesh and restored him to his position. Averroës died in Marrakesh not long afterward; his remains were moved to Cordoba.



Aristotle, *Omnia quæ extant opera* . . . with the commentary of Averroës.
Venice: Apud Iuntas, 1552. Reproduced from original held by Department of
Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Averroës wrote books on Islamic law; of these, the most influential in
the Muslim world was the *Bidayat al-mujtahid* (*The Distinguished
Jurist's Primer*). He also wrote on medicine. Some of his works were
translated into Latin in the thirteenth century, most importantly *al-
Kulliyat* (*The Generalities*; in Latin, *Colliget*). In his work, Averroës

focused largely on philosophy. He wrote several books addressing the apparent inconsistencies and conflict between philosophy and theology, the most notable being *Fast al-maqal* (*The Decisive Treatise*), which makes a case for religion and philosophy as harmonious; *al-Kashfan manahij al-adillah* (*The Exposition of the Methods of Proof*), criticizing theological interpretations of the language of scripture; and *Tahafut al-tahafut* (*The Incoherence of the Incoherence*), commentin on *Tahafut al-falasifa* (*The Incoherence of the Philosophers*) by the Persian philosopher al-Ghazali (1058-1111) and defending philosophy against al-Ghazali's criticism. *Tahafut al-falasifa* was partially translated into Latin in 1328 (and fully translated in 1526). The other two works were not available in Latin during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and for that reason were known to almost no Latin scholars of the time.

Averroës was famous in medieval Europe for his commentaries on the books of Aristotle, Muslims in the east had become interested in Aristotle during the ninth century, when his books were translated and interpreted under the patronage of the caliphs in Baghdad. The Middle East had come into contact with Aristotle's works through Syrian scholars, whose intellectual ancestors, hellenized under Greek rule before the emergence of Islam, had studied Aristotle and his Greek commentators. As with science and philosophy in general, interest in Aristotle spread through the Muslim empire to Andalusia, where caliphs as early as the ninth century supported endeavors in this field. Averroes's commentaries were important because Aristotle's teaching is in many places difficult to understand, and Averroës strove to provide a clear, accurate interpretation. His commentaries, which followed Aristotle's books closely, took three forms: "short" commentaries comprising epitomes of Aristotle's text, "middle" commentaries addressing the original text paragraph by paragraph, and "great" or "long" commentaries reproducing the entire original text in segments interspersed with Averroës's own analysis.

Many of the commentaries were translated into Latin, in response to the interest of Latin scholars who were reading Aristotle and facing the same difficulties of understanding as the Arabic scholars before them. The translations that had the greatest impact were the commentaries on the books on metaphysics and natural philosophy (the study of the natural, or physical, world, which today we would classify as science):

the great commentaries on *Physics*, *De caelo*, *De anima*, and *Metaphysics*; the middle commentaries on *De generatione et corruptione* and *Meteorological* (Book 4 only); and the short commentaries on *De caelo*, *Parva naturalia*, and *De animalibus*. These translations seem to have been made during the 1220s and 1230s in intellectual circles in southern Italy, with the support of Frederick II (1194-1250), Holy Roman emperor and king of Sicily,

The commentaries became central to the study of Aristotle, and among Latin writers in medieval Europe, Averroës came to be known as "the commentator," just as Aristotle was called "the philosopher." Certain theories found in their books posed problems for Christian readers. Because he reiterated and expanded on Aristotle's teaching, Averroës received much of the blame for the controversy the theories aroused. The most provocative was Aristotle's case in *Physics* and *De caelo* for the eternity of the world, a notion in direct conflict with creation *ex nihilo* as taught in Genesis. Averroës was also held responsible for a theory of the "unicity" of the intellect, sometimes called monopsychism, based on Aristotle's brief, cryptic description of the human intellect in *De anima* and developed in Averroës's commentary on that work. According to this theory, there is one intellect shared by all of humanity, which individuals "borrow" for the duration of a lifetime only. In order to account for conceptual thinking and the process of understanding, Aristotle had posited two intellects, an "active" or "agent" intellect and a "passive" or "potential" intellect, explaining that the active intellect exerted influence on the passive intellect in order to bring about knowledge. Aristotle said that the active intellect was somehow "separate," but as his description in *De anima* was brief, readers were (and still are) puzzled as to whether the intellects were located within individual human beings. The great Persian philosopher Ibn Sina (980-1037), known in Europe as Avicenna, held that the active intellect was separate and, since Aristotle had taught that separate substances are unique, that there was only one active intellect for all human beings. Averroës reasoned from Aristotle's account that the active and the passive intellect must each be separate and unique. During the life of a human body, the intellects were individuated by being related to it; but the individuated intellects did not survive the death of the body: rather, they were reabsorbed by the

single, unified intellect. This conclusion had dangerous implications for Christian theology, which held that the intellect is part of the human soul: unicity meant that there could be no immortality of the soul and therefore no afterlife, no judgment of souls by God, and consequently no accountability for sin.

By the end of the thirteenth century, those who supported the dangerous opinions of Aristotle and Averroës were sometimes scornfully called Averroists (*Averroistae*). In modern scholarship, these thinkers, such as Siger of Brabant (c. 1240-c. 1284) and Boethius of Dacia (fl. 1275), are often referred to as Latin Averroists. At the University of Paris, the center of theological study in Europe during the thirteenth century, there were several prohibitions against teaching Aristotle, Averroës, or their more contentious principles—most notably in 1277, when Bishop Etienne Tempier listed and banned 219 principles on pain of excommunication. Some modern scholars have compared the actual views of Averroës with these "condemnations of 1277" and with the opinions of Averroists and have concluded that the Averroists' thought is not truly representative of Averroës himself; consequently, they prefer to call these thinkers "radical" or "heterodox" Aristotelians. Nevertheless, the term "Averroist" is still widely used.

An important concept attributed to the Averroists was the "double truth"—a view was that something can be true according to philosophical reasoning but not according to faith or, conversely, true according to revelation but not reason. Neither faith nor reason took priority; the opposing truths, such as creation and the eternity of the world, simply had to be seen in separate contexts. This concept offered a loophole for philosophers whose ideas conflicted with the scriptures, and it was condemned in the preamble to the condemnations of 1277 and in anti-Averroist polemics; but evidence of actual adherence to the doctrine is scarce.

Modern scholarship has associated Averroism in Italy with the University of Padua, owing to the thinking of several philosophers there in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as Paul of Venice (Paulo Nicoletti, c. 1369-1429); Gaetano (Cajetan) of Thiene (1387-1465), who was Averroist more by historical reputation than by persuasion; and two of Gaetano's students: Agostino Nifo (1469 or 1470-1538), who began his career at Padua and altered his Averroist views in his later

work, and Nicoletto Vernias (1420-1499). Remarks by Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304-1374) in his *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia* criticizing four philosophers led the great scholar Ernest Renan to extrapolate the presence of Paduan Averroism as far back as the fourteenth century. The notion of a Paduan Averroist tradition before the fifteenth century has since been revised, however; although Aristotle was discussed, there is little evidence of proponents of Averroist theories at this time in Padua. Figures previously associated in modern scholarship with Padua and Averroist thought are now seen in a different light. Peter of Abano (c. 1250-1316), who taught at Padua starting in 1307, was at one time considered an Averroist because he insisted on discussing philosophy without considering religious doctrine; but it has now been shown that he did not accept the unicity of the intellect. Marsilius of Padua (c. 1275-c. 1343), who taught in Paris, probably had no connection with the University of Padua and is now believed not to have adhered to Averroist doctrine. One scholar who has been described as Averroist and who did have links with Padua, Blasius of Parma (Biagio Pelacani, c. 1347-1416), taught there from 1382 to 1388; but he also taught extensively at other universities (at Pavia c. 1374-1378 and 1389-1407, and at Bologna from 1379 to 1382), and while he did hold that the soul was material and therefore not immortal, his classification as an Averroist has been called into question.

In contrast with the decline in the idea of a Paduan Averroism, there has been growing recognition of Averroist opinions in Bologna in the fourteenth century. In addition to Blasius of Parma, we find Taddeo of Parma (active c. 1320), a student of the Aristotelian commentator Gentile of Cingoli (active in the 1290s); Taddeo's *Questions on the Soul* shows Averroist leanings. Angelo of Arezzo (active c. 1325) almost certainly supported the theory of the unicity of the possible intellect, though he acknowledged—apparently more out of duty than conviction—that it contradicted Christian faith and hence should not be believed. Additional scholars in Bologna at this time who have been identified as Averroist include Anselm of Como (arts master, c. 1325-c. 1355), Matthew of Gubbio (arts master, c. 1334-47), James of Piacenza (arts master, c. 1340-1343), and Cambiolo of Bologna (probably arts master at Bologna, active c. 1333). The criteria for classifying medieval Italian writers as Averroist have come under scrutiny as modern scholars of

Italian Averroism (and of European Averroism in general) consider the problem of defining Averroism in terms of the views it comprises and the way it evolved.

In spite of the controversy surrounding some of his ideas, Averroës was recognized in medieval Europe as essential to philosophical study because of the detail and clarity of his commentary. Even scholars who disagreed with him read his commentaries along with Aristotle, and their own commentaries were influenced by the form and content of Averroës's.

See also **Arabs in Italy; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Pietro Abano; Scholasticism**

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Aversa

The dry of Aversa is in southern Italy, about 20 miles (32 kilometers) north of Naples but part of the province of Caserta. Aversa was the seat of the first permanent Norman establishment in southern Italy and became the nucleus of the Normans' power in that region. The history of the city began in 1022 when Emperor Henry II (973-1024) granted the territory around the ruins of ancient Atella to a band of Normans led by Rainulf (d. 1045) who had arrived in southern Italy in 1017. In 1030

Rainulf was named count of Aversa by Duke Sergius IV of Naples; Sergius was motivated to do this because he felt threatened by the aggressive actions of the Lombard prince of Capua, Pandulf, who had recently concluded a successful campaign in the Abruzzi. In 1038, at the conclusion of a campaign by Emperor Conrad II (c. 990-1039) in southern Italy, Rainulf was solemnly invested as count of Aversa and the Norman colony was recognized as a fief of the prince of Salerno, Guaimar V, whose territory now included Capua. In 1047, Emperor Henry III (1017-1056) agreed to recognize Rainulf as count of Aversa. Aversa was raised to a bishopric by Pope Leo IX (1002–1054) at the request of a subsequent count, Rainulf's nephew Richard I (d. 1078). In 1053, Richard began the construction of the cathedral, a work concluded by his son Jordan (d. 1090). Richard expanded his lands, and the fortunes of Aversa generally followed those of its Norman rulers until the city was sacked by the army of Emperor Henry VI (1165-1197). Andrew of Hungary, the husband of Joanna I, was murdered in the castle of Aversa in 1345.

See also **Henry II, Saint and Emperor; Normans; Rainulf, Count of Aversa; Richard I, Count of Aversa**

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Aviary

Birds have served as practical and allegorical images throughout human history. From the earliest cave paintings, such as those found at

Lascaux, the bird has served as a totemic image; in later times, it was a subject of innumerable depictions in decorative and lifelike settings. In the wall paintings of ancient Egyptian tombs and in Roman mosaic floors, birds often inhabit a naturalistic landscape. Abstracted as symbolic form and characters, they became a common image in hieroglyphics. Appliquéd images in the art of early barbarian Europe were carried over into medieval mosaics, altar frontals (such as that of Duke Ratchis, c. 799), and reliquaries. In medieval works of art and literature, birds were symbolic images. As early as the second century after Christ, literal and pictorial descriptions took on the form of allegorical images when lessons about the nature of animals could be seen as examples of some aspect of human life and morality.

The earliest medieval texts derive from ancient sources such as Aristotle's or Aelian's *Historia animalium* or from the Septuagint. Saint Melito (died c. 190), bishop of Sardis, probably compiled the first book on the nature of birds: *De avibus*, which is part of his *Clavis Scripturae* (*Key to the Scriptures*). In the tradition of the early church fathers, Melito identifies the sources from which he acquired his information. He relied primarily on the Old Testament, and so he focuses on the theological or mystical value of the natural world, which he divides into general categories before discussing individual birds. His opening chapters treat birds in general, flight, the wings of the bird, and what all winged creatures mean to the faithful allegorically. Under the heading *Aves*, he also includes other flying creatures such as scarab beetles, bees, locusts, and mosquitoes.

The first medieval book of animals, *Physiologus*, of unknown authorship, dates from the second century and contains quasiallegorical stories about birds. *Physiologus* appeared in various versions in Christian literature through the fifth century. Birds make up only a small part of it—rarely are more than eleven mentioned—but the content varied, depending on the geographical area in which a given version was written. The Smyrna edition, for example, has different birds from later English editions, and the English versions differ from the French and German. *Physiologus* was superseded in the seventh century by the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), who made the first synthesis of other stories and local traditions about certain animals.

In books containing stories about and images of birds, the images

might have a purely decorative function, but such books might also serve as manuals for hunting, with little or no allegorical description. Books on falconry by Albertus Magnus and the famous *Art of Falconry* (*De arte venandi cum avibus*) composed by Emperor Frederick II were quite different from the early *Physiologus* and from subsequent bestiaries and might be regarded as leaning toward a more practical, if not empirical, approach. Albertus and Frederick did very little moralizing and offered few allegorical comments; rather, they approached their subject in terms of avian behavior that would enable a hunter to find and kill birds and prepare them for eating. However, this factual, objective approach was not generally followed in the bestiaries.

In the later Middle Ages, as encyclopedic collections of stories about birds grew and became synthesized, the limited focus of *Physiologus* was replaced by the larger bestiary. By the mid-twelfth century, the first specialized *Aviaryum* was compiled by Abbot Hugh of Fouillooy. This contribution to the expansion of the traditional bestiary was probably accidental: several comments lead the readers to believe that Hugh intended to include other animals. He relates stories about birds in detail but not necessarily in a comprehensive way. Hugh's opening chapters on the dove, for example, are both a compilation and an imaginary conflation to fit the desired theological lessons. He sees the "silvered" dove (in Chapter 2) as having the "beak of preaching" and its color as a sign of divine eloquence; the dove's feathers are monastic teachers, and its wings are the wings of contemplation by which one can transcend worldly things. The dove also has earthly value, serving as a metaphor for the church: as the dove looks out for the hawk, so the church watches for the devil. Hugh later describes the dove allegorically (in Chapter 3); still later the rest of the body is discussed at length (Chapter 4). Several chapters follow on the hawk, turtledove, and sparrow, as well as on the cedars and palm trees which they were said to inhabit. Along with common birds such as the hawk, Hugh takes up birds that were less well known to his European audience—e.g., the ostrich—and fictitious birds such as the phoenix and *caladrius*. Other common birds Hugh presents include the crane, stork, heron, kite, blackbird, jay, quail, partridge, swan, hoopoe, goose, and owl. He reserves for last the more spectacular peacock and eagle.

A characteristic evolution of an image in the Middle Ages can be

seen in the *caladrius*, a mythical bird also called the *calandrino*, *calandrello*, *cbaradrius*, or calendar bird. Isidore of Seville described the *caladrius* in his *Etymologies*, and it has since been identified with several species, including the dove and the goldfinch. It is also described in later versions of *Physiologus*, a fact which suggests that it may have a history predating Isidore. It later appears in the *Vita acerba* of Cecco d'Ascoli (1322) and in Leonardo da Vinci's *Fior di virtù* (c. 1500-1510). The *caladrius* had a shorter life in pictorial art, appearing mostly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy. Friedmann (1947) counted 489 paintings depicting the goldfinch-*caladrius*, of which 450 were Italian. According to a legend transmitted in varying degrees of detail by Hugh of Fouilloy, Cecco d'Ascoli, and Leonardo, the *caladrius* plays a dual role: if the bird looks on someone who is ill, that person will get well, but if it turns its head away the person will die. (Similar myths are found in other cultures, though the animal may be different.) At the heart of this legend is the *caladrius* as a metaphor for Christ or Mary—each may look on ill persons, whose fate is then based on how they conducted their lives. The legend and the metaphor both reflect popular theology, in which illness and death are seen not as natural phenomena but as a consequence of sinfulness and evil. The use of the *caladrius* or any other fowl in divination borders on magic, which was condemned early on by Augustine in opposition to Mithraic cults. The *caladrius* was important as allegory rather than as a real bird found in nature.

See also **llegory**; **Bestiaries**; **Physiologus**

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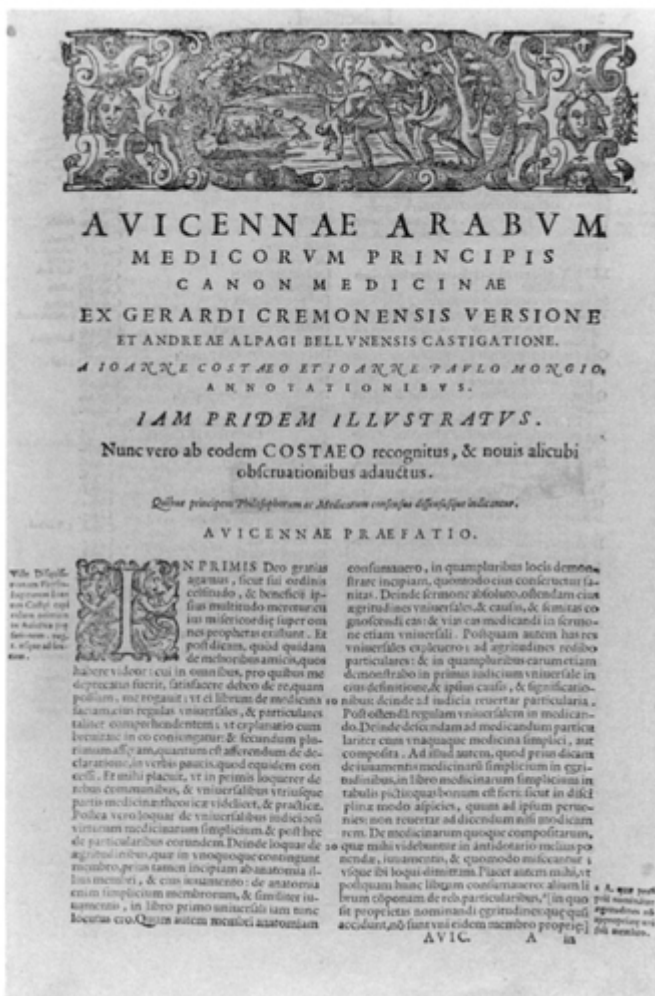
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Avicenna

The Persian philosopher, poet, and physician Ibn Sina (Abu Ali al-Husayn ibn Abdallah ibn Sina; 980-1037) is known in the west as Avicenna. He was born in Bukhara and died in Hamadan, Persia.

Avicenna was famous in Italy during the Middle Ages as the author of the *Canon of Medicine* (*al-Qanun fi 'l tibb*), a gigantic medical encyclopedia that remains one of the most remarkable achievements of medieval philosophical thought. The *Canon* was first translated from Arabic into Latin by Gerard of Cremona and his pupils in Spain during the twelfth century, and thereafter it formed the basis of the medical curriculum at every university in the medieval west. Avicenna's great work is so comprehensive, well-constructed, and detailed that today it is still the foundation for medical teaching in some parts of the Middle East.

The life of Avicenna resembles that of many celebrated sages from the east. He was born into an educated family and displayed remarkable precocity at an early age, learning the Qur'an (Koran) from memory and then studying texts of natural philosophy and medicine; by the time he was sixteen, he was already a famous physician. He spent most of his life wandering throughout Persia, often following a wealthy patron, and serving as a physician, teacher, and government official. In the Islamic world, he is famous as a natural philosopher whose melding and reconciliation of Aristotelian, Neoplatonic, and Muslim thought was universally admired in Arabic-and Persian-speaking cultures.



Avicenna, *Arabum medicorum principis*. Venice: Apud Iuntas, 1595. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

From the standpoint of medieval Christian culture, Avicenna's achievement was twofold. Not only did he return Aristotle's and Galen's medical thought to the west after it had been lost for many centuries, but he also helped establish the physician as a gentleman, whose decorous behavior admitted him to the most intimate circles of the wealthy and powerful. In the Islamic world of Avicenna's time,

medicine was much more than mere cures for sundry diseases: it was the dispensing of learned advice about the welfare of the body. The medieval Muslim physician, like Galen in the second century, applied an intimate knowledge of nature, combined with astrology, pharmacy, and not a few merry tales and bits of gossip, to teach his patrons how to live well. It is not surprising, then, that men like Avicenna, who wrote numerous medical and philosophical treatises, also took up poetry as a mark of their gentility.

Avicenna's cultured, philosophical medicine had an immediate appeal to Latin-speaking physicians. Aristotle had said that where natural philosophy ended, there medicine began (*De sensu*, Book 1, 436a), but, to the constant frustration of medieval physicians, he did not elaborate on this point, Avicenna was the first philosopher to demonstrate how medicine might indeed be a development from natural philosophy and therefore a subject worthy of advanced study.

See also **Arabs in Italy; Medicine; Taddeo Alderotti**

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Avignonese Papacy

The term "Avignonese papacy" refers to the period when the popes were resident in the city of Avignon, on the east bank of the Rhone, from 1309 to 1376. The Great Schism brought another line of popes to Avignon from 1378 to 1417.

The papacy first came to Avignon because of disturbances in Rome following the death of Pope Boniface VIII in 1303; these disturbances prevented his successor, Benedict XI, from returning to the city. Benedict's successor, Clement V, considered it dangerous even to be crowned in Italy and therefore transferred the papal court to the safety of his native France in 1305. The move was intended to be temporary, but conditions in Italy made a return impossible throughout Clement's reign. From 1305 to 1309, Clement stayed briefly in several cities in the south of France. As he traveled about, he found himself pressed constantly by the French king, Philip the Fair, to assist in various political schemes. Clement was drawn to Avignon in 1309 partly because of the discomfort of continual travel (he became seriously ill at about this time) and because he was being put in an awkward position by Philip's requests, Philip being not only a king but technically Clement's host. Avignon was attractive because it was in papal rather than French territory—it belonged to a papal vassal, Robert of Anjou (king of Naples and Sicily), and it lay within the county of Venaissin, which had been a possession of the papacy since 1274—yet it was just across the Rhone from the protection of France. Moreover, it was not far from Vienne, where Clement intended to hold a general council in 1311. Avignon suited Clement so well that he made it his principal residence for the remainder of his pontificate, living in temporary quarters at the city's Dominican convent.



Papal Palace, Avignon. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Clement's successor, John XXII, had hopes of returning to Italy and residing in Bologna; but Bologna proved as unsettled as Rome, and so John spent his eighteen-year reign at the episcopal palace in Avignon. John's relatively long pontificate gave an air of permanence to the papal residence at Avignon. Although his successors continued to talk of returning to Rome, they began to settle into Avignon for a long stay. During the reigns of Benedict XII and Clement VI the papal curia grew to more than 4,000. These popes (especially John XXII) generated considerable wealth through improved methods of ecclesiastical taxation, which allowed them to put vast sums into the construction of a papal residence and other improvements within the city. Their efforts gained momentum during the mid-1330s, when the last vestiges of papal control in central Italy were lost. Benedict XII began a fortified palace on the site of the old episcopal residence, and Clement VI expanded the palace: his court there became the most splendid in Europe. When the Hundred Years' War began in the late 1330s, a massive wall was erected around the city to protect it from marauding mercenaries. Finally, in 1348, Clement VI purchased Avignon from the Neapolitan crown so that the papacy might have a direct claim to it.

The building programs of the Avignonese popes made them the leading patrons of art in Europe during the mid-fourteenth century. They engaged not just local artists but noted Italians like Simone

Martini and Matteo di Giovanetti to provide decorations for the new buildings. In the papal palace and in a number of secular buildings in Avignon these Italians created frescoes and other works that established throughout Provence the strong influence of the Sienese pictorial tradition. Under their influence, a school of painting emerged in Avignon that lasted into the fifteenth century and provided an important conduit for the transmission of Italian monumental classicism into northern Europe. The popes' increasing patronage of art and the concomitant luxury that developed in the curia at Avignon have led some authorities to consider the Avignonese papacy a forerunner of the Renaissance papacy at Rome. The popes' largesse also caused literary figures to gravitate to Avignon, among them Petrarch.

By the 1350s, however, the popes were again seriously contemplating a return to Rome. The mercenary bands of the Hundred Years' War now posed such a threat to Avignon that even fractious Italy seemed attractive. Clement VI tried to pacify Romagna in 1350-1351 but failed miserably. His successor, Innocent VI, fared better. Innocent wisely chose as his commander in Italy the famous soldier and diplomat Cardinal Albornoz, who had recently arrived at the curia from Castile. Between 1353 and 1358 Albornoz fought a series of brilliant campaigns that regained all the old papal lands, although from 1358 to 1364 he continued to struggle with Ghibelline forces in the north who threatened the security of his conquests. Innocent VI died before he could return to Rome, but his successor Urban V did go back in 1367. Unfortunately, the papacy's hold on the city was not as strong as Urban had supposed, and disorders forced him to retreat to Avignon in 1370. Gregory XI returned the papal court to Rome permanently in 1377.

Church historians often consider 1377 the end of the Avignonese papacy, because from that date popes resided in Rome who were considered legitimate in later ecclesiastical thought. But Avignon continued to be the seat of a papal court until the early fifteenth century. When the Great Schism began in 1378, one of the claimants to the papacy, Clement VII, took up residence at Avignon because his rival held Rome. Clement and his successor Benedict XIII reigned at Avignon until the end of the schism in 1417. During the interim, a significant portion of Christendom—including the kingdoms of France, Scotland, and Portugal and the duchy of Savoy—accepted the leadership

of these Avignonese popes.

The Avignonese popes displayed great energy in a variety of areas. They founded many universities, promoted missionary work in Asia, vigorously suppressed heresy, and pursued successful reforms of the clergy and of ecclesiastical government. Despite this, however, they came under considerable criticism from several quarters. Because all the Avignonese popes were French and the curia was located so close to France, some people, especially the English, felt that these popes were controlled by the French monarchy. Such suspicions were fed by the fact that an inordinate number of Frenchmen were appointed cardinals during the Avignon papacy: 111 of 134. In Germany, much hostility was generated by a twenty-four-year struggle between the papacy and Emperor Louis IV (c. 1283–1347). Throughout Europe, the lower clergy resented the popes' rigorous new methods for gathering revenue. And reformers, who increasingly favored apostolic poverty, found the pomp and luxury of the papal court as offensive as the bribery and corruption in curial government. Figures as diverse as Catherine of Siena, Bridget of Sweden, and Petrarch assailed and sometimes exaggerated Avignon's immorality. They came to refer to the papacy's stay in Avignon as a "Babylonian captivity."

The Avignonese papacy was neither as corrupt nor as ineffectual as its critics charged. For the most part, the Avignonese popes were dedicated men trying to make the best of a difficult situation. But the challenges they faced were enormous. The political authority of the papacy was declining rapidly, while national states were growing in power and wealth. The cardinalate was riven by factions that often impeded and sometimes paralyzed papal government. Above all, the loss of Italy denied Avignon's popes three major sources of income vital to papal government: the tithes of the clergy of central Italy, the taxes from their Italian lands, and the gifts of pilgrims. The fiscal measures the Avignonese popes adopted to compensate for this caused a great deal of the criticism leveled at them. To maintain papal government, the popes turned to the regular use of extraordinary and questionable money-gathering practices that had developed during the thirteenth century. Most obnoxious was the systematic collation of benefices, which effectively borrowed the income of local churches to cover the expenses of the curia. This thoroughly alienated the local clergy and

proved financially and administratively counterproductive. A policy of centralization exacerbated the problem by expanding the number of officeholders in the curia, and thus the number of benefices needed by the papacy.

These measures and the building projects and patronage upon which ecclesiastical taxes were spent led many to conclude that the Avignonese papacy was greedy, luxury-loving, power-hungry, and unconcerned with the true problems of the church. Instances of real corruption confirmed this impression. The prestige of the papacy might have been restored if the popes' return to Rome had been followed by a period of energetic reform. Instead, it was followed by the Great Schism.

See also Alborno, Gil Alvarez Cabrillode; John XXII, Pope; Lewis of Bavaria; Martini, Simone; Papacy; Petrarca, Francesco; Urban V, Pope

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Azo

Azo (Adso, Azone Azzo, Azzolino, Azzone; sometimes dei Porci or Soldani; c. 1150-1220 or 1230) was one of the greatest and best-known teachers of and experts on civil law connected with the university at Bologna during the first half of the thirteenth century, when the school was at its zenith. Of his life little is known for certain, and even his birthplace is a matter of dispute, though Bologna is generally accepted. However, he appears in numerous Bolognese documents, private and civic, between 1190 and 1220. Azo had five sons who survived him, and their descendants took the surname Azzi.

Azo studied in Bologna under Giovanni Bassiano and by 1190 was a doctor of law. He is said to have had many students, including several

major figures in canon law—Tancred, Laurentius Hispanus, and probably Sinibaldo Fieschi, the future Pope Innocent IV—as well as scholars of civil law: Iacopo Baldovini; Roffredo Beneventano; Martino da Fano; and Accursius, who compiled the famous *Glossa ordinaria*, the standard study of the civil law code. Azo's own major contributions to scholarship were *Summa codicis* (which glosses, or comments on, the first nine books of the *Codex* portion of *Corpus iuris civilis*) and *Summa institutionum* (on the *Institutes* of Justinian). Of thirty-one extant editions between 1482 and 1610, all but one (Speyer, 1482) are combinations of these two works with one or more of the other studies (*Extraordinaria*) that complete the text and commentary on the *Corpus*-, the glosses of Piacentino on the three remaining books of the *Codex*; those of Bassiano on the *Authenticae*; and those of Bulgaro Bolgarini, Bassiano, and Azo on the *Digest*. Azo honored his promise to make his commentaries clear and useful ("nothing obscure, nothing dubious, nothing contrary to the laws"), unlike much earlier scholarship, which seemed purposely vague or esoteric. Azo also treated the law as an integrated whole rather than as isolated pieces and thus captured—or imposed—a unifying spirit. Legal scholars as far away as Henry Bracton in England (d. 1268) were influenced by this novel approach. Closer to home, the importance of the *Summae* to anyone seeking to practice law in northern Italian cities was underlined by a witticism: *Chi non ha Azo non vada a Palazzo*, ("Whoever does not have Azo may not go to City Hall").

Azo's commentaries, or glosses, on Roman law also appear scattered through many collections. In Accursius's *Glossa*, for example, one-third of the comments attributed to his predecessors are Azo's. Other surviving compilations of Azo's legal work include *Brocarda*, which attempts to reconcile apparently contradictory rules of law; fifty-three legal *Distinctiones* from a manuscript in Brussels; and nineteen scholastic *Quaestiones* for formal academic disputation (of which seven were presented by Bassiano to his student Azo). A series of Azo's lectures (*Lectura*) on the *Codex* were recorded by a student, Alessandro di Sant'Egidio, and these shed a good deal of light on the methods and dynamics of classroom presentation. Unfortunately, only a late printed edition (Paris, 1577) exists, which presents the modern scholar with problems of textual integrity.

See also Accursius; Bologna; Glossa Ordinaria: Roman Law; Law: Roman; Universities

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B

Balbus, Johannes

See Giovanni Balbi da Genova

Ballata

A *ballata* is a poetic and musical form. This brief lyric consists of an initial stanza with a unique meter and rhyme scheme, called the *ripresa* or *ritornello* (refrain), followed by one or more stanzas with a common meter and rhyme scheme. These stanzas are divided into two parts: a *fronte* and a *sirima*; the *sirima* concludes with one or more verses that borrow meter and rhyme from the *ripresa*. The *ripresa* establishes the theme of the composition. In performance, the stanzas are associated with a solo voice and the *ripresa* is associated with a chorus.

The structure of the *ballata* (plural, *ballate*) resembles Provençal dance compositions of a metrical type that reached its mature form at the court of Charles of Anjou in Provence. The genre was diffused in Tuscany in the mid-thirteenth century, and the first Italian *ballate* were composed by the Siculo-Tuscan school of that period. In the early fourteenth century, Dante reaffirmed the link between the *ballata* form and dance (*De vulgari eloquentia*, II.3.5).

The recurring pattern of rhyme and theme in a *ballata* is reminiscent of the ancient rhetoric of praise. Jacopone da Todi (c. 1230-1306) established an enduring tradition of Christian hymns of praise, or *laude*, in the *ballata* form, with compositions such as *O iubelo del core*. The master of the secular *ballata* was Guido Cavalcanti (c. 1255–1300), whose extant corpus includes eleven *ballate* but only two *canzoni*. De Robertis (1961) has shown that Cavalcanti's fluid, natural amplification of ideas within the stanzas of hendecasyllabic *ballate* distinguishes

them from contemporary *canzoni*, in which there is a more rigorous marshaling of arguments. This was a major contribution to the *dolce stil nuovo*, and an essential lesson that Dante learned from Cavalcanti, who was one of his earliest friends. Cavalcanti's most celebrated *ballata*, *Perch'io no spero di tornar giammai*, is composed in hendecasyllables and heptasyllables. The rhyme form of the *ripresa* is Wxxyyz and that of the stanzas is ABAB Bccddz (hendecasyllables are represented by capital letters). Cavalcanti expands the expressive potential of the recurring rhyme, engaging it in conversation with the stanzas, as Ugo Foscolo pointed out in the early nineteenth century.

The *ballata* form was explored by exponents of the *dolce stil nuovo*, including Dante and Cino da Pistoia, but Dante considered it inferior to the *canzone*, though superior to the sonnet. Francesco Petrarca, who included only seven mono- or distanzic ballatas in his *Canzoniere*, diminished the prestige of the genre relative to the *canzone* and the sonnet. Boccaccio, in the *Decameron*, describes the singing of *ballate* and accompanying dances as part of each evening's entertainment, and other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century *novellieri* like Sacchetti and Bandello followed his lead, interpolating *ballate* into their prose and thus widening the breach between the *ballata* and more "elevated" lyric genres.

See also Ars Nova; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Canzone; Cavaicanti, Guido; Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Jacopone da Todi; Petrarca, Francesco; Sonnet

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Banks and Banking

Banking in the modern sense, like much of modern business practice, has its roots not in the ancient world but in the economic revival of Mediterranean Europe that began in the tenth century. Nonetheless, to the extent that medieval banking practices were influenced by legal norms codified in Justinian's *Digest*, Roman concepts survived. Banking institutions in the western Roman empire existed to provide safekeeping for valuables, to make large- and small-scale credit available, and to perform exchange operations. As the western empire broke up, its economy regressed in comparison with the surviving eastern empire or, after the seventh century, the Islamic world. There was no longer any necessity for the more sophisticated mercantile functions of banking. Demands for credit were almost exclusively for consumption loans, to buy either luxuries for the well-to-do or essentials for those in dire straits.

The localization of minting and the consequent proliferation of coins in a bewildering variety of types, designs, fineness, and weights virtually ensured that money changers were a part of any sizable medieval community. Although evidence is scanty and often ambiguous before the thirteenth century, the great banks which appeared in Italy during that century are generally believed to have evolved from money-changing operations. In Florence, bankers in the great age of the Bardi, the Peruzzi, and the Medici were members of the *Arte del Cambio*, the money changers' guild. The earliest documents recording the activities of money changers are found among the twelfth-century notarial chartularies of Genoa. The term *bancherius*—derived from the carpet-covered table or bench (*banchus*) over which

the exchanges were made—was already in use in the mid-twelfth century as a synonym for *cambitor*, although despite this terminology the money changer was not yet a "banker." By the last quarter of the twelfth century Genoese *bancherii* were accepting deposits and making loans, so the transition to banking had begun. Moreover, the priority of Genoa in the record may reflect simply the preservation of documents rather than any precocious development of banking there.

The nature of their business required money changers to have considerable sums on hand in coin. It would have required only a small extension of the concept of exchange for the money changer to advance a sum in anticipation of receiving coins to complete an exchange at a later date. In both Roman law and canon law a *mutuum* was a consumption loan that required the borrower to return only the equivalent value of what had been lent. In Roman law any agreement for a return of more than was lent had to be promised in an additional *stipulatio* that was not legally a part of the *mutuum* contract. In later Roman law, the amount of interest that could be charged was limited. Canon law, heavily influenced by the *corpus iuris civilis*, prohibited such interest agreements altogether. Since the *mutuum* was a consumption loan, the prevailing image in the agrarian society of the early Middle Ages was of someone who needed food or seed grain borrowing under the threat of destitution. To impose an additional charge in such a situation would have been contrary to the requirements of Christian charity. An advance in an exchange operation, however, might not have been conceived of as a loan at all, and any charges involved could have been thought of as having been levied on the exchange operation rather than as a return on a loan.

Furthermore, money changers must have had strong rooms, or at least strongboxes, to keep their coins safe from thieves. It is only natural, then, that anyone who had coins or other valuables might leave them with a money changer for safekeeping. Again, Roman law provided a legal framework for *depositum*: one person's giving some thing (*res*) into the custody of another. In the simplest form of the *depositum*, the custodian was expected to return the same *res* to the depositor exactly as it had been left with him. One can imagine a sealed bag of coins, marked by a depositor, being returned exactly as it had been left. But money—unlike a horse or an heirloom—is fungible (*res*

fungibilis): i.e., the exact equivalent value of certain things, such as coins, grain, oil, and wine, can be restored to a depositor without returning exactly the same thing that was deposited. Thus Roman law also recognized the *depositum irregulare*, which required returning something of equivalent value, but not necessarily the *res ipsum* (the very thing, the thing itself). In a contract involving *depositum* the custodian was obliged to return the *res* and any increase that might have occurred. For example, if a pregnant mare gave birth to a foal while on *depositum*, the custodian had to restore both mare and foal to the depositor, though the custodian had the right to recover any expenses incurred in keeping the *res*—in this example, the cost of feeding the mare and foal. Furthermore, the custodian had an obligation to exercise due diligence in caring for the *res*; and having done so, he was not liable for theft or damage outside his control. In a *depositum irregulare*, the ownership (*dominium*) of the *res* was transferred. After a specified period of time the custodian was required to return an equivalent value to the depositor. The custodian was responsible for any losses, even accidental losses, but was not obliged to return any increase or profit he made from the use of the *res*. The *depositum irregulare* was not considered a *mutuum*, because it was a contract undertaken primarily for the benefit of the depositor, even though the custodian had the right to make use of the *res* during the specified period. Also, in Roman law, interest could be paid, and it should be paid if the custodian was late in restoring the deposit to the depositor.

These concepts of *mutuum* and *depositum*, rooted in Roman law, continued to influence the development of banking in the Middle Ages. Canon law, which took most of its structure from Roman law, had an enormous effect. The church's teachings on usury shaped the way medieval banks did business, and the influence of Roman law ensured that the church's consideration of the matter would be in legal terms. The payment of interest, both on deposits and on loans, is at the heart of the business of banking. Yet in both civil and canon law such payment was dubious and very much dependent on circumstances. The *mutuum*, a loan in its simplest form, did not oblige the borrower to return anything beyond the principal. Canon law was clear on this: any return at all beyond the principal was usury, condemned in law and in

the confessional. The church, however, recognized that in some circumstances the lender might suffer damages or incur expenses as a result of making a loan, and such an instance it was licit to receive compensation. It was also acceptable to receive a penalty payment if a loan was not repaid at maturity. There were loopholes, then, in the prohibition of usury, and canon lawyers and scholastics debated the fine points at length. Loans at interest were made—both overtly and covertly—but they incurred the condemnation of the church and the opprobrium of the community. Large-scale merchant bankers preferred to avoid these consequences, but in this area of economic activity the church's teaching and the community's attitudes were ambiguous.

Only if there was a *mutuum* could there be usury. Other kinds of transactions did not entail being condemned as usurious. Many kinds of contracts involved transferring capital temporarily from one party to another and were not considered loans, though to the modern eye the distinction might seem finespun. One of the most common contracts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the *commenda*, in which one party in a single venture committed capital to the other party, who traveled to carry out the active role; both parties shared in the profits and losses of the venture. There were also various kinds of partnerships and other investments that accomplished similar purposes. However, necessity and the church's doctrine on usury combined to make the exchange contract—the *cambium*—the central business feature of medieval and early modern banking.

Manual exchange, that is, the physical exchange of coins of one kind for coins of another kind across a carpet-covered bench, remained the province of the local money changer. But by the early thirteenth century, the letter of exchange was a favorite means of transferring capital for a period of time at a profit. A charge for foreign exchange was not considered interest on a loan, because it involved *cambium* rather than *mutuum*. Exchange carried out by means of a bill of exchange involved payment in one kind of coin in one place, and collection—usually in another kind of coin—in another place. The time that elapsed was merely due to distance and so did not make the *cambium* a loan, though the effect could be much the same. In the end, while lawyers and scholastics debated the technical aspects of usury, laymen came to the widespread conclusion that only a guaranteed

return on a loan constituted usury; an uncertain return avoided this taint. A return on a *depositum irregulare* could be justified as a gift or as a share of profits realized by the banker through use of deposited funds. The *commenda*, various partnerships, and other contracts did not guarantee a specific rate of return, or indeed any return at all, and some of these arrangements entailed a risk of loss. Exchange rates could vary between the issuance of a bill of exchange and its presentation. The doctrine concerning usury, then, did not prevent bankers from using their depositors' capital for profit; but to the extent that it discouraged consumption loans, it might have channeled capital into business investment, thus benefiting the medieval economy. It certainly pushed medieval banking in the direction of exchange banking.

By the late twelfth century, bankers were using funds deposited with them to make investments in commercial enterprises and to make credit available to third parties. In 1200, a Genoese banker promised a woman who had deposited fifty *lire genovesi* in his bank that he would "employ them in trade in Genoa so long as it shall be your pleasure; and I promise to give you the profit according to what seems to me ought to come to you."

Such arrangements required relatively sophisticated record-keeping. Accounting, and ultimately double-entry bookkeeping, developed as banking operations became larger and more complex. Even at a relatively rudimentary level, these records made it possible for bankers to make book transfers from one client's account to another. By the early thirteenth century, merchants would routinely call at the bench where their banker did business to give an oral order for payment by debiting the payer's account and crediting the payee's. Almost as quickly, it became possible for clients of different bankers to settle debts by means of transfers between banks, because in most Italian cities the bankers commonly carried on their business in the same location, facilitating quick oral communication among them. In Genoa, the benches were set up in the Piazza Banchi near the port. In Venice, bankers gathered at the Rialto. Bankers in Lucca congregated in the Piazza San Martino in front of the cathedral. Bankers in Florence, perhaps because there were so many of them, formed several centers: the Mercato Nuovo, Mercato Vecchio, and Or San Michele were the most important. Perhaps because their activity was so dispersed, the

Florentine bankers seem to have led in the development of the check, a written rather than oral order to a banker to transfer funds from one account to another.

Though banking had its origins in money changing, the largest banks of medieval Italy were merchant banking houses. Italian merchants were prominent at the fairs of Champagne and other wholesale markets in northern Europe. Records show definitely that merchants from Siena were active there in 1216, and there is evidence from the 1220s that they were engaged in both mercantile and banking activities. Italian companies engaging in trade beyond the Alps would have needed to make frequent large exchanges between the currency of their home city and that of the foreign areas where they did business. It must have been very inconvenient to transport large amounts in specie for that purpose, so large firms with a great deal of capital soon arranged to achieve the same result by making transfers in their account books. Very large companies could offer these exchange services to third parties. The bill of exchange (*lettera di cambio*) was developed to meet this need. A bill of exchange was initiated when one party, the deliverer or remitter (*datore, remittente*) in, say, Siena, gave money or something else of value to the taker (*prenditore, pigliatore*) in return for a bill of exchange. The remitter then sent the bill of exchange to a payee, who was usually his correspondent in a foreign city—London, for example. That payee would then complete the transaction by presenting the bill at maturity to the payer (*pagatore*) for collection. The original remitter finally realized his return on the transaction with a second bill of exchange from the foreign place to his home city for which he became the payee. At least two bills were involved in a complete exchange cycle for a banker, and three were not uncommon. Most bills of exchange were payable at usance (*a usanza*, "according to custom"), that is, after a period related to the usual time required for a journey between the city where the bill was issued and the place where it was to be presented. Thus, if exchange was used in place of a loan, the period could be determined by the distance between the cities involved. This might vary from ninety days between Florence or Venice and London to five days between Florence and Venice. Of course, it was possible to draw up a bill of exchange and reexchange that guaranteed a certain rate of return to the remitter, or even obviated any exchange by

including a clause that gave the taker (for all practical purposes, the borrower) the option of repaying in local currency. This so-called "dry exchange" was, quite simply, a disguised loan at interest. It was recognized as such and condemned by the church as usurious. Still, it was a common practice.

The greatest single client for banking services of all kinds was the papacy, along with other prelates. General taxation of the clergy by the papacy began under Innocent III (1198-1216). Papal taxation in itself required the transfer and exchange of large sums from all over western Europe to Rome. Sienese merchant banking companies were well placed to fill this need. They had the necessary capital; the technical means had been worked out; and of all the burgeoning northern Italian cities, Siena was closest to Rome. Financing the papacy became a very large part of the banking business of the Tuscan companies in Florence and Lucca as well as Siena. In the second half of the thirteenth century, by serving as bankers to the popes, the Gran Tavola dei Bonsignori became the greatest of the Sienese companies. Almost as large was the Ricciardi bank of Lucca. Both were heavily involved in providing financial services to the church. The conflict between Innocent IV (1243-1254) and Emperor Frederick II rapidly increased the fiscal needs of the papacy. Although Siena's active support of the Staufen cause must have created problems for the Bonsignori, the firm successfully managed them and continued to grow for the next generation or more. By the 1290s, however, the Bonsignori began to experience difficulties. In 1298 it collapsed, and in the following decades several more Sienese banks failed. During this period, and especially during the pontificate of Boniface VIII, the papacy began to transfer much of its business to banks in Florence, a city that was firmly Guelph.

The fourteenth century was the great age of Florentine banking. The Bardi, Peruzzi, and Acciaiuoli were the great international banking houses of the first half of the century. There were also many smaller companies, some of which operated internationally, others only locally. Like their thirteenth-century predecessors, these were merchant banking companies, engaged in trade and manufacture as well as in finance, but the larger firms tended to lean more toward the financial side. The dominance of Florentine companies is graphically illustrated by the success of the florin, a gold coin first minted in 1252. The florin

circulated widely throughout western Europe and the Mediterranean. It became the standard of international trade and banking to such an extent that debts which might be paid in other coins, or even in kind, were often quoted in florins. The far-flung span of the Florentine banking and trading houses is illustrated by a handbook written c. 1340 by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, a branch manager of the Bardi company. Francesco had represented the Bardi in London and Cyprus and had accumulated a wide knowledge of trade and finance; he opens his handbook with a famous description of the "journey to Cathay" and goes on to discuss weights, measures, and business conditions from Constantinople to London.

Unfortunately, the Italian banks found that finance at the highest levels, dealing with popes and kings, could be dangerous as well as profitable. The final blow to Siena's dominance of European banking came when the French king Philip IV (1285-1314) confiscated the property of Sienese merchants in France in compensation for money that he claimed he was owed by the Bonsignori. This action, coming as it did at the same time that Boniface VIII was withdrawing papal business from Siena, sealed the fate of the Sienese bank. Florentine bankers also found Philip a dangerous client, but it was in England that the great Florentine houses became most entrapped by involvement in royal finance. Since the late thirteenth century, these houses had often made large loans to English monarchs and had, in return, received favored treatment in the lucrative wool trade. The debts, secured by future tax receipts, seemed safe enough so long as relations with the king continued to be amicable—but the English kings were perpetually in need of money, and their amity was maintained only at the price of further loans. The Florentine banks thus became more and more deeply involved with royal debt. In 1336, King Edward III decided to pursue his claim to the French throne, and he expected the Bardi and Peruzzi companies to finance this war. It is a measure of their wealth that they did so for almost a decade. When Edward ultimately defaulted on his enormous debt to the banks (estimated by the contemporary Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani as more than 1.3 million florins), the English branch of the Bardi was bankrupted. This bankruptcy set off a run on the banks in Florence that dragged down the home offices of the Bardi and Peruzzi, starting a wave of business failures in Florence in

the mid-1340s. The economic disaster was soon followed by a demographic disaster: the black death of 1348. The Florentine financial sector reeled from this double blow.

Not until the last decade of the fourteenth century did another great banking house arise in Florence and assume international prominence, that of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, in the fifteenth century, the Medici bank would become the leading bank, with branches all over Europe. Under Giovanni and his son Cosimo, the finances of the papacy continued to be the largest single element in the growth of the Medici bank. But because of the economic contraction during this period, only one such bank could exist where before there had been many, and by any measure—capitalization, number of employees, or number of branches—that bank was smaller than the Bardi and Peruzzi houses of the early fourteenth century.

See also **Bardi Family; Bookkeeping, Double-Entry; Coins and Mints; Florence; Peruzzi Family**

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Banners

See **Flags and Banners**

Barbato Da Sulmona

Barbato (c. 1300-1363) is known primarily for his friendship with some of the leading intellectuals of the *Trecento*. He was born in Sulmona (the exact date is not recorded), and Barbato was his Christian name—not his surname, as was erroneously supposed for many years. He qualified as a notary on 4 January 1325 and then began working at the Angevin court in Naples. In the course of his life he met many notable

scholars, of whom the most famous were Petrarch and Boccaccio.

Barbato and Petrarch first met when Petrarch visited Naples in the spring of 1341, and much of their correspondence has been preserved. Twenty-two of Petrarch's letters to Barbato are extant, and attached to one of them is a rare surviving example of Barbato's own writing, *Romana res publica urbi Rome*, probably composed in 1347. In addition, we have three letters from Barbato to Petrarch, and a fourth which was written by Barbato to Petrarch on behalf of Niccolò Acciaiuoli, Napoleone, and Nicola Orsini. Barbato also wrote a learned commentary on Petrarch's letter to Niccolò Acciaiuoli, *Iantandem* (*Familiarum rerum libri epistole*, XII.2). Barbato was instrumental in the manuscript tradition of Petrarch's writings, collecting them and diffusing them among the Neapolitan intellectual community, and Petrarch dedicated his *Epistolae metricae* to Barbato, perhaps in recognition of this.

Barbara's friendship with Boccaccio began in Naples in 1344. Three letters from 1362—one by Boccaccio and two by Barbara—are all that remains of their correspondence, but they demonstrate Barbara's lifelong devotion to Petrarch and are evidence of his search for further examples of Petrarch's writing. Boccaccio, in his letter, promises Barbara a copy of Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen*.

Barbato died of the plague during the autumn of 1363.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Petrarca, Francesco**

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Barberini Euchologium

A euchologium is a liturgical book containing the eucharistic formulas, sacramental rites, and other public prayers of the Greek church. For the Byzantine rite—representing the majority of that church—the oldest surviving example is the Barberini Euchologium in the Vatican Library (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Barberinianus Graecus 336, folios 1-263), written in southern Italy in the second half of the eighth century. The Barberini Euchologium predates by many centuries the eventual definitive form of the rite, from which it differs in important respects. It is also the oldest document of the Italo-Greek liturgy celebrated in various forms throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period; thus it occupies a special place among the manuscript remains of Greek culture in medieval Italy. The Barberini Euchologium has long been known to scholars but has only recently received a modern critical edition.

See also **Greek Language and Literature; Greek Orthodoxy in Italy**

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Bardi Family

The Bardi, a Florentine family, ran one of the premier European banking houses in the late Middle Ages. In the twelfth century, members of the family moved from the vicinity of Antella to Florence and established houses near the Arno River along what is now Via dei Bardi. They were vigorous traders in wool and leaders in the Florentine Calimala guild, and they had an office in England perhaps as early as 1183. After 1234, their fortunes soared, and in 1263 four brothers, the sons of Buonaguida Bardi, established the family bank in Florence. Two years later they were lending to the pope.

The Bardi family was large, with many branches, and several members became prominent in politics during the thirteenth century. For example, Bartolo di messer Iacopo served in Florence's first priorate in 1282 and subsequently in 1283, 1285, 1286, and 1290. The Bardi's fortunes dipped after King Edward I of England sequestered their English wool stocks in 1290. However, in the 1290s, the Bardi established branches of their bank in Naples, Friuli, Udine, Cividale, Cremona, and Aquileia. They were declared magnates under the Florentine ordinances of justice (1293), and they feuded with a rival banking family, the Mozzi (1290-1295). Beginning in 1303, they served as *mercanti di camera* for the pope.

During the first third of the fourteenth century, the Bardi continually expanded their commercial and banking interests. In 1299, six brothers, sons of Iacopo di Riccio, and five other Bardi controlled the enterprises; and in 1310 there were fifteen partners, ten from the same family. In a good year, interest and dividends for investors would reach 13 percent. Along with their giant contemporaries the Acciaiuoli, the Frescobaldi,

and the Peruzzi, the Bardi supplanted earlier families as bankers to the monarchs of Europe. The rulers needed cash, and in exchange for it they would often grant monopoly rights to state export revenues. The Bardi controlled many such monopoly revenues—for example, wheat in Naples—and, along with the Peruzzi, they had a virtual lock on English wool exports under Edward III. Nonetheless, kings could be troublesome clients, and disaster struck in May 1339. Edward III had borrowed nearly 1,365,000 gold florins to finance a war against France, and he owed payments on 800,000 florins to the bankers. When the fortunes of war forced him to suspend payments, other debts were called in, there was a run on all the Florentine bankers, and the economy of Florence nearly collapsed. The banks were ruined, but thanks to state-imposed moratoriums and its own diverse resources the Bardi bank survived until its creditors seized its assets in 1346.

In November 1340, in the immediate aftermath of this disaster, the Bardi led other magnates in a rebellion against the popular government. They were defeated, and sixteen members of the Bardi family were banished from Florence. Because they gave support to Walter of Brienne, they were able to return to the city two years later; but when Walter refused to abrogate the Ordinances of Justice, the Bardi participated first in his overthrow and then in the oligarchical "fourteen" who ruled in his wake.

The Bardi had been the strongest political and economic force in Florence in the 1330s, and they retained much of their power even after the bankruptcy. In 1364, they numbered fifty-two households, and in 1377 they were denounced as a "great and arrogant family." Members of the Bardi family continued to serve in political and diplomatic offices, and several were professional podestàs. Others—such as Roberto, a theologian at Paris (d. 1349); and Bartolomeo, bishop of Spoleto (from 1320)—served the church. The family also patronized several Florentine churches; the famous Bardi Chapel in Santa Croce was decorated by Giotto.

See also **Banks and Banking; Florence; Guilds; Walter of Brienne**

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Bari

Bari is today the second largest city of southern Italy, the major city of modern Puglia (Apulia), and the most important port on Italy's Adriatic coast. Its origins have been traced back to the Bronze Age, and its foundation has been attributed to Illyrian settlers. It was inhabited by a people called the Peucezi, who occupied the Adriatic coastal regions of Apulia by the time the Greeks penetrated the area. It came into Roman hands during the third century B.C., and because it was situated at a junction of major roads, it became an important municipality and commercial center during the Roman era, though it was subordinate to Brindisi as a port and as a focus for shipping directed to the eastern Mediterranean. Christianity was well established in Bari by 347, when the first mention is made of its bishop.

With the disruption of Roman rule in the fifth century, Bari became

first a part of the realm of the Ostrogoths and then, after Justinian's reconquest, part of the Roman-Byzantine regime. The Lombards under Authari seized Bari, but it was still strongly contested by the Byzantines, and it was sacked by Emperor Constans II in 669. Duke Romuald of Benevento (d. 687) held it briefly, only to lose it again to the Byzantines. Their rule over Bari was soon shaken, however. The Baresi opposed the new Iconoclastic policies of Emperor Leo III (c. 680-741) and rebelled against him; they then maintained their independence under a series of leaders (Theodore, Angelbert, and others). At this time Bari became the seat of the primate of Apulia, surpassing its rivals Brindisi and Taranto as an urban and ecclesiastical center. In early ninth century it was under the rule of its own duke, Pandone, who recognized a loose Byzantine suzerainty but then fell under the control of Duke Radelchis of Benevento. In the course of local struggles, African Saracens were drawn into the region, and in 847 Bari was stormed and was made the capital of an emirate—the only Islamic regime ever established on the Italian mainland, and a hint of what could have become a larger Saracen, or Arab, conquest.

In fact, however, the Saracen emirate, and whatever prospects it represented, lasted barely twenty-five years: in 871 it was besieged and taken by the Frankish emperor Louis II. When Louis died in 875, Bari again submitted itself to Constantinople, becoming the center of the restored Byzantine rule in southern Italy as the residence (from 893) of the *strategos* of the *theme* (military district) of Langobardia. During the Ottonian penetration of southern Italy, Bari was briefly taken by Otto I; but in view of the weakness of his son, Otto II, Bari was returned to Byzantine rule by 982, and it became the seat of a still higher official, the *katepano*, who commanded an enlarged complex of Byzantine territories (including Apulia and Calabria). At the same time, the Saracens continued to threaten Bari, and in 1002 a Sicilian force under Safi besieged the city, which resisted heroically. Relief came when the Venetian fleet, led by Doge Pietro Orseolo II, appeared at the request of the Byzantines and dispersed the attackers.

During these phases of Byzantine rule, Bari became a large and prosperous metropolis with a polyglot population and a cultural life enriched by Byzantine culture, and its maritime and mercantile elements benefited from their connections with the markets of

Constantinople. Nevertheless, with regard to religious loyalties, Bari's population remained staunchly western Catholic; and periodically, restless elements in and around the city made it a hotbed of resistance to the Byzantine government, which was considered oppressive. A climax came with a series of rebellions organized by the Lombard Melo, who was supported by local Lombard princes and by the German emperor Henry II. Melo's first venture (1009) failed. For his second attempt (1016), he called on Norman adventurers who were then appearing in Italy as mercenaries; but he was decisively defeated at Caninae (1018) by the energetic new Byzantine *katepano* Basil Boioannes, went into exile, and died in Germany.

Under Boioannes, Byzantine control was revitalized, though at the cost of recurrent wars with the Lombards of Benevento and with Saracen raiders. Bari was again a powerful urban center as seat of the katepanate, but the local populace remained resentful. After Boioannes died, this resentment was exploited by Melo's son Argyrus, who escaped captivity in Constantinople and fomented new rebellions in Italy. Argyrus, like his father, was aided by Norman mercenaries, and he was able to enter Bari, where he was acclaimed its duke. He was held in check during the harsh regimes (1037-1040, 1042) of the Byzantine commander George Maniakes. When Maniakes departed, in an abortive attempt to usurp the throne in Constantinople, Argyrus resumed his rebellion, but he now found himself pushed aside by his Norman allies, who were seizing territories for themselves. Argyrus soon crossed over to the Byzantine side, and in 1045 he went to Constantinople, where he became active at the court. Having gained the emperor's confidence, Argyrus was sent back to Italy as Byzantine governor and duke of Bari. He and his successors held the city in the name of Constantinople as the Normans proceeded to conquer more and more of southern Italy. Eventually, Bari was left as the Byzantines' last stronghold and was besieged for four years by the paramount Norman leader, Robert Guiscard. Starved into submission, it surrendered in 1071, completing the extinction of Byzantine rule in Italy. Guiscard ruled Bari through a deputy, and upon his death (1085) the city became part of the inheritance of his eldest son, Bohemond, although Bohemond's rule was challenged for a while by another son, Roger.

In 1087, some Barese sailors succeeded in stealing the relics of Saint

Nicholas of Myra from the church in Asia Minor where the saint had been buried, and carrying them off to Bari. The relics were entrusted to Abbot Elia of the Benedictine monastery and, after some dispute over where to place them, Elia (by then a bishop), with the patronage and support of Roger, began the construction of a new church dedicated to Nicholas, who was proclaimed the patron saint of Bari. At this time, the cult of Saint Nicholas was becoming ever more popular in the Christian west, and Bari became one of the most important shrines and pilgrimage sites in western Europe. (To this day, Bari has a huge annual festival celebrating this saint.) In 1098, in the newly completed crypt of the church of Saint Nicholas, Pope Urban II, who had recently preached the First Crusade (then still in progress), held a council aimed at reconciling the Latin and Greek churches. Saint Anseim of Canterbury was among the participants.

In addition to the pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Nicholas, pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land in the wake of the crusades also passed through Bari, making it a major center of east-west transportation and a highly prosperous port. But the Baresi found the Normans' rule oppressive, and in the years following Bohemond's death (1109), the city again became a center of unrest and struggle. One of Bohemond's successors, Duke Grimoald of Bari, attempted to fend off the new Norman king, Roger II. In 1136, at the behest of the pope, the German emperor Lothair II took advantage of the confusion, seized the city, and occupied it briefly. Thereafter Bari went, tumultuously, through one form or another of Norman lordship until 1155. That year, in accordance with the will of the people, the city was handed over to the Byzantine emperor Manuel I, who was making a fumbling attempt to recover power in Italy. In 1156, in retaliation, the Norman king William I, "the Bad," besieged the city, stormed it, and razed it to the ground, sparing only the church and shrine of Saint Nicholas. A decade passed before the population regathered; the city was then rebuilt under William II, "the Good," and the upper part of the basilica of Saint Nicholas was consecrated by a papal legate.



Saint Nicholas and Miracles, relief on east wall of the church of San Nicola, Bari. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

From then on Bari recovered steadily as it passed from the rule of the Normans to that of the Swabian Hohenstaufen and entered a more stable period. However, its former turbulent autonomy was decisively reduced. Frederick II, doubtful about the city's loyalty but determined to ensure its strategic importance, rebuilt and expanded its commanding fortress and also built a new port. He also granted the city certain selected privileges, confirmed its episcopal status in the region, and instituted at Bari one of seven annual fairs that were to be held in

his kingdom.

Bari's revival, and its new prosperity, dissolved with the coming of Angevin rule. The Angevin sovereigns, selfish, quarrelsome, decadent, and exploitative, cared little for the interests of the city and sought only to extract from it what revenues they could. Commercial privileges were callously sold to wealthy merchants, and arrogant noble families flaunted their power with impunity. Worse still, the city became a pawn in conflicts between branches of the Angevin dynasty. Bari supported Queen Joanna I of Naples against Louis of Hungary, and as a result the city was besieged by an army of Hungarians and Germans and was forced to surrender (1349). After the war, Joanna ceded the city in turn to Robert of Anjou, prince of Taranto, and then (in 1364) to his brother Philip. It next fell under the rule of the rebellious Iacopo del Balzo, who was followed by Joanna's fourth husband, Ottone. In the ensuing struggle between two branches of the dynasty—Naples and Durazzo—Bari unwisely and futilely sided with the Neapolitans Louis I and Louis II and then suffered the vengeance of the victorious Durazzan faction. Under King Ladislas and even under Joanna II, Bari was granted some new rights and immunities, but these were abridged when, in 1430, Joanna again awarded the city in feudal grants in turn to Iacopo Caldora and his son Antonio. After a brief and unhappy period of Aragonese rule, Bari passed in 1464 into the hands of members of the Milanese Sforza family, including the widowed Isabella of Aragon. Under Isabella's reign (1500-1524) the city enjoyed one last, short period of revival, refurbishing, and cultural florescence.

As a consequence of its stormy history, virtually no traces of Bari's early medieval and Byzantine monuments survive in the modern city; there are only a few putative fragments of the palace complex of the Byzantine governor, adjacent to the church of Saint Nicholas, or San Nicola. But that church and the cathedral have made Bari a glorious, and influential, example of the Romanesque architecture of southern Italy.

The church of San Nicola is one of the four palatine basilicas of Puglia. It was the first great Norman church erected in southern Italy, and it became the model for Romanesque design in the region. It was begun by Bishop Elia, under the patronage of Duke Roger, on the site of the palace of the Byzantine *katepano*, and apparently it incorporates

some Byzantine fragments, especially in one or both of its facade towers. Elia built the crypt, which contains the saint's extensive burial shrine. This much was consecrated by Pope Urban II in 1089; in it, Peter the Hermit preached a sermon urging what became the First Crusade (1095), and (as noted above) Urban came here in 1098 to preside over a council. The initial phase of construction ended in 1108, three years after Elia's death. The barely finished church was spared devastation in 1156, and the upper church proper was completed in 1197, when the church was consecrated. Its exterior is severe in design but is graced on three sides by handsome portals decorated with sculptures of lions on the north side and bulls on the south side and the western facade. Inside, the church's treasures include a superb *ciborium* (c.1150), the oldest preserved in Puglia; and an episcopal throne that is said to date from Urban II's council in 1098. The crypt, with the saint's elaborate tomb (from which miraculous unguent or *manna* is still believed to flow), is decorated as befits an important pilgrimage site. The shrine includes a fine Byzantine icon, given in 1319 by the king of Serbia. At the altar complex, provision is made for the celebration of the Byzantine rite, in partnership with the Latin rite; Bari is one of the few places in Italy where this is allowed.

The cathedral, dedicated to San Sabino, is modeled closely on San Nicola but is on a grander scale; it is a noteworthy example of Apulian Romanesque design. It replaced a series of earlier episcopal churches dating from early Christian times to the Byzantine era. Its immediate predecessor had been given its own definitive form by Bishop Bisanzio in the years 1035-1064, but that structure was all but totally destroyed in 1156 by William I. The present cathedral was constructed on its ruins in 1170-1178 but was not formally consecrated until 1292. Like San Nicola, the cathedral is a basilica in plan, though it is surmounted by a large cupola within an octagonal drum. On the exterior of the east wall, outside the altar, is a magnificently sculptured apsidal window. The austere interior is graced by a reconstructed *ciborium* of 1233. At the end of the north wall is a cylindrical structure called La Trulla, which is now used as a sacristy but was originally the baptistery of the eleventh-century church. Modern excavations have revealed extensive survivals of early mosaic pavement, dating from the eighth and ninth centuries. The cathedral archives preserve some important liturgical manuscripts,

including the famous *Exultet* roll, a Byzantine paschal scroll of the early eleventh century.

Adjacent to San Nicola is the city's third important medieval church, San Gregorio, which is small but handsome. It was originally built in the early eleventh century, was probably gutted in 1156, and was rebuilt to some extent between the late twelfth century and the thirteenth century, in Romanesque style.

Another important monument in Bari is the massive Hohenstaufen castle, at the western corner of the medieval walls. The castle, which incorporates earlier Byzantine and Norman elements (eleventh-twelfth centuries), was essentially built by Frederick II, with amplifications by Isabella of Aragon. Here, according to tradition, Frederick received a visit from Saint Francis of Assisi. The castle is now used as a museum and exhibition center. Adjacent to it is Bari's *centra storico* (historic center). In general, although the *centro* has lost most of its actual fortification walls, it still preserves its medieval configuration—a warren of narrow, twisting streets that are said to have been made so complex deliberately, in order to baffle and frustrate attackers.

See also Authari; Bohemond of Taranto; Constants II; Francis of Assist; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Henry II, Saint and Emperor; Joanna I of Naples; Justinian I; Leo III, Emperor; Louis II, Emperor; Maniakes, George; Normans; Ostrogoths; Otto I; Otto II; Robert Guiscard; Roger II; Urban II, Pope; William I; William II

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Barlaam

Barlaam the Calabrian (Bernardo Massari, c. 1290-1348 or c. 1350) was born at Seminara in Reggio Calabria and was probably educated at one of the Greek Orthodox monasteries in the region, which were important centers of Greco-Latin studies. Having entered the priesthood, he left for Constantinople sometime around 1326 or 1327. From 1331-1332 on, Barlaam also seems to have lived intermittently at Thessaloniki.

Barlaam's lectures on mathematics (he wrote on arithmetic, astronomy, acoustics, and music) and philosophy (a treatise by him on Stoic ethics is preserved) soon made him very successful in the Greek capital. Apparently, his success aroused the envy of Niceforus Gregoras, who was then the prime representative of Byzantine humanism. Barlaam's training in Latin scholastic theology proved to be an important asset in 1333: he was chosen to defend the Greek position in discussions related to a reconciliation with Rome, which was desired by Pope John XXII. Bar laam's agnostic-nominalist position, however, drew criticism, both from the nominalist papal representatives and from several Greek colleagues such as the Hesychastic monk Gregory Palamas. Barlaam later disputed with Gregory on the value of the contemplative techniques practiced by the Hesychasts, and in 1338 this dispute developed into a discussion of the value of scholastic theology versus mystical contemplation. In 1341, the debate culminated in a general council at Constantinople, where Barlaam was forced to refrain from any further attacks on Hesychasm or Palamite theology.

In July 1341, after the death of Emperor Andronicus III, Barlaam chose to return to Italy and France. Earlier, at the beginning of 1339, Andronicus III had sent Barlaam on a mission to Naples, Paris, and Avignon to seek support for a crusade against the Turks. Thus when Barlaam came back to the west, he had a circle of patrons and friends eager to extend him hospitality. It was at Avignon that Barlaam first

made the acquaintance of Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca), to whom he began teaching Greek in 1342. With the help of this pupil, Barlaam acquired the Calabrian bishopric of Gerasa. In 1346, he was charged with an ecumenical mission to Constantinople, but owing to the influence of Palamas, the mission failed. Barlaam returned to the papal court at Avignon, where he remained until his death on 1 June 1348.

See also Byzantine Empire; Petrarca, Francesco

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Bama Da Siena

Barna (Berna da Siena, fl. c. 1330-1350) was a Siennese painter active in Tuscany during the second quarter of the *Trecento*. On the basis of the style and quality of the art currently associated with him, he was among the most accomplished of Simone Martini's followers and colleagues. Barna's artistic reputation traditionally rests on his contribution to the great fresco cycle *Episodes from the Infancy and Passion of Christ* in the Collegiata of San Gimignano, painted in the late 1330s or 1340s by a team of three or four masters. His precise historical identity is controversial, however, since current critical opinion is that his name is fictitious. A painter called Barna Bertini was recorded in Siena in 1340, but he is not thought to be the same artist who participated in creating the cycle in San Gimignano.

The "Barna Question"

Barna was first mentioned by Lorenzo Ghiberti in *I commentarii* (c. 1447-1455) in connection with a series of mural paintings on Old Testament subjects to be found in an unspecified church in San Gimignano; today these paintings are identified as the Old Testament cycle on the left aisle of the Collegiata. However, those frescoes were

executed by Bartolo di Fredi Cini by 1367, and it has been suggested that "Barna" is simply Ghiberti's misreading of "Bartolo." Despite his Florentine background, Ghiberti was particularly sensitive to the achievements of Sienese painting, and he praised the artist he knew as Barna, who he claimed had also been active in Florence and Cortona.

Giorgio Vasari included Ghiberti's observations in his first edition of *Vite* (1550), but by the second edition (1568), "Berna," as Vasari refers to him, is said to have painted New Testament rather than Old Testament narratives in the *pieve* of San Gimignano—where, as Vasari goes on to relate, the painter's career came to an abrupt end in 1381, when he was killed in a fall from some scaffolding. Vasari increased the painter's corpus, of which nothing survives today except the frescoes in San Gimignano, and extended his sphere of activity to Arezzo and Siena. Some scholars have suggested that Vasari, while preparing his later edition of *Vite*, became aware of that Bartolo had created the Old Testament frescoes and therefore associated Ghiberti's Barna with the only other great fresco cycle in the church, the New Testament scenes on the opposite wall or right aisle of the Collegiata. In the process, Vasari, influenced by Ghiberti's incorrect testimony, would have unknowingly invented the name of a painter. If this was indeed the case, then the late date of 1381 that has traditionally been associated with the execution of the frescoes can be ignored, since the chronology is not only untenable on stylistic grounds but is also contradicted by the known circumstantial evidence, which indicates that the authorities of San Gimignano were starting to organize the decoration of the church in 1333.

Episodes from the Life of Christ

Among the frescoes that fill the six bays of the right aisle of the Collegiata are the deeply expressive narratives that are for, convenience, still linked to Barna. The narrative is subdivided into three registers—the early life of Christ at the top, his ministry in the middle, and his passion below—and unfolds in a horizontal sequence from bay to bay. Equally important, however, is the vertical linkage (e.g., the first arrival of Christ in the *Annunciation* was planned above Christ's

second arrival in the *Entry into Jerusalem*), which expands the overall meaning of the frescoes. Building on the example of the passion cycle from Duccio's *Maestà* for the cathedral in Siena, Barna also exploited changing rhythms within the narrative pace by increasing the scale of a scene, as in the monumental *Crucifixion* that fills two registers of a whole bay, or by allocating two compartments to a single event, as in the *Entry into Jerusalem*.

Problems with authorship and collaboration notwithstanding, the style of many of these scenes is characterized by elongated figures with dramatic facial expressions and agitated movements. Often sacrificing descriptive naturalism for general expressive effect, Barna's compelling works echo the art of Simone Martini, whose designs of elegant human forms punctuated with a refined sense of color were reinterpreted by Barna with an altogether sharper emotive force.

See also **Duccio di Buoninsegna; Martini, Simone**

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Bartolino Da Padova

The composer Bartolino da Padova (fl. c. 1400) was a member of the final generation of *Trecento* musicians. He was born in the later fourteenth century and died in the early fifteenth. We know little of his life beyond the fact that he was a Carmelite monk, and he has sometimes been identified with one or another of the Paduan Carmelites called Bartolomeo. There are clues that he served the Cararra family of Padua at some points between 1365 and 1405, and it has been asserted that he may have spent some time (1388-1390, or after 1405) in Florence. Some of his works are said to reflect the Florentines' antagonism toward the Visconti.

Thirty-eight works, all with Italian texts, survive as Bartolini's accepted legacy. They are preserved in the famous Squarcialupi Codex, which includes his portrait. There are twenty-seven *ballate* and eleven madrigals, mostly in two vocal parts. Bartolini's music represents a relatively conservative continuation of the earlier *Trecento* tradition, with particular links to the work of Jacopo da Bologna.

See also Jacopo da Bologna; Squarcialupi Codex

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Bartolo Di Fredi Cini

Bartolo di Fredi (fl. 1353; d. Siena, 1410) was one of the most active Sienese painters of the second half of the fourteenth century. He produced numerous altarpieces for the churches of Siena and the surrounding territory, as well as major altarpieces and fresco cycles in the neighboring towns of San Gimignano, Montalcino, and Volterra. Like other Sienese artists of his time, Bartolo is known to have participated actively in Siena's political life. He not only executed major commissions for the Sienese commune—for instance, a view of Montalcino (now lost) painted in 1361 for the council chamber of the Palazzo Pubblico—but also served in civic office. In 1380, he was a member of the Opera del Duomo, the civic authority in charge of the decoration for the cathedral of Siena.

Much of the recent literature on Bartolo di Fredi has been devoted to the reconstruction of his altarpieces. As Freuler (1994) has shown, Bartolo was a painter who adapted creatively to the circumstances of his commissions, producing innovative structural and iconographic solutions. His style, which he also adapted to fit the circumstances, is generally situated between, on the one hand, the lyrical naturalism of Simone Martini and Martini's followers and, on the other hand, the highly abstracted lyricism of such great fifteenth-century Sienese painters as Giovanni di Paolo. Bartolo's narrative manner developed in close contact with the painters of Simone Martini's circle, including

Lippo Memmi, who were working at San Gimignano just before the mid-fourteenth century. The Old Testament cycle that Bartolo painted in 1367 for north wall of San Gimignano's Collegiata—facing a New Testament cycle that has been variously attributed to Barna da Siena and Lippo Memmi—is remarkable for its decorative animation. In mature works like the Adoration of the Magi painted in the late 1380s for the Tolomei chapel in the cathedral of Siena, subtle harmonies of color and line are balanced with vivid characterizations to produce a highly abstracted but compelling narrative.

See also **Barna da Siena; Memmi, Lippo; San Gimignano; Siena**

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Bartolomeo Da Brescia

Bartolomeo (d. 1258) studied canon and civil law in Bologna; his masters were Tancredi da Bologna in the former and Ugolino de'

Presbiteri in the latter. He himself remained active in Bolognese legal circles until he was slain in Ezzolino da Romano's sack of the city.

Bartolomeo wrote several works. The earliest (c. 1234) was *Brocarda*, updating Damasus's expositions of legal rules with references to the *Decretals* of Gregory IX. He later wrote *Casus* (paraphrases) and *Historiae* (notes on biblical and historical references) for the *Decretum* of Gratian, as a guide to readers; and a work on legal procedure updating that of Tancredi. Bartolomeo also left two collections of legal questions. He is best-known for his revisions of Johannes Teutonicus's *Ordinary Gloss* on the *Decretum*, the version that was most often transmitted with the text well into modern times. He added references to the Gregorian *Decretals* and other papal decrees that were then recent, and occasionally contradicted Teutonicus.

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Bartolomeo Da Capua

Bartolomeo (d. 1328) studied at the University of Naples, where he received his doctorate in 1278 and taught until 1289. His father, a jurist, had served both the Hohenstaufen and the Angevins; Bartolomeo served Charles I of Anjou and his son, Charles II. The latter made Bartolomeo a leading judicial official and an envoy to popes and princes. Bartolomeo defended the right of Robert of Anjou, the son of Charles II, to succeed his father and died in Robert's service. Bartolomeo's legal works include glosses on the laws of the kingdom of Naples, some of which he had drafted, and comments on civil law.

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Bartolomeo Da San Concordio

The learned Dominican Bartolomeo (1264-1347) was born in San Concordio, near Pisa; studied law and theology in Bologna and Paris; and returned to Italy to teach in the schools of the Dominican order in Rome, Florence, Arezzo, and Pistoia. Around 1312, he settled in Pisa, where he was assigned to the *studium* of Saint Catherine; he became its director in 1335. Bartolomeo was much admired by his contemporaries for his erudition and his prodigious memory and is most interesting to modern scholars for his prehumanistic interests and his translations.

Bartolomeo wrote or is said to have written various minor works (not all are of certain attribution): *Compendium moralis philosophiae*, *De mernoria*, *De arte metrica*; and comments on Virgil and Seneca. He was also the author of an interesting work called *Documenta antiquorum*. Its essentially pedagogic moral tone and construction are based on teachings by Thomas Aquinas, Jerome, Boethius, Isidore, and Gregory; besides these figures, there are a great number of classical Latin authors (Virgil, Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Seneca, Terence, etc.) who may constitute the artistic center of the work.

Around 1305, Bartolomeo himself translated his work into the Florentine vernacular: *Ammaestramenti degli antichi* (*Teachings of the Ancients*) was one of the most popular *volgarizzamenti* (vernacular translations) of the early fourteenth century because of its moderate and balanced treatment of sins, virtues, and fortune. The Italian of this translation is elegant and effective, and it prepared the way for the two translations for which Bartolomeo is justly famous today: Sallust's *Catilinario* and *Giugurtino*, both completed by 1313. Sallust, a historian and moralist of civil life, offered themes that were appropriate for the *comuni* (communes), but his complex Latin had made him inaccessible to many readers before Bartolomeo's translation. Bartolomeo was fully

aware of the challenge of translation (the mature prologue is proof of his preoccupation with style), and he imitated the tightness of the Latin prose successfully (and uncommonly, for medieval Tuscan tended to be verbose). At the same time, he was not afraid to take liberties when his expressive vein called for them. Thus these translations, aside from their inherent beauty and interest, provided a useful and important model for later prose works and contributed to the spread of knowledge of Rome and the classical world. During the Middle Ages, however, Bartolomeo was best known for *Summa de casis conscientiae*, which remained the most important confession manual for more than a century.

Bartolomeo died in Pisa.

See also Italian Prose

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Bartolus of Sassoferrato

Bartolus (1313 or 1314-1357) was the most influential expert on civil law in Italy during the *Trecento*. He was born near Sassoferrato in the territory of Ancona to a prosperous rural family, was tutored by Fra Pietro d'Assisi, and entered the University of Perugia c. 1328. He studied civil law under Cino da Pistoia, absorbing both the French critical

methods of legal exegesis developed at Orleans and the Bolognese forensic dialectic methods. At Bologna, Bartolus studied under Iacopo Butriga rio, Oldrado da Ponte, and Raniero Arsendi da Forli; he earned his baccalaureate degree in 1334 and his doctorate in law in 1335. Between 1336 and 1339, Bartolus served as a legal assessor for several communities, including Todi, Cagli, Macerata, and finally Pisa, where he was also appointed to the law faculty of the university in late 1339 at an annual salary of 150 gold florins. In 1343, he returned to Perugia, where he taught at the university until his death. He was made an honorary citizen of Perugia in 1348, partly in recognition of his contributions to the city and also partly in the hope that he would remain there despite lucrative offers from elsewhere. His work helped the law school at Perugia rise to rival Bologna itself as a center of legal education.

Bartolus brought to his work as a civil jurist an enormous knowledge of customary, feudal, civic, canon, and civil law; clarity, practicality, and realism in the application of legal principles; and an unflinching dedication to displaying and disseminating his scholarship—though modern scholars still dispute the authorship of several works attributed to him. He wrote commentaries on all parts of the *corpus juris civilis* (which fill nine of ten volumes in the 1590 edition of his works), 405 legal opinions on specific cases, and a wide range of treatises on private, public, criminal, and civil law. Through his teaching and scholarship he sought to bring the legal systems of his time into line with the code of Justinian, and to adapt that code to contemporary problems and conditions, a task begun by Cino da Pistoia. In public law especially, Bartolus endeavored to shift the field of debate and development from philosophy (or theology) to Roman law and the realities of the fourteenth century. He shared those goals with his contemporaries, the "postglossators" or "commentators." However, these other commentators tended to rely heavily on the authority of earlier glosses of civil law, weighing conflicting arguments in search of a just solution, whereas Bartolus usually began at that point but then went beyond it, often arguing with earlier interpretations and relying on other authorities.

These tendencies appear most clearly in Bartolus's treatises. In *On the Government of a City* he depended in part on an essentially Aristotelian analytical framework (from *Politics*), adding his own comments on the

seventh form of government: the "monstrosity" that was contemporary Rome. In *On Rivers* he relied heavily on Euclid and incorporated diagrams and geometric figures to present his reasoning, a method he himself considered novel. In *An Action between the Devil and the Virgin Mary* Bartolus explored the procedural problems of having a female—let alone the mother of Christ the judge—serve as advocate for the plaintiff, mankind, in a suit for possession brought by the devil: an example of a teacher's whimsy highlighting serious juridical matters.

Much of Bartolus's practical legal work also involved canon law, as this system governed the political relationships of the papal states and any interactions of the church with the broader society.

The treatise *On Tyranny* clearly demonstrates Bartolus's concern for contemporary Italian politics as well as political theory; in this work he draws tacitly from current events in a way that anticipates the method of Machiavelli's *Prince*. Here Bartolus formulated the first "theory of popular sovereignty to accommodate the political reality of independent city-republics." The *populus liber* (free people) of the city need not recognize the higher authority of an imperial or feudal lord, having unto itself the same authority in its jurisdiction that the emperor has in his: an extension of the idea that a king is emperor in his kingdom (*civitas sibi princeps*). This freedom could be obtained either *de iure* from the emperor or *de facto* through usurpation and declaration. Bartolus, equating lordship with tyranny, disdained the *signore* and the town that accepted a *signore*.

Bartolus combined profound legal and jurisprudential understanding with clarity in the application of this wisdom to the problems of his own era—a combination which ensured that he would leave deep and long-lasting impression. Through his writings and his students, such as Baldus de Ubaldis, his opinions and commentaries became authoritative and remained so for more than a century, despite attacks from humanists who favored a more purely historical approach to Roman law. In the law schools of Pisa, Naples, and Padua, *Bartolismo* continued to shape legal science into the seventeenth century.

See also Cino da Pistoia; Giossa Ordinaria: Roman Law; Law: Roman; Perugia

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Battles

See specific place-names

Beldemandis, Prosdocimus De

See Prosdocimus de Beldemandis

Belisarius

Belisarius (c. 505-565), one of history's greatest generals, was born in the Balkans, but otherwise his origins are unknown. He first attracted attention while serving in the bodyguard of Emperor Justinian I and was advanced to a high command while still in his mid-twenties. He demonstrated his capacities with some brilliant successes against the Persians on the Mesopotamian frontiers, and then earned the emperor's further esteem by helping to suppress the bloody "Nika riots" that threatened Justinian's regime in 532. By this time, Belisarius was married to Antonina, a friend of Empress Theodora; Antonina's conduct was often a trial to him, but her influence at court became vital. When Justinian began an ambitious attempt to recover Roman imperial territories from barbarian regimes in the west, first by attacking the Vandal kingdom of North Africa, Belisarius was the logical choice to command the expedition. Leading a small force and displaying the bold resourcefulness for which he became famous, Belarius destroyed the Vandal forces in two lightning victories and conquered the North African realm within a few months (533-534).

Justinian next turned toward Ostrogothic Italy, and in 535 Belisarius was sent to begin recovering it. In the ensuing Gothic wars, he quickly seized Sicily and moved northward on the mainland to suppress resistance in Naples; not until he occupied Rome did he face a serious counter-effort under the new Gothic king, Witigis. In Rome, Belisarius effected the deposition of Pope Silverius, who had been elected through the influence of the Goths, replacing Silverius with Theodora's candidate, Vigilius; Belisarius also brilliantly fended off the Ostrogoths'

siege of the city (537-538). For a while, his progress further north was delayed by dissension among his subordinates, but by 540 he had bottled up Witigis in the latter's capital, Ravenna. Pretending to entertain their suggestion that he become emperor in his own name, Belisarius won the surrender of the Ostrogoth leaders, but in the process he incurred Justinian's suspicion. As a result, Belisarius was recalled in disgrace to Constantinople. He was saved by his wife's influence and was returned to hard duty on the Persian frontier.

Meanwhile, the incompetence of Belarius's successors in Italy and the smoldering resentment of the remaining Ostrogoth leaders resulted in a furious renewal of war in the peninsula. Justinian then dispatched Belisarius back to Italy to resume command and conduct the war, but without forces and resources sufficient to the task. Belarius did his best, applying his old resourcefulness, and briefly recovered Rome; but he could not achieve any lasting results against the energetic Ostrogothic king, Totila. The death of Theodora in 548 deprived Belarius of his last support at court, and so, at his own request, he was recalled to Constantinople to enjoy his accumulated wealth in retirement, leaving the final reduction of Ostrogothic Italy to his eventual replacement, the general Narses.

Eleven years later, when raiding Huns threatened the capital, Belisarius was called out of retirement to drive them off—which he did, as much by stratagem as by force. Justinian, who was still suspicious, accused Belisarius of participating in a plot against him. The emperor stripped Belarius of his wealth but did not (as later legends recounted) blind him and send him, an aged beggar, into the streets where once he had ridden in triumph. Belisarius died in March 565, only months before his ungrateful sovereign.

See also Gothic Wars; Justinian I; Naples; Narses; Ravenna; Rome; Theodora; Totila; Vigilius, Pope; Witigis

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Bencivenni, Zuccherò

The Florentine notary Zuccherò Bencivenni (fl. 1300-1313) is an interesting intermediary in the transmission of Latin scientific texts from French into Italian. The medical books of the Persian physician and philosopher Rhazes (Razi, c. 865-923 or 925) had been translated into Latin by Gherardo da Cremona, but Bencivenni probably translated them into Italian from a French version. Around 1310, he translated Aidobrandino da Siena's popular *Regime du corps*; this translation is known under various titles, one of which is *Ammaestramenti a conservare la sanità del corpo* (*Teaching on Preserving the Health of the Body*). A whole succession of scientific and pseudo-Aristotelian works are attributed—many surely falsely—to Bencivenni; they include a series on physiognomy, astronomy, and lapidary. His most popular work was a translation of Brother Laurent's *Somme le roi*, a long and noteworthy work of moral philosophy; the translation, *Trattatello delle virtù* (*Little Treatise on Virtue*), was certainly familiar to many medieval readers. Bencivenni's texts are written in a gallicized Florentine that testifies to the influence of French culture and styles, typical of the late thirteenth century; it is also evidence for the author's presumed residence in France after his ascertained presence in Avignon in 1310.

See also Italian Prose

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Benedict of Nursia, Saint

Saint Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-547) was a monk and abbot, and the author of a rule for cenobitic monks; he was venerated as the patriarch of western monasticism from the eighth century on and was declared patron of Europe by Pope Paul VI in 1964. Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540-604) wrote an account of Benedict's life and miracles, probably within fifty years after Benedict had died; Gregory dedicated the whole of Book 2 of his *Dialogues* to the saint and identified as his sources four abbots who had access to traditions concerning Benedict and who may have been Benedict's disciples. Although Gregory wrote primarily as a hagiographer, the text is thought to contain reliable biographical information.

Benedict was born near Spoleto in the Apennine village of Nursia. He was sent to Rome for his education but was scandalized by the immorality of the city and fled to a cave near Subiaco, in the hills east of Rome, to live as a hermit. There he underwent the trials and tribulations that prepared him to teach others the way to God. After a failed attempt to institute his ideas at Vicovaro (where the monks attempted to poison him), Benedict returned to Subiaco; there, he succeeded in founding a large community of cenobitic monks, divided into twelve small colonies, all under his direction.

Eventually Benedict left Subiaco for Monte Cassino, halfway between Rome and Naples, where he remained until his death. Here he

established a cenobitic community, evangelized the surrounding countryside, and wrote the monastic rule for which he is renowned. In Gregory's *Dialogues*, Benedict is depicted at this time as a man of God at the height of his powers; through a series of accounts of miracles, Gregory emphasizes the saint's power as a prophet and wonder-worker. Benedict died at Monte Cassino and was buried in the same tomb as his sister Scholastica, a consecrated virgin. Before his death, Benedict predicted the destruction of Monte Cassino, though without loss of life.

In Book 2 of the *Dialogues*, Gregory declares that Benedict wrote a monastic rule "remarkable for its discernment and its clarity of language." *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (hereafter, *RB*) is generally accepted as the rule to which Gregory was referring and as having been written by the Benedict he celebrated. To be appreciated properly, *RB* must be understood in the context of some thirty Latin cenobitic rules written in the west or translated and introduced to the west between the years 400 and 700. Almost all of them draw their directives for asceticism and the common life from the same biblical texts and interpret these texts in the same way. The important virtues treated in the cenobitic rules include humility, obedience, charity, and patience; the essential observances are fasts and vigils, common ownership, work, silence, *lectio divina*, and frequent if not continual prayer.



Saint Benedict. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 144r.

RB, written between 530 and 560, is divided into three parts: a spiritual directory (Prologue and chs. 1-7); an institutional and disciplinary section (chs. 8-67); and an appendix treating fraternal relations, concluding with an epilogue (chs. 68-73). Most, though not all, scholars assume that *RB* was dependent on a long anonymous *Regula magistri* dated to 500-530 (hereafter, *RM*). Of the three parts of *RB*, only the third (the last) is unique; the spiritual part of *RB* is found almost word for word in the first ten chapters of *RM*, and in the institutional

and disciplinary part *RB* and *RM* follow parallel paths.

In the spiritual directory of his rule, Benedict identifies the abbot as the spiritual father and chief teacher of the monk; the abbot's role is to guide the monks to God by inculcating the three basic monastic virtues: obedience, silence, and humility. The abbot leads his monks to replace self-will with the will of God, and to supplant fear with love. The rule then applies these principles to the practical aspects of the communal life: prayer together and in private, disciplinary measures, food and drink, sleep, clothing, ownership of property, care of the sick and the young, work, and the formation of novices. The final chapters are concerned with relations among the members of the community, emphasizing horizontal (or lateral) relationships rather than the vertical relationship that is the focus of the spiritual directory.

The great merit of *RB* is that it offers, for those seeking God through the monastic way of life, a quite faithful and complete image of the cenobitic tradition. However, it does not appear to have met with any great early success in Italy. It makes its first appearance not in Rome, where the monks fled after the destruction of Monte Cassino c. 570, but elsewhere, and considerably later: in southern Gaul c. 620-630 and in England c. 660. In the seventh and eighth centuries, *RB* was used alongside the rule of Columban and was propagated through a network of Columbanian foundations in northern and eastern Gaul. As part of Charlemagne's program for the unification of his realm and the continuation of this ideal by his son Louis the Pious, *RB* was imposed on all religious communities that aspired to be called monastic; in this way, *RB* became the standard for much of Europe. *RB* does not reappear in Italy until the tenth century, when it was brought to the monasteries of Rome through the reforming activities of Odo of Cluny.

Evidence for a cult of Saint Benedict dates from the eighth century both in Italy and in France. Benedict was venerated at Monte Cassino after its restoration in 720; his tomb there became a place of pilgrimage, and his feast was kept on 21 March, the traditional date of his death. According to another tradition from the eighth century, his relics were removed shortly before 700 to the abbey of Fleury in France, where his feast was kept on 11 July to commemorate this translation.

See also Benedictine Order; Monasticism; Monte Cassino,

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Benedict XI, Pope

Niccolò Boccasini (1240—1304) reigned as Pope Benedict XI from 22 October 1303 to 7 July 1304. He was born in Treviso, the son of a notary, and joined the Dominicans in 1254. After studying theology in Venice and Milan, he was appointed a lector for the order in 1268. From 1282

to 1296, he was provincial of Lombardy; in May 1296 he was elected master-general.

Niccolò was a strong supporter of Pope Boniface VIII, who rewarded him by making him a cardinal in 1298. He continued to support Boniface throughout the pope's struggle with King Philip the Fair of France and was one of only two cardinals who remained with Boniface when a French army stormed the papal palace at Anagni in 1303. On his election as Boniface's successor, Benedict XI immediately excommunicated Pierre Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, the leaders of the attack at Anagni. However, Benedict soon sought peace with the French. He temporized with regard to the assertions Boniface had made in the bull *Clericis laicos* (1296), obtained Philip the Fair's submission, and removed the censures Boniface had imposed on the king.

Benedict XI died suddenly while considering the case of Nogaret and Colonna, a circumstance that aroused suspicions of foul play. During his lifetime he had a reputation for holiness, and soon after his death a cult developed. He was beatified in 1736.

See also **Anagni; Boniface VIII, Pope**

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Benedict XII, Pope

When Pope John XXII died in Avignon in 1334, Jacques Fournier (1285-1342), a Cistercian and a former inquisitor, was elected pope: he

reigned as Benedict XII from 1334 to 1342. The new pope inherited John's quarrels with Louis of Bavaria and with dissident Franciscans. He quickly put an end to the controversy surrounding his predecessor's unacceptable opinions about the doctrine of the beatific vision, and he focused his own energy on reform. He curtailed abuses in the curia, causing dissatisfaction in Avignon; and he pressed religious orders, including the Dominican friars, to reform themselves. The Benedictines, once just a scattered family, were led to centralize their communities as an order. Benedict condemned the Spiritual Franciscans and the Fraticelli, but he tried—though in vain—to make peace with Louis. Benedict's policy in Italy was pacific: he conciliated the Visconti of Milan and the Delia Scala of Verona. The peace-loving and parsimonious Benedict had less success dealing with the tyrants who dominated portions of the papal states, especially Romagna and the March of Ancona. His successor, Clement VI, would resort to costly wars instead, but with equally little success. Unkind comments by unhappy curialists have damaged Benedict's reputation; and William of Ockham (or Occam), the leading theologian among the dissident Franciscans, who had been hostile to John XXII, was equally hostile to Benedict.

See also Avignones Papacy

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Benedictine Order

When Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-c. 550) wrote his *Regula monachorum* and founded the monasteries of Subiaco and Monte Cassino in the second and third quarters of the sixth century, he did not intend to found an order as we understand it now. Indeed, there is no record that Benedict's rule was followed anywhere else aside from these monasteries, except perhaps at the foundation Benedict made in Terracina, as Gregory the Great (c. 540-604) says in his *Dialogues*. But because this rule was a quite faithful and complete image of the cenobitic monastic tradition, emphasizing fraternal communion in love and the withdrawal of the legislator in favor of the living authority of the abbot, it was to have a preponderant influence on Latin cenobitism. Beginning in the seventh century, together with the rules of Columban (d. 615), it was imposed on numerous monasteries in the Frankish territories. At the end of the eighth century it became, at least in theory, the exclusive norm for all monks in the Carolingian empire.

In Italy, however, Benedict's monasteries and the observance of his rule barely survived him. Monte Cassino was destroyed sometime during the Lombard invasion, possibly c. 580, and tradition has it that the monks fled to Rome, taking the rule with them. If the tradition is correct, this copy of *Regula monachorum* was probably the same one that was still in Rome c. 750 and was sent by Pope Zachary (r. 741-752) to the recently revived Monte Cassino; and it may have been the copy that was sent to Charlemagne (c. 742-814) to serve as the fundamental document for implementing his program of uniformity of monastic observance. The "Roman rule" could best serve the Carolingians' design for an empire based on the Roman-German axis.

Although the monastic reforms of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious (778-840), and Benedict of Aniane (c. 750-821) were never extended to Italy, the Italian monasteries of Monte Cassino, Farfa, and San Vincenzo al Volturno had already begun a renaissance of their own. About 717, Petronax of Brescia restored Monte Cassino, making it the model monastery of Europe and a center for the diffusion of Benedict's *Regula monachorum* beyond the Alps. Willibald of Wessex lived at Monte Cassino from 729 to 739 before becoming bishop of Eichstat; and Sturm, the first abbot of Fulda, was trained at Monte Cassino in the observance of the rule. Carloman, brother of Pepin the Short, retired to Monte Cassino after his abdication in 747, to be joined by the Lombard

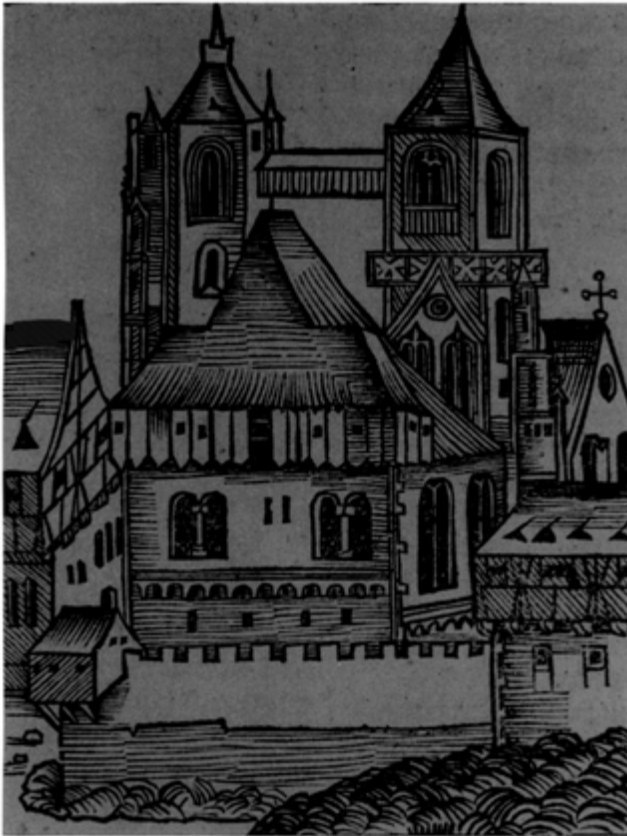
king Ratchis in 749. Farfa was destroyed by the Lombards in the sixth century but was restored by Thomas of Farfa in 690. Under Frankish abbots it was fortified; it was endowed by dukes, kings, and emperors; and its domains stretched from Latium to the Marches. Charlemagne made it an imperial abbey. San Vincenzo al Volturno, founded in 703, grew rapidly in importance, extending its rule over an extensive territory and becoming a virtual monastic duchy. Later, however, the Saracens destroyed Monte Cassino (in 884) and Farfa (in 882) and occupied San Vincenzo al Volturno (in 891).

Odo of Cluny (c. 879-942), who was called to Italy by Alberic in 936 to reform all the monasteries under his jurisdiction, brought Benedict's *Regula monachorum* to the monasteries of Rome (Sancta Agnes foris Muros, Santa Maria in Aventino, Sanctus Laurentius foris Muros, and Sanctus Paulus), to Monte Cassino, and to Subiaco. Odo also brought the Cluniac ideal, which was characterized by centralization and uniformity of observance, the development of ritual, a monastic culture based on study of the scripture and of the church fathers, extensive almsgiving and relief of the poor, and a flourishing of the arts, especially those of the scriptorium.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, new ascetic movements came into being; their adherents expressed discontent with the traditional Benedictine way of life, with the Benedictines' corporate wealth and involvement in worldly affairs, and with Benedictine community life, which was burdened by vocal prayer and ritual. The new ascetics, seeking disengagement, solitude, poverty, and simplicity, turned to the eremitic life of the desert fathers as their model. They included Romuald (c. 950-1027) at Sant' Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna, Peter Damian (1007-1072) at Fonte Avellana, and John Gualbert (d. 1073) at San Miniato in Florence.

It must be emphasized, though, that however strong the pull of the desert may have been for individuals in northern and central Italy, many of the established monasteries also reached their apogee during this period and in the twelfth century; and much of Italian monasticism, especially in the north and in the south, experienced a renewal under the influence of transalpine monastic reforms. The order of Cluny controlled some forty monasteries in Lombardy, most notably San Maiolo in Pavia, San Giacomo of Pontida (1076), and San Benedetto of

Polirone (1077). The abbey of La Chaise-Dieu possessed twelve monasteries in the north. The reform of William of Dijon spread from his foundation at Fruttaria in the early twelfth century to Sant' Ambrogio in Milan and Sant' Apolinare Nuovo in Ravenna. In the south, the congregation of Cava, following the Cluniac observance, was begun with the support of Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085). By c. 1025, this congregation numbered forty abbeys, thirty-five priories, and sixty-five churches; eventually, it would grow to seventy-seven abbeys, 100 priories, and 400 churches.



Abbey of Monte Cassino. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 144r.

Many of the great houses flourished as never before. Monte Cassino reached the peak of its prosperity under abbots Desiderius (who was

abbot from 1058 to 1087 and later became Pope Victor III) and Oderisius I (from 1087 to 1105); during this period its church was consecrated (in 1071) and the fame of its scriptorium was established. During his abbacy (997 or 998–1038), Hugh introduced the Cluniac reform to Farfa and made the abbey a spiritual, intellectual, and economic center. The monastery of Subiaco flourished from 1050 to 1150, especially under abbots Humbert (1050-1069) and John V (*Gloriosissimus abbas*, 1069-1121).

Italian monasticism in the central Middle Ages was characterized by an astonishingly rich variety of forms and observances, equaling or even surpassing French monasticism. All the nuances of monasticism existed in Italy—local monasteries, reformed or unreformed; Cluniac priories; pure Benedictine observances, such as those of Monte Cassino and Vallombrosa; Cluniac adaptations in the houses of the congregation of Cava; and the Cal maldolese eremitic life.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many houses of Benedictine monks had difficulty meeting the challenges of a changing society that was experiencing plague, warfare, and economic decline, and of a church that was weakened by internal schism and external controversy. At the same time, valiant efforts at reform were being made, and new forms of Benedictine monastic life were being created. The most strenuous attempts were those made by the papacy to revitalize monastic life. However, the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which imposed triennial general chapters based on national or regional groupings, and the efforts of popes Honorius III (r. 1216-1227) and Gregory IX (r. 1227-1241) and a former Cistercian, Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342), were largely unsuccessful, since they came from outside rather than from within the houses of the order or from within the hearts of the monks.

During the later Middle Ages, the most successful attempts to revitalize monasticism took place in Italy, Sylvester Gozzolini (d. 1267) founded Monte Fano near Fabriano, from which the Sylvestrine Congregation grew. The hermit Peter Marrone (c. 1209 or 1215-1296, later Pope Celestine V) organized his disciples into the abbey of Monte Majella in central Italy, which grew into the Celestine order. A century later, Bernard Tolomei (d. 1348), after living in solitude near Siena, gave the Benedictine rule to his followers and founded the Olivetan branch

of the Benedictine order.

The fifteenth century saw many reform movements. Their prototype was the reform of Santa Giustina in Padua and of the subsequent congregation, undertaken by Ludovico Barbo (1382-1443). After restoring poverty, stability, and the common life to his own house, he extended his reform to several neighboring houses. His reform was shaped by a need, perceived in all monastic quarters, to combat the *commendam* system—the practice of granting monasteries to secular clerics or even to laymen to enjoy their revenues. To this end, Barbo suppressed the autonomy of the individual houses and radically altered the role of abbots in the monasteries. Monks now made their vows to the congregation, and authority rested in the general chapter, which appointed superiors and could move monks and abbots from one monastery to another at will.

Benedictine monasticism in medieval Italy was both creative and receptive, offering a life marked by rich and fruitful diversity. In the sixth century, Italy provided Christian Europe with a model of monasticism, the *Regula monachorum*, that would govern and influence monastic life for centuries to come. Italian monasticism was open to reform movements from the north, especially France, and itself offered the north reforms that would also bear fruit through the coming centuries.

See also Benedict of Nursia, Saint; Gregory I, Pope; Monasticism; Monte Cassino, Monastery

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Beneventan Chant

Beneventan chant was the music of the liturgy practiced in southern Italy before the adoption there of the standardized Gregorian chant of the Roman church. When the Lombards invaded from the north during the sixth century, they brought a wave of destruction and paganism but also planted on southern soil the seeds of a culture which was to endure for centuries and which developed its own characteristic Beneventan script and its own liturgy and music. The political capital of this area was the city of Benevento, and the liturgy and music developed there were in many respects independent of parallel developments in the Roman church. This rite spread throughout the south from Benevento and was practiced from the seventh century until its suppression in the course of the eleventh.

The southern Italian scribes who wrote this chant called it "Ambrosian"; and although Beneventan chant is not the same as the Ambrosian chant of Milan, there is enough kinship to suggest that the Lombards, northern and southern, once shared similar liturgies and music which then gradually grew apart, particularly after the fall of the Lombard kingdom of Pavia to Charlemagne in 774. Saint Ambrose is thus said to be the ancestor and protector of both rites.

The Beneventan liturgy was practiced at Benevento, Monte Cassino, Bari, and Salerno; in Dalmatia; and in other places almost as far north

as Rome. The surviving sources of Beneventan chant, numbering almost a hundred manuscripts and fragments, describe a geographical area in which the so-called Bene ventan script was practiced and which matches the range of the Lombards' domination in the south. The principal sources, from the Biblioteca Capitolare in Benevento (MSS 38 and 40), are Gregorian graduals that include Beneventan masses as appendixes to major feasts. Most other surviving sources are fragmentary or palimpsest, suggesting the deliberate suppression of the local chant during the eleventh century. Among the sources, the magnificent illustrated *Exultet* rolls of southern Italy should be mentioned; these were used in major monasteries and cathedrals for the blessing of the paschal candle on the vigil of Easter. Such rolls, when they contain the special Beneventan text of the *Exultet*, or the Beneventan melody which persisted long after most churches had converted to the imported Franco-Roman text, give further evidence of the extent and influence of the Beneventan ritual.

The shape and function of the Beneventan liturgy must remain to some extent uncertain, as there is no surviving sacramentary, missal, lectionary, or antiphoner. To judge from the surviving materials, the shape of the Beneventan calendar and the place of music in the mass and office were much like the practices of the Roman church.

Beneventan chants have a high proportion of nonbiblical texts and texts that rearrange biblical phrases and ideas. There is considerable flexibility in the assignment of liturgical items to specific feasts; it appears that the Beneventan liturgy never had the fixity which we associate with the Roman mass.

The old Beneventan chant has a uniform style. Although there are a few simple pieces, and a few melismas, the music generally proceeds at a regular, rather ornate pace, using mostly stepwise intervals. Scattered throughout are repetitions of melodic formulas, small invariable turns of phrase that are repeated far more often than their counterparts in other chant dialects.

In the Beneventan repertoire—unlike Gregorian chant—few stylistic distinctions can be made on the basis of liturgical function or modal category. There are no clear distinctions between music for the choir and music for the cantor. Even though the surviving repertoire is small, we have several pieces preserved in multiple sources, and in such cases

the sources agree, with only the smallest discrepancies.

The archaic features of Beneventan chant include a restricted tonal range. There is no evidence that Beneventan chant was ever subjected to the systematizing effects of the eight-mode system imposed on much other music. There is a remarkable economy of means in this music: the same few cadences and melodic formulas, a very limited range, and a tendency toward immediate repetition both at short range and for extended musical periods. These may be characteristics of music that has been transmitted orally for a long time.

Beneventan chant was written down substantially later than the Gregorian repertoire among the Franks; and it is certainly true that the other repertoires written rather late—the Old Roman and the Ambrosian—share a surface prolixity and some of the musical characteristics that are often called archaic but are perhaps simply typical of oral tradition.

See also **Ambrosian Chant; Benevento; Liturgy**

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See Vol. 21, *Les témoins manuscrits du chant bénéventain*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly. Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1992.

Benevento

Benevento can be traced to an ancient Samnite city on the Calore River that was founded, according to legend, by Diomedes. Apparently, an early form of the name was Malventum (evil wind), and this was changed to Beneventum (good wind) by the Romans sometime after their victory over Pyrrhus in 275 B.C. During the third and second centuries B.C., because of its geographic location, Benevento was an important point in the development of the Appian Way, which eventually connected it to Brindisi. The city prospered throughout the Roman era, for both military and commercial reasons, and was a focus of recurrent patronage and development. Its importance as a Roman city is still attested to by numerous remains from the period, most notably the superbly preserved Arch of Trajan.

Benevento continued to be a major city in the Middle Ages. During the Gothic wars of the sixth century the Byzantine and Ostrogothic forces continually contended for it; in the course of these wars the city and its fortifications were razed by Totila. When the Lombards were overrunning northern and central Italy, a breakaway force under the leadership of Zotto seized Benevento in 571, rebuilt it, and made it the center of an independent principality or duchy. Under Zotto's successors Arichis I and Aio, the territories of the duchy were consolidated and the hereditary rights of its rulers were recognized. One of its most important rulers was Grimoald (r. 647-662), who was able to succeed to the Lombard crown itself in 662. He left his son Romoald to rule in Benevento, which was still recognized as a regime distinct from the Lombard realm of the north. In 663, shortly after this arrangement had been made, Emperor Constans II, seeking to reassert Byzantine authority in southern Italy, besieged Benevento; the attack was beaten off when Grimoald came to his son's relief. Under the successive dukes of this dynasty Benevento was caught in continually shifting relationships with and between the Roman papacy and the Lombard crown. During the time when the Franks absorbed the Lombard kingdom, Arichis II (r. 758-788), a son-in-law of the last king of the Lombards, Desiderius, succeeded in preserving the duchy of Benevento as an independent state; it would remain a major force in southern Italy under his descendants. Recurrently during the ninth and tenth centuries, Benevento was in conflict with neighboring powers and was involved in a rivalry with the restored Byzantine powers in

southern Italy. It was occupied twice by Byzantine forces (in 891 and 895) and was briefly annexed by the marquis of Spoleto, but it was fully reconstituted as a separate Lombard principality in 897. Under the Lombards' rule, Benevento flourished as a center of commercial and cultural activities, with extensive patronage of architecture and letters.

By the early eleventh century, a communal movement had developed in the city, and this movement flourished as threats by the Normans mounted. In 1051, the citizens of Benevento accepted the lordship of the Roman church; Pope Leo IX received confirmation of this acceptance from the German emperor Henry II, and it was on the basis of the Beneventans' recognition of papal overlordship that the reestablishment of princely rule was allowed in 1055. The arrangement was confirmed by Gregory VII in 1073, but four years later the death of the last Lombard prince brought the dynasty to an end. From then until 1815, Benevento was generally governed by papal deputies of one title or another—but with recurrent interruptions, as other rulers coveted it. It was occupied briefly by Frederick II (1241-1250) and then by Manfred (1258-1266), who was defeated and killed in Benevento on 26 February 1266 by Guelf supporters of Charles of Anjou. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Benevento was briefly held by Angevin, Aragonese, and Hapsburg rulers. The Bourbons of Naples committed further depredations.

Benevento's Lombard era is commemorated by various remains, above all the church of Santa Sofia, consecrated in 760 and designed on Byzantine models. Its cloister, dating from the early twelfth century, has decoration that shows rich interactions of Muslim and local Christian styles. The cathedral, built in the early thirteenth century, was based on Apulian types and received subsequent decoration. Its bronze doors (also from the early thirteenth century), by an unknown master, are particularly impressive. The medieval castle, begun by the Lombards, received additions in later periods.

See also Arichis; Constans II; Desiderius; Grimoald of Benevento, King; Lombards

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Benvenuto Da Imola

Benvenuto (late 1330s-1387 or 1388) was one of the most important commentators on Dante's *Divine Comedy* during the *Trecento*. He was born in Imola to a family of notaries and judges. In 1365, he represented Imola on an embassy to Pope Urban V in Avignon. From 1367 to 1376, Benvenuto taught grammar at Bologna, and in 1375 he gave public lectures on the *Divine Comedy*. From 1376, until his death he lived under the protection of the d'Este ruler in Ferrara, where he continued teaching and issuing publications on the *Comedy* and maintained a lively correspondence with Coluccio Salutati.

Even before Benvenuto began his teaching career at Bologna, he had written a treatment of Roman history, *Romuleon*, for Gomez Alborno, the nephew of Cardinal Alborno. In Ferrara, he would complete his survey of Roman history by writing *Liber Augustalis*, about the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Wenceslas. These historical efforts doubtless explain why Benzo d'Alessandria's *Chronicon* was mistakenly attributed to Benvenuto.

In both Bologna and Ferrara, Benvenuto contributed mightily to the recovery of humanistic learning in the Romagna region. Among his many commentaries are those devoted to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Seneca's tragedies, Valerius Maximus, Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, and

Petrarch's *Bucolicum Carmen*.

Benvenuto heard Boccaccio lecture on the *Divine Comedy* and supplied Salutati with copies of the works of Roman poets such as Propertius and Catullus. His most abiding contribution to learning is his massive commentary on the *Comedy*, in which he states his firm conviction that Dante was the greatest of all the world's poets.

See also Benzo d'Alessandria; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Chronicles; Dante Alighieri; Dante Commentaries

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Benzo D'Alessandria

Benzo (fl. 1311-1329) is remembered today as the author of the *Chronicon*. He was born in the Lombard city of Alessandria sometime in the latter thirteenth century and began his career as a notary. We have documents that demonstrate his presence in Milan as an imperial secretary in 1311 and in Como as an agent of its bishop in 1317. He then went into the service of Cangrande della Scala; we have two documents which he prepared for the rulers of Verona in 1329. That is the last we hear of him.

The *Chronicon*, mentioned by Guglielmo da Pastrengo and Galvano Flamma (or Fiamma), exists as Codex B 24 Inf. of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. It is a volume of 285 parchment leaves in folio, written in a round Italian Gothic hand. From Benzo's own testimony in Book 14, we know that he composed some of it in Como during his seven years there in the bishop's service. From the same source, we learn that he also worked in the Capitular Library of Verona. The text was written by someone other than Benzo and passed through the hands of Azzo Visconti and the Dominican church of Sant' Eustorgio in Milan before coming to the Ambrosiana in the early seventeenth century. On the basis of Benzo's own comments and those of Guglielmo da Pastrengo, it appears likely that—as Remigio Sabbadini believed—the Ambrosiana codex does not contain the entirety of the *Chronicon*.

The *Chronicon*, as we possess it today, consists of twenty-four books that can be divided into sections. First, Books 1–10 comprise a treatment of sacred history from the creation to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus; the dominant influence on this section is Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* and *Judeo-Roman War*. Books 11–14 of the *Chronicon* form a geographical interlude; no author is as prominent here as Josephus is in the first section, but Isidore, Solinus, and Orosius are frequently cited. Books 15–19 deal with Macedonia, Alexander, and Alexander's successors in Macedonia, Egypt, and Syria. In Book 15, the

most significant authorities are Jerome, Justinus, and Solinus; the whole of Book 16 and large chunks of the next three books are derived from the *Speculum historiale* of the French Dominican Vincent of Beauvais. We can note here that the entire conception of the *Chronicon* and its elaboration reflect Vincent's influence. Books 20-24 deal with Greek history. Book 20 takes up the history of Argos and Athens through the Peloponnesian War; Justinus, Jerome, and Valerius Maximus are the principal sources. The next three books are essentially Benzo's rehandling of other works: Book 21 is a prose version of Statius's *Achilleid*; Book 22, on the Trojan War, relies primarily upon Dictys, with supplemental information from Dares and Servius; Book 23 is another prose version of a much longer poem by Statius, the *Thebaid*. Book 24 once again depends heavily on Vincent of Beauvais, especially in the chapters on the philosophers, e.g., Plato and Aristotle. This book as a whole is a presentation of the *facta et dicta* of the most famous Greek heroes, both mythological and historical; in its prologue, Benzo declares that the virtues and achievements of these pagans should inspire contemporary Christians to emulate them.

The most original section of the *Chronicon*, and the one which has attracted the most scholarly attention, is Book 25, on the cities of the world. Within the larger compass of this book, Benzo is at his most creative in his presentation of the cities of northern Italy, especially Milan. He demonstrates a familiarity with some quite obscure sources, such as Ausonius's *Ordo urbium nobilium*, which he discovered in the Capitular Library of Verona. Benzo is also at home with the medieval chroniclers, Arnulph and the two Landulphs.

The only chapter on an urban subject that rivals the one on Milan is Benzo's presentation of Rome, chapter 132. He begins by describing Rome as *provinciarum regina et urbium domina ac gentium princeps orbisque caput* ("queen of provinces, mistress of cities, and prime head of peoples and the world"). Just before the end of the chapter, he once again cites Ausonius: *prima inter urbes, deorum domus, aurea* ("first among cities, golden Rome of the gods"). He concludes with a medieval line: *Roma caput mundi tenet orbis frena rotundi* ("Rome, head of the world, holds the reins of the globe"). He draws the substance of the chapter from *Mirabilia*, *Graphia*, and Martinus Polonus. There are also references to Josephus, Livy, Virgil, Augustine, and Orosius. Benzo also

finds room for a prose rendering of some lines on Rome from Claudian.

See also Cangrande della Scala; Chronicles

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Berengar I of Friuli

Berengar I (d. 924 or 928), marquis of the northeastern border march of Friuli, was a Carolingian on his mother's side. He was elected king of Italy in 888 following the overthrow of Charles the Fat, the last of the male line of Carolingians, in 887. Until 905, Berengar's position was challenged by a series of rival kings associated with Spoleto and Provence who usually had support from the French: Guy of Spoleto (889-894), Lambert (891-898), and Louis III of Provence (900-905). Berengar was also temporarily challenged by his own ally Arnulf of Carinthia (894-897), but Arnulf became ill and returned to Germany.

In addition to the numerous civil wars caused by these challengers, Berengar's reign was troubled by the first raids by Hungarians from the east and Arabs from the west. Although his rivals for the kingship had sought and obtained the imperial crown, Berengar himself did not achieve the title of emperor until 915. His reign was characterized by a marked decline in the authority of the central state, a decline hastened by Berengar's own numerous grants of land and legal rights from the royal fisc.

See also **Arnulf of Carinthia; Frankish Kingdom; Holy Roman Empire**

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Berengar II

Berengar II (c. 900-966), marquess of Ivrea, had some claim to the

Italian throne through his mother, a daughter of Berengar I. Furthermore, his strong position in a border march in northwestern Italy threatened Emperor Hugh, Because Hugh evidently planned to have him eliminated, Berengar took refuge with the duke of Swabia in 941. But Hugh's position became increasingly insecure, and in 944-945 Berengar led a group of followers over the Brenner Pass into Italy, He gathered sufficient strength to force the abdication of Hugh in 947; Hugh died in 948.

The overthrow of Hugh left Hugh's young son, Lothar II, as king of Italy, and Berengar became the most influential of his counselors. The death of Lothar II in 950 gave Berengar himself an opportunity to be elected (with his son Adalbert) king of Italy.

Berengar II was never crowned emperor, and his reign was not a strong one. He was challenged in 951 by Otto I of Germany. Although Otto was generally successful, the situation in Italy at that time did not allow him to obtain the emperorship, and Berengar II continued to rule (in those parts of the Italian kingdom not held by Otto) until Otto returned at the pope's request in 961. Berengar II and his queen, Wilia, held out at the castle of Saint Leo in the Apennines until 963, when they were captured and sent to Germany, where Berengar died.

See also **Lothar II; Otto I**

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Bérengar Frédol

The canonist Bérengar Frédol (d. 1323) was born to a noble house in the

diocese of Maguelonne. He served Boniface VIII as a chaplain, and he was a compiler of *Liber sextus decretalium* (1298), Frédol became bishop of Béziers, and Pope Clement V made him a cardinal in 1305. Clement employed Frédol on diplomatic business, and Frédol took part in judicial inquiries concerning Boniface VIII and the Templars. He also tried, though in vain, to reconcile the Spiritual and Conventual Franciscans. Both Frédol and his nephew—who was also a cardinal and was named for his uncle—were candidates to succeed Clement. Several legal tracts written by Frédol survive.

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Bergamo

Bergamo is the chief city in a province that runs a geographical gamut from the fertile plain of the Po Valley to foothills at the beginning of the Alps. The city is more or less at the center of the province in an east-west direction, and it is situated on the first slopes of the "pre-Alps," looking out over the plain of the southern part of the province, with the mountainous hinterland rising up behind it to the north. During the Middle Ages the boundaries of the province were the Adda River on the west, separating Bergamo from the area of Lombardy under Milanese control; the Oglio River, dividing Bergamo from Brescian territory to the east; a shifting line to the south separating Bergamo's territory from that controlled by Cremona; and the true Alps to the north. The area of the province—the medieval diocese and *comitatus*—comprises about 3,500 square kilometers.

The city of Bergamo lies at the mouth of two important alpine valleys: the Brembana and the Seriana. A third valley, the Cavallina,

opened into the Po plain a few kilometers east of the city. Val Cavallina provided a shortcut to Milan for those coming into Italy over the Brenner Pass. In order to guard these valleys and passes, the Romans took the site of an old Celtic city in 197 B.C. and established a fortified garrison on a hilltop just where the plain began to rise toward the mountains. This was a large camp, with about 2½ kilometers of walls. By 49 B.C. Bergamo was important enough to be designated a *civitas*. Later, during the medieval period, its Roman walls served as the foundations for a rebuilding of the civic fortifications, and they marked the urban boundaries until the Venetians enlarged the town with a new set of walls in the sixteenth century.

Political Situation in the Early Middle Ages

Because sources are lacking, it is difficult to learn a great deal about early medieval Bergamo. Bergamo became an episcopal city in the mid-fourth century. It was sacked twice in the fifth century: first in 408 by the Visigoths under Alaric, and again in 452 by Attila and the Huns. Soon after the death of Theodoric, the city was described as well defended, and one can assume that it still possessed its Roman walls and fortified gates. According to local legends, when the city came under Byzantine control in 556 its fortifications were repaired by the new rulers; but there is no physical evidence and no evidence in the surviving sources that these legends are true.

Little is known of politics in Bergamo during Langobard times. From 575 on, Bergamo was an important duchy, extending as far as the eastern shore of Lake Como, and it had close ties with the Isola Comacina. Its territory also grew in other directions. When Cremona was destroyed in 603, its lands were split between Bergamo and Brescia. The Langobards used the city's location to full defensive advantage in their battles against the Franks, but Langobard Bergamo disappeared in 774 after Charlemagne took Pavia and destroyed the Italian kingdom. The Langobard rulers of Bergamo were replaced by Frankish counts in 774 or 775, and the mountainous territories of the *comitatus* were given to two of the most important Frankish monasteries: Saint Martin of Tours and Saint Denis, near Paris. By the time of Charles the Bald

(823-877), the politics of Bergamo, such as they were, were completely imperial.

In the later ninth century and the tenth century, Bergamo remained an important center for the Italian kings, though it was never a docile subject. In 904, King Berengar I conceded the rights of fortification of the city to its bishop Adalbert and its leading citizens (*concives*), making the bishop the de facto military lord of the city. Berengar seems to have made this concession from a position of weakness. The Hungarians' invasion of 902 had wrecked the city's walls and gates, and the king was in no position to rebuild its fortifications. Whatever the precise circumstances may have been, this is one of the earliest known instances when a northern Italian city gained control of these rights. It also marks the beginning of the ascendancy of episcopal power in the town and the eclipse of the secular power of the counts, which had been so important during the Carolingian era. That this was the intention of the bishops is proved by a pair of documentary forgeries. One, dated 968, purporting to be from Otto II, gave the bishop control over all lands up to three miles (about 5 kilometers) from the city. A second, dated 1041 and supposedly signed by Henry III, gave the bishop control over the whole *comitatus*.

The later tenth century in Bergamo was a period of growing sympathy toward the imperial powers, and the Ottonian emperors were directly involved in episcopal elections in the city from the 970s into the early eleventh century. The most notable of the eleventh-century bishops, Arnolfo, who was elected in 1077, was firmly on the imperial side. By the end of the eleventh century, the secular counts too, weakened as they were, had been tied to the empire for many years. In 1092, Bergamo did enter briefly into an anti-imperial league with Milan, Cremona, Lodi, and Piacenza, but it remained something of an outsider and was significantly less developed, economically and socially, than the other members of the league.

What is most important at this period of Bergamo's history is not so much the external sympathies of the ruling classes as the internal manifestations of significant power. The church, and particularly monastic bodies, owned a great deal of valuable land in the *comitatus*. It has been estimated that religious foundations—episcopal and monastic—owned about one-third of all the improved land (that is, land

with buildings on it) in the province. By the end of the eleventh century the bishop was popularly viewed as the real lord of the *comitatus*. This was particularly true among the many people (called *semiliberi*) who accepted ecclesiastical control but were not economically dependent on the church. The close relationship between the borders of the diocese and the early medieval *comitatus* and the similarity of both to the borders of the old Roman *civitas* are strong evidence that there was an essential continuity of administrative structure throughout the early medieval period, whether the actual ruler was a Langobard king, a Carolingian count, or an imperial bishop. Nevertheless, the first clear separation since antiquity of the city from its surrounding *contado* (countryside) occurred under episcopal rule. Beginning with Adalbert's rebuilding of the city walls and gates in the early tenth century, the city of Bergamo came to be seen as more and more distinctly separated, both socially and juridically, from its rural hinterlands.

The ecclesiastical history of Bergamo is interesting but convoluted. External control was a continuous part of the religious presence in the surrounding *contado*. The Frankish monastic influence in the *contado* was replaced by that of several Cluniac houses established in the late eleventh century. In the city, under episcopal control, things were not so simple.

By the late eighth century there were already four important basilicas in Bergamo: the cathedral of Sant' Alessandro (Saint Alexander), located outside the walls to the west of the city; and the churches of San Pietro, Santa Maria, and San Vincenzo. San Vincenzo had been built near the center of the walled city by the Langobard kings as the Arian cathedral, and its construction marked the beginning of double cathedrals in Bergamo. When Charlemagne took the city in 774, he venerated its most important relic, the body of Saint Alexander, and granted donations to the saint's church. The Carolingians' veneration of the saint lasted through ninth century. When Charles the Fat visited the city in 883, he also took time to visit Alexander's relics. At least since the middle of the tenth century there had been a hostel for pilgrims at the cathedral of Sant' Alessandro. From 879 on, a weekly market, under the control of the bishop, was held near the church, outside the walls of the city. But in 908 the bishop transferred the rights for this market to the canons of San Vincenzo. This concession is

further evidence that ecclesiastical power was moving within the walls of Bergamo. About 90 percent of the Bergamasque clergy lived inside the city, and from at least 897 on, the urban cathedral of San Vincenzo was referred to as a *domus*, a term signifying its primacy over the other churches, particularly Sant' Alessandro. Beginning in the eleventh century, squabbles between the bishop and the canons of San Vincenzo over control of the market became more frequent, despite a tradition, by then firmly established, that the canons of San Vincenzo alone, without any voice from the canons of Sant' Alessandro, elected the bishop.

The twelfth century saw the culmination of the struggle for primacy between the chapters of the two cathedrals. This conflict began in the early 1130s and came to a head in 1146, when the bishop was murdered. The eventual results were a lawsuit, which was won by the canons of San Vincenzo, and a decline in the importance of the cathedral of Sant' Alessandro—which ultimately disappeared altogether.

This sordid ecclesiastical history can in many ways be seen as paralleling the political situation in Bergamo at the beginning of the communal period. Storti Storchi (1984) interprets the two cathedrals as representing the pro- and anti-imperial factions in Bergamo. Sant' Alessandro, the church outside the city walls, was the center of anticommunal and pro-imperial sentiment, and it was the church of the local counts and representatives of rural power. San Vincenzo, on the other hand, was staunchly episcopal; this meant that it was the cathedral of the commune, since there were few apparent problems between the bishops and the citizens of Bergamo in the twelfth century.

The disappearance of the church of Sant' Alessandro as a center of power did not, however, mean that the long-entrenched imperial sympathies of Bergamo vanished. The province and the city remained supporters of the emperor and his policies until after the mid-thirteenth century and the collapse of the Hohenstaufen designs on the peninsula. In 1235, following a war with Milan, the Bergamasque church was placed under a papal interdict that would last more than twenty years. In 1236, the commune responded to this exercise of Roman authority by renewing its allegiance to Frederick II. In the 1240s, Bergamo supported Frederick's son Enzo in his war against Brescia; and that decade also saw the revival of imperial *podestà* in the city.

The persecution of heretics in the Bergamasque *contado* in the later thirteenth century and the early fourteenth can be seen at least partly as a result of these lingering sympathies toward imperial power. In the 1260s, the bishop, Erbaro, began to have difficulties with the commune because he felt that the civic statutes impeded his attempts to eradicate heresy. The subsequent additions to the statutes made in 1267 included antiheretical laws drawn from imperial as well as papal sources. But the intensity of the persecution in this region was not simply a result of paranoia among the orthodox. The mountainous alpine hinterland was a popular place for outlaws of all sorts. In the early fourteenth century the infamous Fra Dolcino hid out in the upper reaches of the Bergamasque valleys, and many of his supporters were from the region.

Communal Period

The relations between church and commune in medieval Bergamo involved the city's two most important and powerful organizations. Like many other Lombard cities, Bergamo developed a communal organization early in the twelfth century. The establishment of the commune is usually dated from 1117, but careful readings of the documents have established that consuls are first mentioned in the city in 1108; thus it can be assumed that a consular form of civic government dates from the very early years of the twelfth century. Structurally, the earliest civic government at Bergamo has been characterized as an "aristocratic commune." Jarnut (1980) discovered that before 1100 the city had almost no merchant class of *negotiatores*; this finding corroborates his observation that in the early medieval period the city's social structure reflected a firm concentration of power in an aristocratic urban elite. Although Bergamo had many of the prerequisites for a prosperous mercantile economy in the tenth and eleventh century—its own fair, a weekly market, and good roads to other important economic centers and ports—it did not become one of the economically important cities of Lombardy.

One of the most fascinating sources concerning life in Bergamo during the early communal period also supports the idea that the commune was an aristocratic establishment. Mosè del Brolo's civic

encomium *Liber Pergaminus*, written about 1120, contrasts the *dives* and the *pauper* (the rich and the poor) as two different types of citizens, bound together in a pact of peace.

The imperial leanings of Bergamo lasted well into the twelfth century. In 1158, Bergamo, along with other traditional enemies of Milan, supported Barbarossa's siege of that city; in 1162 Bergamasque troops helped in the partial destruction of Milan. But only a few years later, in 1165, the political situation had changed so dramatically that Bergamo joined with Verona and Padua in an anti-imperial organization, the Veronensis Societas. In April 1167, Bergamo was one of the founding members of the Lombard League, which was established at the monastery at Pontida, in Bergamasque territory. Bergamo then helped with the rebuilding of the walls and gates of Milan, a project which began only three weeks after the foundation of the Lombard League. Another indication of Bergamo's political about-face also came soon after the meeting at Pontida: Bergamo's bishop, Gerard, whose sympathies were staunchly imperial, was deposed by the papal legate, with the support of the citizens. The new bishop, Guala, who was consecrated in 1168, was thoroughly anti-imperial in his outlook and actions. One imperial legacy that was not tossed out, however, was the office of *podestà*, which had first been introduced at Bergamo in 1163 as an imperial administrative post. During the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth the commune alternated between consular rule and rule by *podestà*.

After the peace of Constance, concluded between the cities of the Lombard League and Barbarossa in 1183, Bergamo continued to develop along lines that can be considered largely normal for Lombard communes in the late twelfth century. Consuls of justice (*consules iustitiae*) are first noted in documents in 1186. There is a mention of a *liber statutorum* (book of statutes) in 1198. A communal palace was erected in the center of the city; this palace is first noted in the documents in 1198, but in all probability it was already built in 1195. These are the most obvious innovations in the communal structure after the defeat of the emperor, and all of them had to do with an attempt to establish the rule of law—the chief characteristic of the communal period after the peace of Constance.

The consuls were the most typical feature of the early communal

period in Bergamo. The establishment of the commune in 1108 is identified by the first appearance of consuls in the documents, and the consular council was the chief instrument of government until the imperially appointed *podestà* appeared in the 1160s.

There seem to have been three separate consular assemblies in the early commune. (1) The largest was the *arengo*, a popular assembly of all citizens. It did not meet regularly, and its chief purpose was to approve or disapprove (by acclamation) business brought before it by the smaller councils. (2) Next in size was the general council, the main deliberative body of the commune. This was still a large group: though its membership fluctuated noticeably, it generally consisted of several hundred leading citizens who were representatives of the various sections of the city, the *vicinie*. Storti Storchi (1984) points out that in the Middle Ages Bergamo had an extremely well-developed vicinal organization. The number of *vicinie* varied, but there were generally about twenty throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Storti Storchi claims that the communal organization of the early twelfth century was mainly a centralized imitation of these more localized administrations. (3) The smallest but most important council was the *consiglio di credenza*, which met regularly and frequently and served as the executive arm of the communal government. It controlled the activities of all the other social organizations in the city.

One of the most substantive changes in communal organization that resulted from the peace of Constance was a transfer of judicial authority from the bishops to the communes themselves. These communal councils, as the only legitimate expression of power and deliberation in the communes, retained exclusive control over, and exercise of, the law and punishment. This fact explains the appearance of the judicial consuls in 1186, and the increasing preoccupation with legal matters and procedures in communal life during the late twelfth century and the thirteenth century.

Since the law was the fulcrum of the new communal life, a crucial requirement was that laws had to be created and preserved in a form which made them accessible, at least in theory, to all citizens. This form was the book of civic statutes, the *liber statutorum*. In Bergamo, such statutes are mentioned from 1198 on, and it is reasonable to assume that they existed in some form before then. Mosè del Brolo, in his *Liber*

Pergaminus, speaks of twelve citizen magistrates whose job was "to examine the holy laws night and day" (*sanctas leges scrutantes nocte dieque*).

The oldest surviving communal statute book, called the *statutum vetus* (old statute), dates from 1248 but includes statutes from earlier in the thirteenth century and survivals from before 1200. Earlier statutes from a private civic organization, the Società del Popolo, were incorporated into the communal statutes in 1230. There are also some surviving fragments of statutes, dated 1237. Additions were made to the statutes in 1253, and in 1267 a completely new redaction was made that included both imperial and papal proscriptions against heresy. In the fourteenth century the statutes were revised continually, beginning in 1307. Surviving compilations date from 1331, 1333, 1353, 1374, 1391, and finally 1422.

The statute book was kept in the communal palace, where it was to be available to any citizen who wanted to consult it. There was also another public book, called *Bos*, that was kept with the statutes. This second book contained all the bans, public edicts, and proclamations of the commune, as well as the fines established for misdemeanors. It thus served as a sort of running set of minutes of communal deliberations.

The communal palace—now called the Palazzo della Ragione—was a new addition to the civic fabric in Bergamo after the peace of Constance. The commune obtained property in the center of the city (by purchase and, apparently, by the exercise of eminent domain) in order to construct a palace that would suitably house the two most characteristic public communal activities: consular gatherings and judicial proceedings. The palace faced south toward the church of Santa Maria Maggiore and, as was to be typical for such communal structures in Lombardy, was very large but architecturally straightforward. It was rectangular and consisted of a large single *salone* over an arcaded ground floor. The ground floor is now open on three sides, allowing passage beneath the palace from one piazza to another, but it was originally open on only two sides—the south and the west. The Palazzo della Ragione is the first building in the city that shows any awareness of the developing Gothic style of northern Europe. Its Gothic quality is hesitant but is most clearly noticeable in the pointed arches of the arcade, and the adoption of the new architectural style for what was

fundamentally a new kind of building seems to have been a conscious choice.

Although the commune is the classic—and most important—example of the tendency of northern Italian city dwellers of the later Middle Ages to organize themselves into associations, it was by no means the only form of association existing in the city. In the late twelfth century, popular new religious societies were already being formed; chief among these was the Humiliati, which first appeared in Bergamo in 1171. A general characteristic of the communal period was the formation of secular or quasi-religious societies that were essentially civic in nature. According to Belotti (1959), there was a rudimentary popular Società delle Armi as early as 1179; it was reorganized in 1206 and again c. 1230. Storti Storchi is not so definite about the beginnings of the Società delle Armi, dating it only from sometime before 1226. It is certain, however, that the statutes of this organization were incorporated into the communal statutes in 1230. Some surviving additions made to the statutes in 1257 mention *societates*, and on the basis of these Storti Storchi argues for the existence of other popular societies during the first half of the thirteenth century. A Societatis Sanctae Mariae Majoris was in existence before 1289, and there was also a Societatis Sanctae Salvatoris in the late thirteenth century.

By the early fourteenth century, public life begins to take on a certain hysterical tone, which is reflected in the formation of still more popular societies. In 1307, a Società delle Armi del Popolo was established with a membership of 500, soon increased to 800. Storti Storchi holds that this society was established "as an extreme act of faithfulness towards the institutional forms of the commune." A new society founded in 1316, again reflecting the ideals of the commune, was the Societas Iustitiae Populi Pergami. As the institutions of the communal period collapsed and were replaced by early tyrannies, these civic societies assumed more overtly religious forms. In 1326, a new organization appeared, the Societatis Manus Christi et Populi, which was not as large as the earlier societies but nevertheless had 400 or more members.

These societies should not be seen simply as expressions of individual or corporate piety or civic-mindedness. They were important attempts by the citizens of Bergamo to prevent the city's aristocracy from twisting communal structures to serve its own purposes. The

aristocratic families—the most important were the Suardi, Colleoni, Rivola, and Bonghi—were held in check to a certain extent by the commune. However, these families were restrained mostly because power was so evenly balanced among them: no single family could exert control over the city for any length of time without suffering a counterattack from the others.

Most of the civil discord from the late twelfth century until well into the fourteenth was a result of, or was at least exacerbated by, the attempts of these aristocratic families to dominate the city. There are reports of civic disruptions as early as 1179, though little is known of the exact circumstances or the protagonists. In 1206, a serious intramural war occurred, with the Suardi fighting the Rivola. This was also a war of the urban nobility against the commune, embodied by the *podestà*. The second half of the 1220s was a period of more or less continual civil war, with the Colleoni and the Suardi pitted against the Rivola, and all the noble families fighting the Società del Popolo.

Despite these internal conflicts, most of the wars Bergamo was involved in from 1230 until the end of the thirteenth century were external. The city consistently took the imperial side. In 1296, though, the most serious intramural conflict of the communal period occurred, initiating a period of civic instability that lasted until 1307. What began as a battle between supporters of the Suardi and those of the Colleoni escalated into an all-out civil war. The Suardi were driven out of the city, only to return immediately with support from the Milanese; the Suardi in turn exiled the Colleoni and their allies.

The Suardi were able to maintain control of Bergamo only with continuous assistance from outside. In 1301, they had to ask Matteo Visconti for help. In 1310, the Holy Roman emperor Henry VII declared the Suardi the hereditary lords of the city, but he neglected to support them beyond this, and two years later they were driven out of Bergamo by the Colleoni. In 1328, the Suardi again gained control of the city, again with the help of the Visconti; from then until the early fifteenth century, except for brief periods, the Suardi maintained nominal control, though essentially acting as creatures of the Visconti.

The end of the commune in Bergamo marks the end of its medieval history. The decline of communal institutions is a sad story, though not unusual in early fourteenth-century Lombardy. Beginning with the civil

war of 1296, urban stability became the exception, not the rule. The revisions of the statutes in 1307 and the formation of new citizens' societies were symptoms of the distressed condition of civic institutions. By the early fourteenth century the bureaucratic structures of the commune had become so complicated and rigid that they no longer functioned effectively, and the commune could no longer fend off attempts by the urban aristocracy to gain control of the city.

Henry VII's entry into Italy in 1310 provided an impetus for the Ghibelline Suardi to set themselves up as the first hereditary lords of the city. This lordship did not survive the reaction of the other powerful families in Bergamo, but it foreshadowed things to come.

In 1315, Matteo Visconti became *signore* of Bergamo, and two years later the city was officially made a subject of Milan. This subjection was short-lived; by the end of 1317 the Visconti's authority in the city had ended, at least temporarily. Over the next few years, it becomes difficult to be precise about events in Bergamo.

Local control apparently did not prove up to the task of governing the city after domination by Milan was rejected. In the early 1320s, Federico della Scala was effectively in control of Bergamo, maintaining what was essentially an unofficial *signoria* which lasted until 1324. At this time the people of Bergamo attempted once again to govern themselves, but without notable success; and in 1327 Louis the Bavarian, who had recently crossed the Alps, was proclaimed *signore*. This new *signoria* was pro forma rather than indicative of any real political change, and in 1328, the Suardi—the most pro-imperial of Bergamo's families—were able to reestablish control of Bergamo. The Suardi may have been able to dominate the other aristocratic families of the city, and the tattered remnants of the Popolo, but they were ineffective against external threats, and in 1329 the Visconti again took power in Bergamo, though this time with a Suardi as putative "protector."

The double burden of control by the Suardi and the Visconti was too much for the citizens of the city, and in early 1331, Bergamo, along with many other Lombard cities, enthusiastically placed itself under the protection of the northern emperor John of Bohemia. Though destined to last no more than a few months, John's reign in Bergamo was a watershed in the city's institutional history. This was the first true

signoria, legally speaking. It is ironic that what had been intended by the city as a last desperate attempt to revive the old communal forms ended with the legalizing of disdain for the law on the part of those in authority. When Azzone Visconti became *signore* in Bergamo in 1332, he was legally exempted from obedience to the laws of the city. In this form, domination by the Visconti continued through the rest of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth, until the Milanese were replaced by the Venetians as lords of the city in 1428.

Art and Architecture

Physically, Bergamo remains, as the guidebooks say, *molto suggestiva*—very evocative. The upper city especially gives a good idea of what a Lombard mountain town was like at the end of the Middle Ages. The present walls and gates are Venetian constructions of the sixteenth century, and there is much in the city that is Renaissance or pseudo-Renaissance; but if one looks past the Palladian windows, evidence of the fourteenth, the thirteenth, and even the twelfth century begins to appear.

The most famous medieval building in Bergamo is the Romanesque church of Santa Maria Maggiore, whose towers and cupola crown the upper city. It was begun in 1137, and according to an old tradition it was built as an ex-voto for the deliverance of the city from drought and famine in 1135. Equally correctly, however, Santa Maria Maggiore can be seen as a sort of informal communal cathedral, built to serve civic as well as religious functions. This new church was built at exactly the time when the two official cathedrals—Sant' Alessandro and San Vincenzo—were embroiled in a dispute over ecclesiastical primacy in the city. Neither of the two older buildings was really satisfactory as the chief church of a city as important city as Bergamo: Sant' Alessandro was outside the walls and was dominated by the conservative rural nobility of the *contado*; San Vincenzo was too small and too plain to reflect the dignity of communal Bergamo. Once Santa Maria Maggiore was completed, it was made officially a part of San Vincenzo and hence a "cathedral" of the city.

Santa Maria Maggiore is the largest church in the city. It is near the

center of town, just a few feet away from the cathedral of San Vincenzo, and it looks out over the modern lower city and the Po plain stretching off to the south. It has a curious shape for a Romanesque church, with a truncated nave of only two bays. The reason for this abrupt termination is that the bishop's palace stands just to the west of the church and could not be encroached on. This also explains why the church has no western entrance; instead, its entrances are in the south and north transept facades.

The exterior of the church is largely unchanged from its twelfth-century form. There is a fine series of carved capitals spread around the east end of the basilica. The most noticeable additions to the outside of the church are three fourteenth-century Gothic portals, the work of Giovanni da Campione. The most magnificent of the three faces a small square to the north of the church and is dated 1350-1353. The second, a minor portal which opened into the old sacristy (1364-1367), faces the southwest corner of San Vincenzo. The third is a porch, dated 1360, added to the south transept doorway. Above it is a tabernacle by the German artist Hans von Fernach, which was added in 1401-1403.

The twelfth century is also represented in Bergamo by a few towers, the last survivors of forty or so that have been located in the city. Mosè del Brolo had described Bergamo as a city with not many towers (and thus an internally peaceful city, since house-towers were symbols of the powerful families). If there were forty towers in Bergamo, however, its twelfth-century skyline must have been spiky indeed. One of the surviving towers, at the northwest corner of the Piazza Vecchia, came to be used as the communal tower and is still used as a public clock tower; it was a house-tower of the Suardi until it was taken over by the commune in the late twelfth century. Another tower is the Torre Gombito, on Via Gombito, just down the hill to the east of the Piazza Vecchia. The Torre Gombito gives a very good idea of what these towers originally looked like, since, unlike the communal tower, it has been modified scarcely at all.

After the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, the most important twelfth-century structure in the city is the communal palace, the Palazzo della Ragione, just north of Santa Maria Maggiore and facing that church across the present-day Piazza del Duomo (in the communal period the Platea Parva Sancti Vincentii). The palazzo was built c. 1195

and is the oldest substantially intact communal palace in Lombardy. Its northern ground-floor arcade, which allows one to pass underneath the palace from the Piazza del Duomo to the Piazza Vecchia, is a result of a building program during the mid-fourteenth century. That program also produced the present Piazza Vecchia, and a reorientation of the communal palace away from the ecclesiastical Piazza del Duomo toward the secular Platea Nova (now the Piazza Vecchia). The reorientation involved constructing a new stairway at the northeast corner of the palace and a new ceremonial facade on the north face. It is often said that the Palazzo della Ragione was completely rebuilt in the mid-sixteenth century, following a fire in 1513, but this is not true; the form and most of the details of the palace are clearly medieval. The most obvious Renaissance additions are the two windows on the south side and the vaults under the ground-floor portico.

Little else survives from the thirteenth century in Bergamo. An extensive set of frescoes, usually dated to the end of that century, was uncovered in 1937 in the hall connecting Santa Maria Maggiore to the bishop's palace. The frescoes depict the Annunciation, the Last Supper, and an extended cycle of episodes in the Apocalypse. Their style can most kindly be characterized as "provincial," but they are nonetheless interesting because they are so complete.

At the eastern edge of the hill on which the *città alta* (upper city) is built, just inside the Venetian Porta Sant' Agostino but outside the medieval walls of the city, is the former church of Sant' Agostino. The convent was founded in 1290, and the church was consecrated in 1347. Although some rebuilding was done in the fifteenth century, the church, particularly its facade, is a good example of late thirteenth-century Lombard monastic architecture. There are close connections between the traceried windows of the facade and the windows of the north side of the communal palace, which were rebuilt when the Piazza Vecchia was constructed in the first half of the fourteenth century.

The Piazza Vecchia itself, the traditional heart of the upper city, is an important remnant of medieval Bergamo. Though its paving is modern and the handsome fountain in its center is from the eighteenth century, the square as a whole is a fine example of late medieval urban design. It was one of the first purely secular piazzas in northern Italy, focused not on a church but on the Palazzo della Ragione, at the southern edge. It is

ironic that this piazza was created with the communal palace as a backdrop just at the time when the commune was collapsing.

The western side of the Piazza del Duomo, south of the communal palace, is now closed by a gem of fourteenth-century Bergamasque architecture: the baptistery. This was the first of the works done in the city by Giovanni da Campione, and when it was built in 1340 it was located inside the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. By the mid-fourteenth century any distinction that had ever existed between the cathedral of San Vincenzo and the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore had become blurred, and for all intents and purposes the two churches acted as a double cathedral—San Vincenzo as the summer cathedral and Santa Maria Maggiore as the winter church. Nevertheless, it is extremely rare to find a completely separate baptismal structure built inside an already existing church. The statues of the Virtues, at the angles of the upper part of the exterior, are among the best examples of fourteenth-century sculpture in the city.

The finest medieval tomb sculpture surviving in Bergamo is on the sepulchre of Cardinal Guglielmo Longhi, who died in Avignon in 1319. The tomb, by Ugo da Campione, was originally in the Franciscan church; in the nineteenth century, when San Francesco was destroyed, the tomb was brought to Santa Maria Maggiore, where it now stands in the southern aisle.

Santa Maria Maggiore also contains fragments of two large fourteenth-century frescoes on the end walls of the transepts: in the north transept are a Last Supper and various miscellaneous scenes; in the south transept is a very large Tree of Life, painted in 1347.

The dominant secular aspect of life in the later Middle Ages is represented in Bergamo by two fortresses: the Rocca at the eastern end of the city and the Cittadella toward the west. The Rocca, built on the eastern height (on the remains, some believe, of the *capitolium* of the old Roman camp), was begun by John of Luxemburg in 1331, during his short-lived domination of the city, and was later extended by the Visconti. It served a military purpose until the nineteenth century, when it was used by the Austrians. The very large Cittadella, at the western end of the upper city, was originally the *hospitium magnum* of the Firma Fides, but it was taken over and fortified by Bernabo Visconti beginning in 1355. It too remained in use for military or quasi-military

purposes until the mid-nineteenth century. Restorations carried out in the 1950s have brought back some of the medieval characteristics of the fortress, especially the long portico on the north side of the square.

But it is a mistake to look for medieval Bergamo primarily in a few isolated buildings, fragmentary frescoes, or tombs. The whole upper city remains, to a remarkable extent, medieval in flavor. The layout of the town, and especially its pattern of streets and squares, has not changed noticeably since the end of the Middle Ages, and there are many stretches where one may encounter the twelfth century as easily as the twenty-first.

See also **Frankish Kingdom; Lombards; Milan; Visconti Family**

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Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint

Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (Bernard de Fontaines, 1090-1153) was born into a noble family near Dijon in Burgundy. As a young man, he was attracted by the devotion and austerity of the nascent Cistercian order, and in 1112 he entered the recently founded abbey of Cîteaux. Three years later, at the request of Abbot Stephen Harding, he founded his own abbey at Clairvaux. Bernard's extraordinary energy and eloquence soon propelled him to the forefront of ecclesiastical and political activity in twelfth-century Europe. While never less than conscientious in the administration of his abbey, he traveled widely to preach, often to huge crowds, and to advise his fellow Cistercians; he was a valued counselor to several princes and eventually to a pope, Eugenius III, who had been his disciple at Clairvaux; and he was involved in all the major institutional and theological controversies of the time, notably the election of the schismatic "pope" Anacletus in 1130 and the debate surrounding the radical ideas of Peter Abelard in the 1140s. Bernard's output of writing was also prodigious: it included many volumes of sermons (including a famous set of eighty-six on the *Song of Songs*), moral and theological treatises, devotional works, a biography of the Irish Cistercian Saint Malachy, essays on monastic discipline, a manual of advice for Pope Eugenius (*De consideratione*), a rule for the order of Knights Templar, and hundreds of letters. Bernard was canonized in 1174.

Bernard's influence in Italy was considerable. The Cistercian Order arrived in Liguria in 1120, and its ideals—and Bernard's reputation—spread widely in Italian culture through the numerous Cistercian abbeys founded subsequently and through Bernard's own travels in northern Italy in the 1130s. Apart from the widespread dissemination of his own works and of iconography portraying him, there are many references to his writings in the enormously popular *Meditazioni della vita di Cristo*, a *volgarizzamento* (vernacular translation) of *Meditationes vitae Christi* (c. 1256-1263) attributed to Giovanni de' Cauli; also, Dante famously chose Bernard as sponsor of the final vision of Beatrice, Mary, and the godhead in the closing cantos of *Paradiso*. Bernard also had an immense influence, either directly or through intermediaries such as Joachim of Fiore, on the Spiritual Franciscans, especially because of his advocacy of personal and ecclesiastical poverty: Ubertino da Casale in particular drew significantly on

Bernard's works.

See also **Dante Alighieri; Monasticism**

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Bernardo Da Pavia

Bernardo (d. 1213) was provost of Pavia when he compiled his *Breviarium extravagantium* (c. 1190), an early collection of papal

decretals ordered in books and titles, like Justinian's *Corpus juris civilis*. Bernardo's collection also included, alongside letters of popes such as Alexander III, patristic texts omitted from Gratian's *Decretum*. Later collections of decretals would follow its division into five books, treating judges, procedure, the clergy, marriage, and punishments. By the time his collection was published, Bernardo, a pupil of Giovanni da Faenza, had taught canon law at Bologna for more than a decade. Bernardo served as bishop of Faenza from 1191 to 1198. In that period he composed *Summa decretalium*, an exposition of canon law following the order of his collection. Bernardo was transferred to the see of Pavia, where he remained until his death. While at Pavia, he composed his *Casus decretalium*, summaries of individual canons.

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Bernardo Daddi

See Daddi, Bernardo

Bernart De Ventadorn

Historically, very little is known of the Provençal poet Bernart de Ventadorn (Bernard de Ventadour, died c. 1195), but he was long considered the most distinguished of the troubadours and is still so regarded by many critics. Since no document mentions him, he must

have been of humble origins. Very likely, as an Old Occitan *vida*, or biography, of the thirteenth century suggests, he was born in the Correze in the castle of the viscount of Ventadorn, Eble II (1106-1147), who was himself a troubadour. Bernart must have stayed at the court of Raimon V of Toulouse (1148-1194), whom he mentions in several poems. According to the *vida*, Bernart—like Bertran de Born—died in the Cistercian abbey of Notre-Dame de Dalon in Perigord. Bernart's literary production seems to fall into the period 1140-1170. The *vida* romanticizes his life to a great degree, reporting, for instance, that Bernart fell in love with the viscountess of Venta dorn, had to leave the castle, and fled to a woman who is described as a duchess of Normandy—actually Alieanor (Eleanor) of Aquitaine, who soon afterward married Henry II of England.

Bernart composed at least forty-one poems, eighteen of which are preserved with the melody; all but two belong to a genre called *canso* that exclusively celebrates the traditional topoi of courtly love: descriptions of spring, the emotional state of a lover meeting the beloved, condemnation of slanderers and the jealous, and so on. He composed according to the strictest rules of the *trobar leu*, in which clarity and simplicity of expression are combined with great sincerity, and he believed that authentic love inspires equally authentic poetry. For him, love and poetic inspiration are united.

Bernart's poems were extremely popular in Italy: they are found nearly complete in the *chansonniers* composed there. The famous verses *Can vei la lauzeta mover/de joi sas alas contra•l rai/que s'oblid' es laissa chazer/per la doussor c'al cor li vai* ("When I see the lark move its wings with joy toward the sun's rays until, forgetting itself, it lets itself fall for the sweetness that goes to its heart") reappear in Dante's *Divina Commedia* (*Paradiso*, 20:73-75): *Quale allodetta che 'n aere si spazia/Prima cantando, e poi tace contenta/De l'ultima dolcezza che la sazia* ("As the lark that soars in the sky, at first in song and then silent, content with the last sweet note that satisfies it").

See also **Dante Alighieri**

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Bernhard

Bernhard (Bernard, c. 797—817 or 818) was nominally uie king of Italy from 812 or 813 to 817. He was the son of Pepin, who in 781 had been named king of Italy by his father, Charlemagne. This kingship was of a subordinate nature; real authority was in the hands of the Frankish ruler (Roman emperor after 800).

When in 817 Louis the Pious (Bernard's uncle, and successor to Charlemagne) provided for a division of territory among his own sons, Italy was included in the realm of the eldest son, Lothair. What significance this actually had for Bernhard's position was not made clear, but Bernhard and his advisers rebelled against Louis. Their rebellion was put down, and the leaders were taken to Francia. Bernhard was blinded, as a punishment, and died. Louis the Pious later did penance for this act.

See also **Frankish Kingdom; Louis I the Pious; Pepin**

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Bertran De Born

The troubadour Bertran de Born (c. 1140-before 1215) belonged to a seignorial family whose domains formed the border between Limousin and Périgord; he inherited the castle of Hautefort in northern Perigord. He was a vassal of the dukes of Aquitaine (i.e., of the Plantagenets), and his possessions were adjacent to those of the king of France—an unfavorable position, because his lands were continually devastated by one lord or another. This situation explains Bertran's involvement in contemporary politics and military adventures. He sided first with young Henry, oldest son of Henry II of England, against young Henry's brother Richard, who was favored by their father. An Old Occitan *vida* (biography) reports that Bertran "constantly wanted the father, the son, and the brother to go to war against each other." Young Henry, who was a close friend, inspired Bertran's most famous *sirventes*, or poem of blame, as well as his masterwork, a *planh* (lament) on Henry's death in 1183. The successor to the "young king" (as young Henry was called; he had been crowned while his father was still living, to ensure the succession, but as it happened his father outlived him), Richard Coeur de Lion, seized Hautefort; thereupon Bertran switched sides, supporting the cause of King Henry and Richard, who returned the castle to him. In a moving poem Bertran would later issue a call to arms for Richard's crusade; in another poem he laments Richard's captivity. Around 1194, Bertran retired to the Cistercian abbey of Notre-Dame de Dalon in

Périgord and stopped all his poetic activity. His son Bertran de Born the Younger was also a troubadour.

For later generations, Bertran's image rested especially on his contentious disposition: *No-m tengatzper acusador/si-us voill c'uns rics l'autre azir,/car meill s'en poiran valvasor/et castellan de lor jausir* ("Don't consider me quarrelsome if I want the mighty to hate each other, for the vassals and the castellans will be able to profit from them"). Dante, in *De vulgari eloquentia* (2.ii.9), makes Bertran the representative in Occitan of the poetry of arms, one of the three subjects worthy of the *volgare illustre* (noble vernacular). An episode in *Divina Commedia* (*Inferno*, 28.118-142) is particularly famous. Among the instigators of fights and wars, Dante meets Bertran de Born carrying his head like a lantern, an appropriate punishment for a criminal who pitted son against father: *Di sè facea a sè stesso lucerna,/Ed eran due in uno, e uno in due* (verses 124-125, "Out of itself it made itself a lamp,/and they were two in one and one in two").

See also **Dante Alighieri**

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Bestiaries

The primary source for all bestiaries is the scriptures—mostly the Old Testament, which has numerous references to animals of all types. The early church fathers, following the Roman legal tradition, used such biblical references in their sermons partly to establish a precedent, in the form of ancient testimony, for the use of animals as symbols. In the *Homilies* of Saint Basil the Great (sermons 7–9) and in Ambrose's *Hexameron* (9, Books 5-6), animals serve as metaphors for theological lessons. A second reason for turning to the Old Testament was the premise that the Judaic traditions contained hidden prophecies foretelling the events of the Christian era. This concept appears in the earliest bestiary, *Physiologus*, which may date from the second century. Encyclopedic texts such as the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (seventh century) and the Carolingian *De universe* of Hrabanus Maurus, and late medieval writings of Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum naturale*), Honorius Augustodunensis (*Imago mundis*), Hugh of Saint Victor (*De bestiis*), Albertus Magnus, and Bartholomaeus Anglicus, provide extensive lists of definitions, descriptions, and moralizing comments about creatures of the land and sea. These late medieval authors are contemporaneous with the first specialized, mostly anonymous, texts on animals, known as bestiaries, which became popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Some bestiaries are attributed directly to Albertus Magnus; and Hugh of Fouillooy wrote the first aviary, an offshoot of bestiary compendiums. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we can note that some authors

attain a new level of objectivity in the collection and presentation of information; for example, in Albertus we see a growing detachment from the more fantastic elements of the bestiaries and even a desire to measure legends against the actual behavior of animals. Nevertheless, certain moralistic portrayals of animals' behavior—i.e, those based on the writings of the church fathers—were accorded great authority, and they continued, through the fourteenth century, to prevail over the naturalistic presentations found in other bestiaries.

An artistic companion to bestiaries begin to emerge during the Gothic period in the form of drolleries in the marginalia of manuscripts and *bas-de-page* illuminations depicting fantastic beasts and other creatures. However, although such fantastic creatures occupied the pages of many manuscripts, they rarely appeared in the encyclopedias or later bestiaries. In the fourteenth century fantastic tales continued to be conveyed in another type of popular text: travel narratives such as those of Sir John Mandeville and Marco Polo. By the end of the Middle Ages, or more precisely after the 1420s, bestiaries ceased to be produced.

See also Allegory; Aviary; Physiologus

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Bevagna

Bevagna, a town in Umbria along the ancient Roman Via Flaminia, was damaged during the barbarian invasions, came under the control of the duchy of Spoleto, and later was an object of special attacks by both Frederick I Barbarossa (1152) and Frederick II (1249). By the fourteenth century, it was under the rule of Perugia. Its primary claim to fame is that, according to tradition, Saint Francis of Assisi gave his famous sermon to the birds along a road that leads from Assisi to Bevagna (Saint Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, 12.3).

See also **Francis of Assisi**

JOHN W. BARKER AND CHRISTOPHER KLEINHENZ

Biadaiolo Illuminator

The anonymous Florentine painter identified as the Biadaiolo Illuminator (fl. c. 1325-c. 1335) is so named after Domenico Lenzi's *Biadaiolo fiorentino*, for which he provided nine illuminations c. 1335 (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Laurenziano-Tempiano 3). Like

others of what has been called the "miniaturist tendency," he traced his artistic roots to the Master of Saint Cecilia by way of Pacino di Bonaguida; and, like the Master of the Cappella Medici Polyptych and the Master of the Dominican Effigies, he responded to the siren song of Bernardo Daddi. Although his small oeuvre includes a few panels, he was essentially a manuscript illuminator in practice as well as in temperament, and in this field he excelled. His illuminations for *Biadaiolo fiorentino* are among the finest ever painted in Florence, combining carefully described details with wry observation and an infectious zest for life. Boldly designed vignettes of places and people jostle and jumble and fairly jump off the pages. A splendid but far from pedantically accurate view of the enemy, Siena, where the poor are being driven out, is juxtaposed with a view of Florence, where the poor are charitably fed but kept safely outside the walls. The *biadaiolo* (corn merchant) himself appears in the midst of a transaction, surrounded by barrels of grain, winnowing baskets, an open account book, and money. On market day, huge, continually replenished barrels are ranged across a square (and almost off the page), and a discriminating Florentine matron and two companions inspect, handle, and sniff the merchandise before deciding whether to heed a vendor's urgings to buy. Observing these negotiations, another man can only scratch his beard.

Such piquant observations and such spirited transcriptions of the doings of humanity are hardly encountered in the few other works attributed to this master. Nevertheless, despite the distinction of the *Biadaiolo* illuminations, it is possible—indeed likely—that the works attributed to the Biadaiolo Illuminator actually form part of the output of the prolific but otherwise more tempered Master of the Dominican Effigies.

See also Master of the Dominican Effigies; Pacino di Bonaguida;
Painting: Miniature; Saint Cecilia Master



Domenico Lenzi (fourteenth century), distribution of grain in Or San Michele during the famine of 1335. Manuscript illumination from *Il biadaio* (*The Grain Merchant*). Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

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Bianchi Party

See Florence; Guelfs

Bianco Da Siena

Bianco (c. 1345 or 1350-c. 1412) was born in the small Tuscan community of Anciolina and was taken at an early age to Siena, where he was employed as a wool carder. Most of what we know about his life comes from the writings of Feo Belcari (1410-1484), a Florentine poet and playwright who appears to have reconstructed Bianco's biography from information contained in his poetry. In 1367, Bianco joined the Gesuati, a lay order founded by Giovanni Colombini, and lived for a number of years in a monastery of the order in Citta di Castello. He spent the last years of his life in Venice.

Bianco wrote more than a hundred *laude*, which may be divided thematically into two main groups: doctrinal and mystical. Inspired by intense religious zeal, his poetry has its mystical roots in that of Jacopone da Todi, particularly in regard to the theme of divine madness. The immediacy of Bianco's language and the unadorned simplicity of his statements enhanced the popular appeal of his poetry.

A hymn of praise to the Virgin (340 lines in *terza rima*)—*Benedetta sia tu, che nella mente* ("Blessed are you, who in the mind")—recounts her life in fresh, fervent verses. Some poems focus and play on specific words, phrases, and concepts, creating a mesmerizing effect that aptly reflects their mystical fervor: for example, *Luce divina, luce isplendente* ("Divine light, radiant light") and *Amor amor amor, ardimi il core* ("Love love love, burn my heart"). In another *lauda* Bianco describes the ecstasy of mystical love: *Distruggesi 'l mio core* ("My heart is destroyed"). In still another he presents the lament of a soul bereft of divine grace: *Dolcissimo Amore/quando ti parti, mi lasci inprigione* ("Most sweet Love, when you leave, you leave me in prison"). Such themes are reminiscent of Jacopone.

See also **Colombini, Giovanni; Jacopone da Todi; Lauda**

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Bible

Not surprisingly, the Bible—considered the word of God—was the most studied book in the Middle Ages. Nor was its centrality limited to schools, to other writings, or to the relatively few people who understood Latin: as the sacred text of the church, the Bible was the

primary source of all authoritative proclamations. Furthermore, it constituted a complex symbolic network that extended far beyond the reach of words. The "people's Bible" was known through ritual, pageant, and drama; in the iconographic programs of church facades and stained glass; in hymn and song; and, most important of all, in the liturgy of the church. The Bible was seen and heard far more than it was read.

For the learned, however, a particular kind of biblical culture stood at the core of the medieval curriculum and informed all three aspects of the traditional clerical education: *lectio*, the reading of scripture with commentary; *disputatio*, the discussion of questions rising out of problematic texts; and *praedicatio*, the preaching of scripture. Such study was based on certain assumptions: that the Bible was divinely inspired; that there was a typological relationship between what was "figured" in the Old Testament and "fulfilled" in the New Testament; and that the interpretation of scripture was fourfold, with the literal text regarded not only as true in itself but as concealing a set of spiritual mysteries. These assumptions were ancient, having roots in the New Testament's reading of the Old. But in the thirteenth century there were also new developments in biblical study to reckon with. Particularly in university circles, scripture was abstracted in a *summa*, or dissected into a multitude of component parts (called *divisiones per membra varia*), or taken entirely out of its original context and used as an illustrative text or as proof. The practice of amassing parallel passages and chains of citations served to reinforce the notion of the Bible as a source that could be divided and reassembled according to a theologian's needs. This notion was reinforced by the development of an increasing number of research tools to help the scholar and the preacher make more efficient use of biblical texts. There was also the "glossed" text of the scripture itself. For a long time, it had been common practice to insert between lines of the Bible a brief definition or explanation of their meaning. Scribes also added lengthier material taken from the *Glossa ordinaria*, the standard compendium of (largely patristic) commentary on the Bible; this material would be placed in the margins or at the top and bottom of a page.

A discussion of scriptural interpretation raises the question of what the medieval Bible actually was. The answer is complicated, because there were many versions of Saint Jerome's Latin (Vulgate) Bible. If one

had had access to the renowned cathedral library in Verona, for instance, the Bibles one found there would most likely have been multivolume editions, usually of monumental size and lavishly decorated. By contrast, however, there was the *exemplar Parisiensis*, developed in Paris in the early thirteenth century to meet the needs of both the student in a university classroom and the Mendicant preacher on a mission. Its innovative compact one-volume edition continued to influence how the Bible would be presented, even in our own time. These texts, small in size and written on thin parchment, standardized the order of the sacred books and, thanks to Stephen Langton (d. 1228), made chapter divisions that are virtually the same as those used today.

Such material transformations suggest changes in the way scripture was read, and by whom. Whereas stable religious communities continued to favor the large volumes in monastic libraries, the new, more portable texts became the Bibles of the traveling Mendicant orders. Many were indeed small enough to be carried among an itinerant preacher's personal effects. The wide proliferation of these "Paris Bibles" also indicates a growing number of individual (rather than communal) readers—an educated lay elite who gravitated to the universities and the Mendicants' schools, filled administrative positions in church and state alike, and actively used their Bibles in what Vauchez (1993) has called a "diffusion of the evangelical word."

We have evidence that in various parts of Italy during the thirteenth century the Bible was being translated into regional dialects. There were early collections of passages that were read at the mass and in the sacred offices of the church; there were also translations of single books, of which Gerardo Patecchio's *Li proverbi di Salamone* may well be the earliest. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries one can identify a gradual formation of a *Bibbia volgare* (though not yet a complete translation of the Vulgate). The Florentine Antonio Brucioli produced a fresh vernacular translation of the original Hebrew and Greek scriptures in 1532, two years before Luther's German translation. Others followed suit.

Throughout the Middle Ages, moreover, there were vernacular verse translations of the historical books of the Hebrew Bible. These were read and sung in public, not unlike the secular courtly romances (*romanzi cavallereschi*). The *podestà* (podesta) of Padova, for instance,

made a verse harmonization of the four gospels at the end of the fourteenth century; some fifty years later a Florentine monk achieved a similar feat in Dante's own *terza rima*.

No doubt the most remarkable Italian commentary on the Bible is Dante's *Commedia*, finished shortly before Dante died in 1321. When Dante's writings are considered as a whole, the Christian scriptures turn out to be the source of more references and allusions than any other work: by one count, there are 575 citations of the Bible, compared with 395 to Aristotle and 192 to Virgil. Moreover, calculations of this sort cannot begin to suggest the extraordinary degree to which Dante absorbed the world of scripture. This is most notable in the *Commedia*, where the Old and New Testaments, both in Latin and in vernacular translation, so permeate Dante's language as almost to become one with it. Sometimes Dante will quote the Bible openly or draw specific attention to its relevance; far more often, however, he allows its presence to go unannounced, relying on the reader to catch the biblical reference and make something of it.

How could Dante, a Florentine layman, attain such a degree of biblical knowledge around the year 1300—and develop such facility in the personal appropriation of scripture? To some extent, Dante was a beneficiary of the Fourth Lateran Council in the early thirteenth century, which attempted to counteract heretical movements and turn the disaffected Catholic laity into people of "right favor and good actions." The newly formed Franciscan and Dominican orders undertook precisely this mission, setting out not only to bring the gospel into streets and public squares but also to offer it in the vernacular. A result of this evangelizing zeal was the formation of a new kind of Christian, the *laicus religiosus*. In Dante's Florence, where both literacy and interest in religion were uncommonly high among the laity, such people might choose to join one of the *laudesi*, or devotional groups, that publicly sang the praises of the Virgin Mary and the other saints. Or they might seek out a charitable organization—a *misericordia*—or join one of the many penitential confraternities affiliated with but structurally independent of the Mendicants. Also, the Franciscans and the Dominicans had "tertiary," or third, orders that offered an even closer connection to the spiritual life of their communities and attracted both men and women. In such circles women and men could find a

more intense Christian life than was possible in the ordinary parish church. Preaching was at the center of this experience; laypeople gathered in the new piazzas built in front of churches to accommodate large numbers, or met together in the more intimate setting of confraternities.



Biblia sacra, cum glossa ordinaria. . . . Exodus, columns 475-476. Lyon, 1589. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Thirteenth-century manuals on *artes praedicandi*—preachers' manuals—emphasized that a sermon should be aimed at a particular audience and should reach out to this audience at an appropriate level. Preaching was to be a kind of song, and the preacher was to be as agreeable as a jester and as sharp as a merchant. Apparently, some the Mendicants actually met these high expectations, although the transcriptions that have come down to us largely omit the amusing stories and asides which made their preaching so popular. A case in point is Giordano da Pisa: more than 700 of his sermons survive; all of them were preached in the vernacular at the beginning of the fourteenth century; and all were taken down by anonymous laypeople who wanted to preserve at least the serious essence what would otherwise have been just a passing moment.

By Dante's own account, we know that he had firsthand familiarity with Mendicant "schools of the religious" (*Convivio* 2.12.7). These were most certainly the *studia generate* of the Mendicant orders, in particular the Franciscans at the church of Santa Croce and the Dominicans at Santa Maria Novella. By the end of the thirteenth century, these two houses of worship were among the most important places of learning in their respective communities, ranked second only to the *studia princi palia* at Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge. Established to train clerics, both schools drew teachers as well as students from all over Europe; and as we know from Dante, they were also open to laypeople.

See also Allegory; Biblical Exegesis; Dante Alighieri; Dominican Order; Franciscan Order; Glossa Ordinaria: Bible; Liturgy; Preachers and Preaching

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Biblical Exegesis

At least since Constantine's Edict of Milan in 313, which proclaimed the official tolerance of Christianity within the Roman empire, the collection of writings known as the Bible has occupied a central place in western history and culture. In medieval Italy, the Bible penetrated every aspect of culture and thought; indeed, it is difficult for us to imagine how thorough this penetration was. The Bible provided the subject matter for most visual art, poetry, philosophy, and political science and was the authoritative source of religious doctrine and practice.

The Bible itself was a collection of writings produced in widely separate regions over widely separated periods of time, in cultures and languages largely lost to medieval Europe. Thus, as a text, it presented formidable challenges to the interpreter; it became an object of intense scrutiny which attracted the greatest thinkers and required all their hermeneutic acumen. A huge body of both the theory and the practice of biblical exegesis resulted; and it is impossible to approach the place of the Bible in the Middle Ages without considering how the interpretive tradition shaped the way men and women read this book of books.

The Church Fathers

The theoretical and methodological basis of medieval biblical

interpretation was established by the church fathers, whose scriptural interpretations still provided the most common glosses on the Bible during the Middle Ages. For a medieval thinker, truth was not something discovered through independent investigation; rather, it was something confirmed through textual authority. Thus medieval exegetes looked to the church fathers as the sanctioned interpreters of biblical texts. Saints Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome exerted perhaps the most profound and longest lasting patristic influence. Jerome, a historically minded exegete, is best known for his translation of the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek texts into Latin; this Vulgate text became the standard Latin Bible in the Middle Ages. For Jerome as well as the other church fathers, biblical interpretation was far more than an academic exercise; it was crucial precisely because it influenced their daily lives. Saint Augustine responded to the hermeneutic chaos of the early church with an attempt to develop an "orthodox" hermeneutics, a theory of interpretation which would ensure that all readings of the biblical text accorded with the mainstream of the church. Augustine therefore rejected the overuse of the Greek method of interpretation known as allegory, which was exemplified in the writings of the Jewish interpreter Philo of Alexandria and the Christian interpreter Origen; instead, he considered the historical sense of the Bible the basis of a proper understanding. Augustine (like Gregory after him) based his own writings on a principle of scriptural interpretation pronounced by Jesus. Noting that the first two commandments of the law were the love of God and the love of one's neighbor, Jesus stated that "on these two commandments dependeth the whole law and the prophets" (Matthew 22:40). For Saint Augustine, therefore, all scripture must have a charitable meaning: passages are to be read literally when they accord with this meaning, and only when an exegete is unable to read a scripture "charitably" should he turn to allegory.

The "Spiritual" Meaning of Scripture

Allegorical readings were justified because of the divine authorship of scripture. Since the Holy Spirit had inspired the authors of the Bible, later interpreters could see in a text a divinely ordained meaning that

was unknown to the original human author. In addition, the deeds recounted in scripture were foreseen by God, who had, in his providence, brought them about so as to signify spiritually. That is, in the Bible *res* (a "thing" or "deed") becomes *signum* (a "sign"); mortal, corporeal events take on incorporeal, spiritual meanings and become "types" of later events in the life of Christ or the history of the church. Saint Gregory, strongly influenced by Origen, bequeathed to the Middle Ages this emphasis on allegorical and typological meaning, and it became the hallmark of most early medieval exegesis. Often, the literal sense of a scripture was neglected in order to concentrate on spiritual truths revealed through allegory.

Early on, different kinds of "spiritual" meaning were distinguished, and exegetes proposed anywhere from two to seven different "senses," or forms of meaning. Eventually, the division of biblical meaning into four different senses became most common; this convention was expressed in a succinct mnemonic Latin couplet attributed to Augustine of Dacia:

*Littera gesta docet; quid credas allegoria;
Moralis quid agas; quo tendas anagogia.*

That is, the literal sense (*littera*) teaches us the "deeds," or emphasizes the historical events recounted in scripture; the allegori



Biblia sacra, cum glossa orinaria . . . , Vol. 5: Gospel of John, columns 1015-1016. Lyon, 1589. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

cal sense shows us what we should believe, or the spiritual doctrines revealed through a figurative understanding of the literal sense; the moral (or "tropological") sense informs us of how we should act; the anagogical sense teaches us, literally, about where we "tend" (or aim or are directed) and thus concerns both the eschatological future of human history and our reward in heaven after this life. Of course, in practice medieval biblical exegesis was rarely if ever so neatly schematized, and

interpreters tended to emphasize the various spiritual senses according to their audience and the context of the scripture.

Indeed, the intended audience of a scriptural study had a decisive impact on what kind of interpretation an exegete would pursue. During the early Middle Ages, for example, much of the biblical study took place in monasteries and formed an integral part of the monastic goal of devoting one's life to God. For a monk, the study of the Bible was a *lectio divina*, in which the scriptures were studied and meditated on in such a way that they would be learned and would become an indelible part of his life: this meditative study would change the monk's heart and mind. Thus the monastic exegete Saint Bernard of Clairvaux begins his *Sermons on the Song of Songs* by remarking that his audience of fellow monks demands a message different from one that might be delivered to people outside the monastery; the message for Bernard's fellows must be suited to those who spend their lives in contemplation of celestial realities. The "contemplative" study of the Bible was a crucial component of biblical exegesis throughout the Middle Ages, even when different methods of scriptural interpretation were advanced and gained prominence in other centers of biblical interpretation, most notably the schools.

Scholastic Exegesis

It was in the schools, particularly the cathedral schools of France, that the Bible began to be studied more systematically and became an object of learning as well as of contemplation. In the French cathedral town of Laon, for example, a need was felt for a summary of existing knowledge about the Bible's meaning. Accordingly, Anselm of Laon (d. 1117), his brother Radalphus (Ralph, d. 1133), and Anselm's student Gilbert Porreta (the Universal, d. 1154) began to summarize the exegetical history of the books of the Bible. The result was *Glossa ordinaria*, an "edition" of the Bible that contained a compendium of patristic and medieval interpretations surrounding the biblical text. This summary of biblical knowledge became important in the developing schools where systematic study of the Bible was undertaken.

The movement known as scholasticism—because it existed primarily

in the schools—approached biblical exegesis with the help of some important Jewish exegetes such as Moses Maimonides, and especially with the aid of the new tools of Aristotelian logic and dialectic that had become available when Aristotle was reintroduced into western Europe. Instrumental in this development was Peter Lombard (who came, as his name indicates, from northern Italy but taught in Paris). Peter's *Sentences*, a theological textbook, made extensive use of dialectic; it took on an importance second only to that of the Bible, and its dialectical method influenced how the Bible was taught and read in the schools. Just as Aristotelian thought accorded greater weight to the physical world, this new method of study looked more closely at literal sense so as to make biblical exegesis accord with the new learning.

Thus the greatest of the scholastic theologians, Saint Thomas Aquinas (who came from the Italian town of Aquino but like Peter Lombard spent most of his career in Paris) recognized four principal senses of scriptural meaning (including the three spiritual senses described above) but also held that all theological arguments must be based on literal sense alone. For Aquinas, though, "literal sense" comprised a greater sense of the text's meaning than it comprises for us. "Literal sense" as Aquinas applied it is best understood as the meaning intended by the author, and the figurative meaning of words that were intended to be read figuratively (as in the case of Jesus's parables) formed part of the literal sense.

Franciscan and Joachimite Exegesis

The "literal sense" was emphasized in a fascinating but ultimately very different way by Saint Francis of Assisi and his order. Francis had set out to imitate Christ as "literally"—that is, as concretely—as possible, and he therefore eschewed any allegorical study of scripture, preferring to dwell on the "humble" literal meaning revealed to the poor and the simple. Franciscan preachers shared this emphasis on the immediate message of the scriptures, although, notably, they stressed the moral weight of the historical examples presented in the Bible, particularly the example of Christ.

One of the most important developments in scriptural exegesis in

medieval Italy primarily concerned the final book of scripture: John's Apocalypse. It derived from the writings and preaching of a Calabrian abbot, Joachim of Fiore (c. 1130 or 1135-1201 or 1202), who had a vision revealing the meaning of the Apocalypse. The traditional Christian view of the Apocalypse was based on Saint Augustine's spiritual reading; Joachim's writings changed the view to a much more "historical" approach, in which the book was studied as a literal guide to the world's unfolding history. Joachim predicted the literal coming of the Antichrist and the beginning of a "third age" in history. His apocalyptic concepts had a profound influence throughout Europe, even though they proved controversial (his doctrine of the Trinity was condemned at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215). They were particularly important to the Spiritual Franciscans in Italy and elsewhere.

During the fourteenth century, biblical exegesis was displaced from the center of intellectual life, as science became the focus of study in the universities. Laypeople, however, still wrote vernacular devotional literature heavily influenced by the Bible; Dante's *Comedy* is the most famous if least typical example. With the rise of humanism, attention was again deflected away from the Bible to focus on the classics of Rome and Greece. Not until the rise of Christian humanism and the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation in the sixteenth century did biblical study begin to resume something like its former position in European culture.

See also Allegory; Augustine, Saint; Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint; Dante Alighieri; Dante Commentaries; Francis of Assisi; Glossa Ordinaria; Jerome, Saint; Joachim of Fiore; Peter Lombard; Scholasticism; Thomas Aquinas, Saint

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Bindo Bonichi

The Sienese poet Bindo (c. 1260-1338) was most probably a merchant by profession and was extremely active throughout his life in civic affairs. Between 1309 and 1318, he was elected one of Siena's nine governors on at least two occasions. However, after his participation in the construction of the Duomo in 1322, he turned his energies away from municipal posts and toward the church; he became a lay brother of Santa Maria della Misericordia in 1327.

Although Bindo was a contemporary of the *stil novo* poets, his literary production owes a great deal more to the school of Guittone d'Arezzo. Among Bindo's extant compositions are moral and satiric poems developed in gnomic style; his love poetry, mentioned in *canzone* 18 of Bilancioni's edition, has unfortunately been entirely lost. Bindo consistently gives attention to the practical aspects of daily life.

His didactic poetry is informed more by mercantile common sense than by profound erudition, and his poems include a far greater number of homespun proverbs than literary allusions. Bindo was relatively well received by nineteenth-century scholars, but his reputation has not endured.

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Bishops

See Church Organization and Functions

Black Death

"Black death" is the name given by historians to a European pandemic of the late 1340s. Mortality rates varied from place to place, but in general the disease is believed to have killed about one-third of the population of Europe. This plague returned from time to time for the next 400 years; it was especially severe during the seventeenth century and did not disappear from Europe until the early eighteenth century.

The people of the Middle Ages had no scientific framework in which

to place such a sudden and terrible disease, the like of which they had never seen before. Many resorted to religious explanations taken from the Bible, asserting that the "day of the Lord"—the heroic return of Christ to rule earth for a thousand years—was at hand. Kings, princes, and church officials also sought explanations from physicians, who posited natural causes but also turned to astrology. In the Italian city-states, municipal authorities, in consultation with university-educated physicians, instituted public health measures, including quarantine, hospitals, and burial grounds. Church authorities arranged processions of relics and other religious observances. After the plague disappeared, as suddenly and mysteriously as it had begun, chroniclers wrote about the terrible misfortune, and it is from these chronicles that historians have gathered most of their information.

The Onset of the Plague

According to the chronicle of Gabriel de Musis (d. 1356), a notary from Piacenza, plague came to western Europe from Asia Minor. Gabriel relates that in 1346 there was a street fight between Tartar soldiers and Genoese merchants, and the Genoese retreated behind the walls of their trading outpost—Caffa, on the Black Sea—which the Tartars then besieged. At some point the Tartars developed what Gabriel calls a "disease both sudden and unexplainable," and so they abandoned the siege; but they catapulted the bodies of the dead over the walls of Caffa in the hope of spreading the disease among their enemies. The Genoese fled the city by sea, and by October of 1347 they had carried the plague to Messina in Sicily. By January of 1348 it had been spread to Marseilles. Later, in 1348, the plague reached England, and by 1349 it had entered the Low Countries, Vienna, Germany, and Scandinavia.

Boccaccio, in his *Decameron*, describes the plague in Florence in 1348. The disease:

. . . began both in men and women with certain swellings in the groin or under the armpit. . . . In a short space of time these swellings spread . . . all over the body. Soon after this the symptoms changed and black or purple spots appeared on the arms or thighs. . . . Very few recovered; most people died within about three days of the appearance of the swellings.

Boccaccio's description and similar accounts led medical historians to diagnose the black death as bubonic plague, caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*, which was first identified in 1894. However, the modern bubonic plague requires transmission from rodents (usually black rats) via fleas to humans, and the medieval accounts do not mention dead rats; thus the retrospective diagnosis of bubonic plague is difficult to maintain. The true nature of the black death is, therefore, an unsettled question, and most historians now confine themselves to its social and cultural consequences.

Medieval Medical Explanations

Many learned treatises on the causes of the plague appeared throughout the late Middle Ages. The most famous of these, known to historians as the *Paris Consilium*, was written by forty-nine medical masters at the University of Paris in October 1348, at the request of King Philip VI of France. The masters in Paris began by saying that the ultimate cause of the plague would never be known—it was beyond human grasp—but, as natural philosophers, they could look back on recent terrestrial and celestial signs to determine why the plague had attacked when it did. They concluded that it had two causes: one distant and celestial, the other proximate and terrestrial. The celestial cause came from a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, under the moist sign of Aquarius, that had taken place in 1345, following solar and lunar eclipses. According to Aristotle, they said, the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter brings disaster; and according to Albert the Great, a conjunction of Jupiter and Mars would bring plague. Jupiter, the sanguine planet, was hot and moist, two qualities that led to rotting or putrefaction; and putrefaction in turn led to the plague, which was considered a kind of fever. The terrestrial or proximate cause was poisoned air from noxious gases released during earthquakes. Evil constellations encouraged thunder, rain, and moist south winds, spreading poisonous vapors emitted from rotting carcasses in swamps. The poisoned air entered the body and went to the heart, which was, according to medieval thinking, an organ of respiration naturally containing air. This air contaminated the body's vital spirit and causes

the organs to rot. Plague did not kill everyone, however, because only certain individuals were predisposed to it by their bodily constitution.

Social Consequences

Perhaps the most profound and troubling social consequence of the plague was a reawakening of anti-Semitism in some parts of Europe. Many people, citing the Book of Revelation, asserted that the Jews had caused the plague by poisoning wells; and despite the efforts of the papacy, with the aid of the surgeon Guy de Chauliac of Montpellier, to discourage this belief, Jews were slaughtered by the thousand. There also seems to have been an increase in the frequency and vehemence of predictions of the Last Judgment. However, recent historians have argued that the effect of the plague on Italian city life was not profound or long-lasting. Municipal documents such as records of births, deaths, and marriages indicate that the disruptions caused by the catastrophe might last a few weeks and then would be followed by a stoic return to normality. The effect of plague on the development of charitable institutions such as hospitals is more difficult to determine; this has been the subject of numerous historical studies.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Medicine**

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Bobbio

The Lombard monastery of Bobbio became one of the great centers of culture and learning in the early Middle Ages. It was founded in 613 by the Irish monk Columbanus, who had earlier established three flourishing monastic centers in Gaul—Annegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines—but had been expelled from the Frankish kingdom in 610 because of his criticism of the clergy and the court. Columbanus had then fled to Lombardy, where he won the favor of the recently converted king, Agilulf. He took up residence in the ruins of an oratory near Piacenza and soon attracted many followers. By the time Columbanus died, in 615, a monastery of considerable size had grown up around the oratory. A nearby stream, the Bobi, gave the community its name. Columbanus brought to this new monastery the same high standards of ascetic discipline and learning that he had established at his Frankish monasteries. The rule he wrote remained the norm of life at Bobbio until the early tenth century (with some alterations made in 643 to accommodate Benedictine practice).

Columbanus's immediate successors pursued his ideals with great energy. Attala (from 614 to 627), Bertulf (627-640), and Boboleno (641–654) rigorously maintained the monastery's piety and learning and focused the monks' attention on converting the Lombards from Arianism. The acceptance of Catholicism by the Lombard king and court in 653 led to a significant increase in royal patronage, Bertulf and Boboleno also ensured the stability and independence of the monastery

by obtaining from the monarchy an affirmation of the original donation of land made to Columbanus, and obtaining from the papacy an exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.

Over time, Bobbio developed into a major seat of learning. Its formative cultural influences came from Ireland and Gaul, not only because most of its early monks were northerners but also because the monastery became a place of pilgrimage for Irish and Gallic monks who wanted to visit the tomb of Columbanus. Pilgrims to Rome also used it as a stopover. This northern influence helped make Bobbio—unlike most other Italian monasteries of the time—an important intellectual center.

Bobbio's original library was modest and was stocked only with theological and exegetical works, but it grew steadily, especially under Boboleno. There is no evidence that Bobbio acquired manuscripts from other libraries, as is sometimes maintained. Most additions seem to have been the work of Bobbio's industrious scriptorium. The Irish dominated this early writing school, although Spanish and Gallic influences were also strong. Toward the end of the seventh century profane as well as ecclesiastical works began to be copied, especially glossaries, treatises on grammar and meter, and extracts from philologists and historians. This was due in part to the influence of the Gallic, British, and Irish monks who constantly visited the monastery, and in part to a revival of arts and letters in the schools of Pavia, the nearby Lombard capital. From this point on the library's holdings continued to grow; by the late tenth century there were nearly 700 volumes.

Between the Carolingian Renaissance and the twelfth century Bobbio was arguably the dominant cultural center in Italy, primarily because of its library. It also gained considerable wealth. In 1014, the German emperor Henry II persuaded Pope Benedict VIII to make Bobbio an episcopal see. The ensuing jurisdictional disputes between bishops and monks are sometimes blamed for a gradual decline in spiritual observances and intellectual pursuits at Bobbio. In 1449, the monastery was annexed by the Benedictine congregation of Santa Giustina in Padua. The library suffered serious losses in the seventeenth century and was dispersed by the French in 1795. Some of its manuscripts can now be found in the Vatican Library, the Ambrosian Library in Milan,

and the National Library in Turin.

See also **Monasticism**

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Bocca Degli Abati

The Abati of thirteenth-century Florence were Ghibelline nobles involved, inter alia, in money lending, and were routinely knights of the Golden Spur. According to the will of his son, Schiatta, Bocca (d. before 1300) was the son of Rainieri Rustici.

After Florence expelled its leading Ghibellines in 1258, Bocca remained behind with other disaffected noblemen, and he rode with the Guelf force against Siena in August 1260 at the Battle of Montaperti. At this point Bocca entered history and local infamy. According to Florentine tradition, represented here by the historian Giovanni Villani (c. 1275-1348):

As the troop of Germans violently clashed with the troop of Florentine knights, whose standard-bearer was messer Iacopo del Nacca of the house of Pazzi of Florence, a man of great valor, the traitor messer Bocca degli Abati, who was very close [to Iacopo] in his troop, with his sword struck the said IacoDO and cut off the hand with which he carried the banner.

(*Cronica*, Book 6)

The Florentine cavalry wavered and then fled, leaving the infantry to be slaughtered. For this deed Dante placed Bocca in the company of traitors in the lowest circle of hell, Antenora (*Inferno*, 32.73-123). Frozen up to his neck, Bocca is accidentally kicked in the face by the poet. The actual Bocca apparently escaped from the battlefield; he appears in

Florentine documents dated 1268 and 1280.

See also Dante Alighieri; Florence; Ghibelline; Guelfs; Montaperti, Battle of

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Boccaccio, Giovanni

Boccaccio (1313-1375) is now best known as the author of the *Decameron*; but he wrote many works very different in kind, and in the century following his death he was most famous as a humanist and a herald of the Renaissance. He was the illegitimate son of a businessman, Boccaccino di Chelino, and a mother whose name is unknown to us, and he spent his earliest years in or near Florence. Boccaccino encouraged his son's education, but not along the lines of Boccaccio's own interests. In *Genealogie deorum gentilium* (*Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*), Boccaccio says:

Even in my boyhood [my father] directed all my endeavors towards business. As a mere child, he put me in the charge of a great business man for instruction in arithmetic. For six years I did nothing but waste irrevocable time. Then, as there seemed to be some indication that I was more disposed to literary pursuits, this same father decided that I should study for holy orders, as a good way to get rich. My teacher was famous, but I wasted under him almost as much time as before.... I turned out neither a business man, nor a canon-lawyer, and missed being a good poet besides. (*Boccaccio on Poetry*, trans. Osgood, 1930, 131-132).

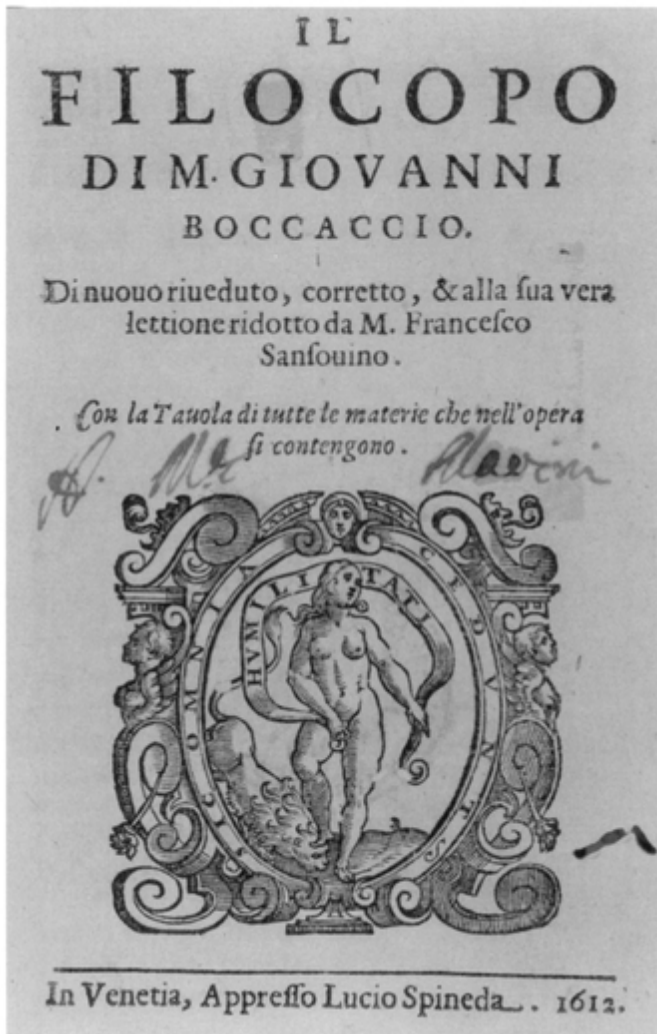
Around 1327, when Boccaccio was fourteen, he moved to Naples, where his father worked as an agent of the Bardi bank at the royal court. The French court and the busy port of Naples offered Boccaccio a wide new range of educational experiences to complement the hours he spent in unwanted studies. Cino da Pistoia, who taught him law, may well have encouraged Boccaccio's interest in poetry, showing him writings by Dante and other recent poets. (One of Cino's lyrics appears as a song in Boccaccio's *Filostrato*.) Boccaccio was also befriended by a circle of Petrarch's acquaintances, including Barbato, Giovanni Barrili, and the Augustinian father Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro. Paolo da Perugia, the king's librarian, contributed a more classical education; Paolo, with the help of Barlaam's knowledge of Greek, was collecting materials on ancient mythology that later became the basis for Boccaccio's *Genealogie*.

Boccaccio began to try his hand at literature while still pursuing other studies. His apprenticeship in the classics is shown in his earliest endeavors, preserved in his notebooks: *Elegia di Costanza* (in verse), paraphrasing a classical epitaph; and *Allegan a mitologica* (*Mythological Allegory*, in prose), a brief and highly artificial string of mythical references from Ovid used to prefigure Christian history. He turned to Dante's *serventese* as the model for *Caccia di Diana* (1334?)—an ambiguous title which can mean either Diana's hunt or the chasing away of Diana. Here, the verses describe a hunt for various beasts by fifty-nine beautiful women of Naples and their leader, Diana; the women then transfer their allegiance to Venus, who turns the beasts into men. The problem of how to understand Boccaccio's work begins with the start of his career: *Caccia* has been read as an elegant compliment, as Christian allegory, and as ironic satire.

Il Filocolo (1335-1336?), a long, ambitious romance about separated lovers, reveals that many influences were working on Boccaccio. It is filled with idyllic descriptions of Neapolitan gatherings and with plots popular at the French court, but he also includes classical gods, metamorphoses, significant Greek names, and numerous echoes of Dante. Boccaccio presents *Filocolo* as a written version of an oral tale, and *cantari* on Florio's search for Biancifiore do exist; however, Boccaccio frames that story in a broader history of the conversion of Florio, and Europe, to Christianity. The most famous scene is a debate

on questions of love in a Neapolitan garden (4.14-72); two of the questions reappear in the *Decameron* as tales 4 and 5 of the tenth day.

Il Filostrato seems to have been written at about the same time as *Il Filocolo*, perhaps in 1335; however, the language of *Filostrato* is much more fluent and humorous than the artificially elaborate prose of *Filocolo*, and one scholar has therefore suggested a later date. *Filostrato* became the model for Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Its nine books of *ottava rima* stanzas tell of the Trojan prince Troiolo's love for Criseida; the seduction, aided by her uncle, Pandaro; her betrayal of Troiolo for the Greek Diomedes; and Troiolo's despairing death. Boccaccio seems to have associated the number nine with tragedy: he also uses nine books in *Elegia di madonna Fiammetta* and in *De casibus virorum illustrium* (*Fall of Illustrious Men*).



Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Filocolo*. Venice: Lucio Spineda, 1612. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

For *Teseida delle nozze di Emilia* (1340-1341), twelve-book romance-epic, Boccaccio again drew on classical history, this time continuing Statius's *Thebaid*. He described *Teseida* as the first martial poem in Italian. It begins with Theseus's conquest of the Amazons and tells of two Theban knights' rivalry for the love of the Amazon Emilia, whom

they first see from their prison window. Theseus arranges a tournament to decide which one is to marry her. Boccaccio appended notes to educate his readers about Greek myths and customs, and he tried to base his description of the games and the arena on classical accounts. His famous glosses to the temples of Venus and Mars in Book 7 suggest that the work may be read allegorically, since these two deities represent concupiscence and irascibility. The work became a basis for Chaucer's "Knight's Tale."

By the time he finished *Teseida*, Boccaccio had been forced by business troubles to return with his father to Florence (1341). The move back to Florence is described in depressing terms at the end of *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* (*Comedy of the Florentine Nymphs*, 1341–1342); Boccaccio remained nostalgic for the cultural brilliance of Naples, and he tried several times to return there to live, but disappointing circumstances repeatedly forced him to abandon this aim. However, the return to Florence did not interrupt his writing. Within a year he had produced two pastoral works. One, a pair of Latin eclogues, would become the first two poems of *Buccolicum carmen*, written over many years and completed shortly before his death. The other was *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*. In this allegory, the shepherd Ameto overhears seven nymphs (virtues) tell, each in turn, how they won over their lovers (vices). Then Ameto is stripped of his animal skins and baptized, and he realizes that the nymphs he lusted for are even more desirable as moral virtues. Venus descends, announcing herself as the triune god, while the nymphs sing, in veiled terms, of the mysteries of Christian belief. The title and plot of *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*, the use of *terza rima*, and the usual borrowings of phrases show Boccaccio's indebtedness to Dante. Yet Boccaccio's work is radically new in kind, and it was to be a major influence on the uses of the pastoral mode during the Renaissance. Its alternation of prose narrative with verse provided a model for Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.

Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and the *Roman de la Rose* as well as Dante were the major sources for *Amorosa visione* (*Amorous Vision*, 1342). In this dream vision, the narrator must choose between a narrow flight of ascending stairs and a broad doorway into a palace. A heavenly guide follows the narrator into the palace, commenting on the murals he sees painted there—triumphs of wisdom, glory, wealth, love,

and fortune. The notion of a series of triumphs and the catalogs of figures in them inspired Petrarch's *Trionfi* and many Renaissance paintings. In *Amorosa visione* three poems run as an acrostic down the entire length of the work, spelled out by the first letter of each tercet; Boccaccio's own name appears in the acrostic at the point where he sees his beloved painted in love's triumph. Boccaccio circulated a manuscript into which he had copied *Caccia di Diana*, the lyric *Contento quasi*, and *Amorosa visione*, all in *terza rima*.

Meanwhile Petrarch, recently made the laureate at Naples (1341), was stirring the enthusiasm of literary circles. Boccaccio composed a brief Latin life, *De vita et moribus domini Francisci Petracchi* (1341 — 1342), noting that no poet had been crowned at Rome since late antiquity but praising Petrarch's Italian lyrics as well as his Latin endeavors. Boccaccio wrote that if souls were reincarnated, people would think of Petrarch as the reincarnation of Virgil. Clearly, excitement over a revival of ancient culture had much to do with Boccaccio's own enthusiasm.

In 1343–1344, Boccaccio was once again experimenting with a new kind of work; the result—*Elegia di madonna Fiammetta* (*Elegy of Lady Fiammetta*)—has been considered one of the first novels. *Elegia* is narrated by Fiammetta, a young married woman of Naples; she tells of her falling in love, the departure of her beloved, and his failure to return despite his promises. Small events evoke long psychological reactions as Fiammetta's alternating hope and depression lead her ever deeper into despair. Her attempted suicide is foiled, and she writes her book both to warn other women and to glory in her own tragedy. As in the earlier works, descriptions of real life are mingled with mythical references; and psychological realism coexists with hints of a moral allegory about passion and reason. Venus is associated with the Fury Tisiphone, and in a sense we witness Fiammetta's descent into hell (there are echoes of Dante's *Inferno*)—a hell of misery, violence, hypocrisy, and stubborn pride. Ovid's *Heroides* and Seneca's tragedies, especially *Phaedra* and *Hippolytus*, were important sources for this work.

Boccaccio had used the name Fiammetta for his beloved in earlier books (*Filocolo*, *Teseida*, *Comedia delle ninfe*, and *Amorosa visione*); however, her identity changed from work to work—she was a daughter

of the king of Naples from before or after his coronation, a nymph, and a descendent of Aquinas. In *Elegia* she is a middle-class Neapolitan, and her unhappy love mirrors the unhappiness of her lover in the earlier works. His is the pain of unrequited desire; hers the pain of having been seduced and abandoned. Her name will appear once more, in the *Decameron*—where, as a Florentine, she is one of the narrators, ruling the day of love stories with happy endings. It is worth noting that most of these happy endings consist in marriage.

Marriage is also celebrated in *Ninfale fiesolano* (1344-1346?), an Ovidian pastoral narrative about the love of the country boy Africo and one of Diana's nymphs, Mensola. Diana turns the pregnant Mensola into a stream in the Tuscan countryside; and Africo, who commits suicide, gives his name to another stream nearby. Both Venus's advocacy of rape and Diana's insistence on chastity yield before social marriage, however, as Africo and Mensola's son grows up, marries, and sires citizens of the new community, Fiesole. The work ends with a rapid history of the origins of and relations between Fiesole and Florence. As in *Filostrato*, clarity and lightness of language go hand in hand with the use of stanzas of *ottava rima*; if Boccaccio did not invent this form, he established it as a graceful and effective mode of narrative, taken up by poets of the Renaissance. The adoption of Ovidian metamorphoses to mythicize features of the local landscape is another feature that became immensely popular.

The mid-1340s saw political turmoil and violence in Florence, along with the failure of Florentine banks. Perhaps to escape all this, Boccaccio lived for a while (1345-1346?) in Ravenna; he dedicated his translation of Livy's fourth decade to its ruler, Ostasio da Polenta. He next spent a short time (1347-1348?) in Forlì. Naples was then undergoing a period of chaos: the king of Hungary invaded it to avenge the death of his brother Andrew, who had been the husband of the queen of Naples and had been mysteriously murdered. Francesco Ordelaffi, lord of Forlì, wanted to join the Hungarian expedition and nearly took Boccaccio along. Boccaccio wrote several Latin eclogues on the situation in Naples; he was at first critical of the Neapolitans but was later outraged by the brutality of the king of Hungary.

Boccaccio was back in Florence when the dreadful plague of 1348 struck. Both his father and his stepmother died, leaving Boccaccio

responsible for the remaining family and its property. The death of between one-third and half of the population of Florence, and the survivors' fear of contagion, caused a temporary breakdown of Florentine society. Out of this terrible experience came the *Decameron* (1349-1351), whose ten narrators flee the plague, take refuge in their villas in the hills, and tell each other stories for ten days, ending each day with a song. (Activities such as singing and telling comic tales were actually recommended by doctors to preserve the balance of humors and thus prevent disease.) The hundred tales are "retold" by Boccaccio for women who are obsessed by love and unable to distract themselves as men can. (There are echoes here of Ovid's *Remedia amoris*.) By chasing away their melancholy, Boccaccio hopes to restore their mental health. The Dantean journey from the pestilential city to a garden which resembles an earthly paradise suggests a moral as well as a physical meaning. Yet the layering of narrative voices (the real Boccaccio, the inscribed "I", the narrators, and often characters telling tales within tales) complicates the possible interpretations. As with Boccaccio's earlier writings, critics have disagreed about how to read this work. Some have seen it as championing the rights of "nature" against social morality; others as teaching Christian morals; others as rejecting any moral function of literature in favor of aesthetic pleasure; others as intentionally thwarting any possibility of fixed meaning. The *Decameron* has been considered feminist and misogynist, radical and conservative, conducive to the reordering of society after its breakdown and subversive of established order.

In writing the *Decameron* Boccaccio drew on a complex mixture of popular and literary sources. Proverbs and tales from the oral tradition; recent events and anecdotes; evocations of Dante; and classical narratives by Ovid, Apuleius, and Valerius Maximus all merge in a rich work that has been called the "human comedy." Although many of the tales take place in Italian towns in Boccaccio's own time or the recent past, there are also other settings, including the Orient and ancient Athens. Branca (1976) has suggested that the wandering knights of romance have been replaced here by wandering merchants who encounter everything from prostitutes to disguised princesses.

Each day (except days 1 and 9) is assigned a topic, so that the tales interact as variations on a theme, while Dioneo's final tale on each day

often parodies the preceding stories. The topics are also linked: the power of fortune is followed by the achievement of one's desires; unhappy love stories are followed by happy ones; tricks by women against men are followed by the deceits of humans generally against each other; and the final topic, magnanimous behavior, is introduced as a corrective to all that has gone before.

This collection had an enormous influence on prose fiction throughout Europe for the next several centuries. The major themes of the *Decameron*—fortune, love, trickery, the deceits of women, the hypocrisy of clergymen—became those of a genre called the *novella*. Another feature, the framing tale, was also copied, with variations. Dramatists found the *Decameron* a wonderful source of plots. Boccaccio's prose—combining formal Latinate syntax with lively, realistic dialogue—established a standard for Italian prose, just as Petrarch became the model for Italian poetry. However, unlike Petrarch, who denigrated Italian and encouraged writing in Latin, Boccaccio defended Italian as a literary language. His admiration for Dante, whose *Commedia* he sent to Petrarch with exhortations not to scorn it, undoubtedly persuaded him of the potential power and range of the vernacular.

In October 1350, Petrarch came to Florence, and Boccaccio went outside the gates of town to meet him and invite him home. This was the beginning of a deep friendship that lasted to the end of their lives, and many of their letters to each other are still extant.

From 1350 on, Boccaccio became more and more involved in public life. He was given responsible offices within the city and was sent on sensitive embassies abroad, including one to the pope in Avignon in 1354. In 1355, he made one of his disappointing trips to Naples; during this journey, the best beloved of his five illegitimate children died—the little girl whom he affectionately memorialized in his eclogue *Olympia*. (All five children seem to have died very young.) At the rich library of Monte Cassino, he copied a number of classical texts, because he was beginning to work on his own historical volumes: *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*, *The Fall of Illustrious Men*, and the geographical dictionary *Of Mountains, Forests, . . . and Seas* (*De mon tibus . . .*). All these works took many years to complete. They reflect Boccaccio's more humanistic, scholarly side, which was encouraged by Petrarch and was

highly valued by the humanists of the following century.

In the early 1350s, Boccaccio wrote, in Italian, *Trattatello in laude di Dante* (*Little Treatise in Praise of Dante*) for a manuscript in which he copied all the known poetry of Dante; this collection became a major source for the transmission of Dante's verse. *Tratatello*, which was revised several times (c. 1360 and before 1372), was a celebration as well as a biography, offered in lieu of the ancients' physical monuments to great men. Boccaccio praises Dante as a poet-theologian and discusses poetic theory but also passes on popular anecdotes about Dante and describes his appearance and manners.

Boccaccio's last work of Italian fiction, *Corbaccio* (*Ola Crow*, 1355 or perhaps 1365), is a dream vision in which a mocked lover, the narrator, encounters the ghost of his lady's husband. The ghost reveals the wife as evil, turning the narrator's love into hatred, and urges him to compose a work that will bring the woman shame instead of glory. This misogynistic tirade has left readers perplexed. Some see it as angry, but others see it as humorous—as a work meant to show us the narrator's double error, first in falling in love and then in swerving to the opposite extreme. Still others see it as a moral lesson. On the one hand, the husband has been taken as Boccaccio's mouthpiece; on the other hand, the husband has been seen as an infernal ghost who seeks to bring his rival to harm. The title has been seen as referring to the widow, to the husband, to lust, and to the harsh voiced book as a whole. The form of the book, a dream vision, is reminiscent of *Amorosa visione*, which Boccaccio was simultaneously revising.

Genealogie deorum gentilium (*Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*), first circulated c. 1360 but revised in 1372, contains further reflections on poetry. In its fifteen books, classical myths are organized according to major gods and their descendants. The myths are then glossed; but although they are given natural, historical, or moral meanings, they are not Christianized. Boccaccio had frequently used classical myths in order to formulate Christian meanings, but here he was concerned to discover what the ancients themselves might have meant by these tales. The final two books contain a defense of literature and of the study of pagan writings. The work remained a basic source about mythology for writers and artists of the Renaissance.

De casibus virorum illustrium (*The Fates of Illustrious Men*) was

finished c. 1360 but was enlarged later (1373-1374). It offers a series of examples of the instability of worldly glory, running all the way from Adam through King Arthur to contemporary cases but mainly emphasizing classical history. Inserted among these examples are famous chapters on the praise of poverty, the combat between Poverty and Fortune, the defense of literature, the nature of dreams, and other topics. The work became known in England through Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*.

Boccaccio also took up the case of women, protesting against their neglect by other historians, including Petrarch. *De mulieribus claris* (*On Famous Women*), written and revised several times between 1361 and 1375, presents biographies from Eve to Queen Giovanna of Naples, i.e., it covers the same span of time as *De casibus*. In *Genealogie*, Boccaccio had given historical readings of some myths; similarly, in *De mulieribus claris* he assumes that classical goddesses were human women deified for their contributions to human life; thus Ceres, for example, is considered an early teacher of agriculture. Boccaccio finds far fewer women to praise in his own time than in the past. He celebrates ancient women writers for their intellectual pursuits, exhorting his contemporaries not to let their minds lie idle. Christine de Pizan reworked these histories into her feminist *Book of the City of Ladies*.

During the political crisis in Florence in 1360, several of Boccaccio's friends were exiled or killed. He himself withdrew from Florence to Certaldo c. 1365. In a letter of consolation (1361 – 1362) to his exiled friend Pino de' Rossi, Boccaccio declares the advent of a new era: the path of the ancients, long overgrown, has been cleared by Petrarch, and others may now follow in his steps. This sense of a new opening also appears in Boccaccio's praise of Giotto (*Decameron*, 6.5) for reviving an art long dead. Boccaccio himself also participated in launching this new era, reviving classical forms, themes, and histories. In contrast to his usual humility, *Genealogie* contains his one boast—that he had revived Greek studies (15.7):

Was it not I who intercepted Leontius Pilatus on his way from Venice to the western Babylon [Avignon] . . .? Did I not make the utmost effort personally that he should be appointed professor [of Greek] in Florence, and his salary paid out of the city's funds [1360-1362]? Indeed I did; and I too was the first who, at my own expense, called back to Tuscany the writings

of Homer and of other Greek authors, whence they had departed many centuries before, never meanwhile to return.... I, too, was the first to hear Leontius privately render the *Iliad* in Latin [1359–1360]; and I it was who tried to arrange public readings from Homer.

Devotion to the classics, as Boccaccio argued in *Genealogie*, was in no way anti-Christian. In 1360–1361, the pope gave Boccaccio a full dispensation for his illegitimate birth, enabling him to hold some church office or benefice that probably provided him with an income. Nonetheless, a message in 1362 from the holy man Pietro Petroni, warning Petrarch and Boccaccio to turn from literature to God or risk damnation, caused Boccaccio serious misgivings. His fears were calmed by Petrarch, who argued that although intellectual pursuits are not necessary to salvation, they offer a higher way than simple faith. Petrarch even invited Boccaccio to live with him, but Boccaccio preferred to remain independent.

In 1363, Boccaccio did accept an invitation to live at the court of Naples, bringing *De mulieribus* and probably *De casibus* with him as a gift. His illusion of ending his days comfortably as a great man at the court were quickly shattered, however. In an angry letter, he complained of having been lodged and fed with lowly servants and forced to follow the seneschal, Niccolo Acciaiuoli, around in his constant travels, making study impossible; as a final insult, he had even been left behind by the entourage. After a consoling visit with Petrarch in Venice, Boccaccio returned to Certaldo bitterly confirmed in his preference for impoverished independence. His public duties for Florence resumed in 1365.

Besides Boccaccio's prose and verse narratives, 126 of his securely attributed lyric poems remain. They were written throughout his life on such topics as love, religion, and poetry and were never assembled into any fixed collection. (Nearly fifty poems less surely attributed to him have also been published.) The influence of Ovid, the *stilnovisti*, and Petrarch is recognizable in many of Boccaccio's verses. Around 1370, Boccaccio circulated his completed *Carmen buccolicum*: sixteen diverse Latin eclogues on amatory, political, moral, literary, and religious matters. Three of the later eclogues present a hell, paradise, and purgatory clearly inspired by Dante's. Boccaccio also copied together into one manuscript the eclogues of Virgil, Petrarch, Dante, Giovanni

del Vir gilio, Checco di Meletto de' Rossi, and his own; this anthology of pastoral verse contributed to the subsequent popularity of the genre.

In 1373, Boccaccio was invited to give the first public lectures in Florence on Dante's *Commedia*. These lectures were interrupted by his illness during the following year; moreover, Boccaccio expressed his concern, in several sonnets (122-125), that he might be prostituting the muses by exposing Dante's poetry to the crowds. His written *Esposizioni* (*Commentaries*), divided into literal and allegorical explanations, break off at *Inferno* 17. In the midst of his own illness, Boccaccio received news of Petrarch's death (July 1374), and he mourned Petrarch in Italian verse. Near the end of Boccaccio's life, one of his most devoted friends was Coluccio Salutati, who was to be important to the next generation of humanists. On 21 December 1375, Boccaccio died at Certaldo, leaving his books to the Augustinians of Santo Spirito. He had composed his own epitaph:

*Beneath this stone lie the ashes and bones of Giovanni;
His spirit sits before God adorned with the merits of the labors
Of his mortal life. His father was Boccaccio,
His home Certaldo, his eager study was nourishing poetry.*

See also Cantare; Certaldo; Cino da Pistoia; Dante Alighieri; Florence; Naples; Ottava Rima; Ovid; Petrarca, Francesco

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Boethius

The Roman philosopher Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (c. 480-524) was a near contemporary of Saint Benedict and Cassiodorus. He was born into a famous Roman senatorial family, and on his father's early death was adopted into another at least as renowned, Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus took the young boy under his wing and brought

him into a circle of privilege and power. Boethius married Symmachus's daughter Rusticana, with whom he had two sons. Driven perhaps by the Platonic ideal of the philosopher-king, Boethius took a public office as consul in 510. His sense of earthly fulfillment may have peaked in 523, when he was appointed master of the offices (a sort of prime minister and chief of staff) by the Ostrogothic king Theodoric at Ravenna, the outpost capital of the western empire.

Then fortune's wheel took its inevitable turn. Although Theodoric himself was an Arian, his reign had been marked by religious tolerance and deference to the traditions of the ancient Roman senatorial class; now, however, he seems to have grown suspicious of a collusion between Roman aristocrats and the imperial authority in Constantinople. In an atmosphere of fear and mutual recrimination, Boethius's principled defense of a fellow senator led to his own downfall. He composed his famous *Consolation of Philosophy* (*De consolazione philosophiae*, c. 524-526) while he was under arrest in Pavia and awaiting execution. Eventually canonized as Saint Severinus, he is buried (like Saint Augustine) in San Pietro in Cielo d'Oro at Pavia.

In the history of ideas, Boethius is perhaps the most significant of a small handful of thinkers in his time who transmitted the world of ancient Greek and Roman learning to the Middle Ages. One of the last pre-Renaissance intellectuals to command a thorough knowledge of Greek philosophy in the original language, he was convinced of a fundamental harmony between Aristotle and Plato and set out to convey this through a comprehensive program of Latin translations. Today we have his translations and commentaries on Aristotle's logical works (principally *Categories*, *De interpretatione*, and *Prior Analytics*); his original works on the categorical and hypothetical syllogism; and his translation of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, a major work of Alexandrian Neoplatonism that introduced the vexed question of universals into medieval philosophy. Boethius was also very much concerned with the survival of the liberal arts curriculum in Latin. Although his *De arithmetica* was substantially derived from Nicomachus of Gerasa (second century), it includes an illuminating excursus on the profound interrelationship among the mathematical arts: arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy—four connected paths of study for which, it appears, Boethius here coined the term *quadrivium*. Like Augustine,

Boethius wrote an influential treatise on music as Pythagorean number theory that became a standard during the Renaissance.

The extent of Augustine's influence on Boethius, and particularly on Boethius's doctrines of the Trinity as expounded in the theological tracts, or *opuscula sacra*, remains a matter of some discussion among scholars; more generally, the precise nature of Boethius's Catholicism is also a matter of scholarly discussion. In his sophisticated disquisitions on classical learning, Boethius seems utterly unconcerned with their relation to the Christian faith; and he writes as something of a detached logician even in his avowedly theological works (among others, *De trinitate*, *De fide catholica*, and a tract against the heresies of Eutyches and Nestorius). His crowning achievement, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, is marked by this same bracketing off of the Christian perspective.

In the *Consolation*, Boethius—like Dante—casts himself as the protagonist. As he languishes in prison lamenting his ill fortune and lost glory, a magnificent lady, Philosophia, appears to instruct and console him by reminding him of the eternal Platonic truths. She chides him for having invested himself in the transient and temporal; she coaxes him toward an appreciation of rational design in the universe; she reaffirms the lasting good of the human soul in contemplative union with divine form. Though reflecting in part both Stoic and Aristotelian science, the *Consolation* makes plain its author's strong Neoplatonic tendencies, particularly in the ninth meter of Book 3, *O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas*, a brilliant lyric distillation of Plato's *Timaeus*. At once appealing as moral philosophy and as literature, Boethius's elegant Latin *prosimetrum* (five books of alternating verse and prose) enjoyed huge popularity throughout medieval Europe and was translated into all the major vernaculars, including Italian, by 1500. His personifications of Philosophy and Fortune began a long and colorful iconographic tradition.

Dante, whose *Convivio* echoes the *Consolation* in many places, surely felt an affinity for Boethius as a fellow martyr for the truth and a fellow exile. In *Paradiso* 10, Boethius is shown among the contemplatives in eternal beatitude.

METRUM PRIMVM

Anitij: Manlij. Torquati Seuerini: Boetij. Ordij
narij. Patricij Viri. Excōsulis de cōsolatiōe
philosophie. Liber prim⁹ feliciter incipit.

Raymūdi palasini in primū. Boetij de
cōsolatiōe Librū argumentū.

Codice Torquati fulget querimonia primo:
Lubrica nam varię miratur vincula fortis:
Maxima quę celeri perdit vertigine regna.
Hinc sua commemorat mœstis fortuna verbis

Humberti Montismoretani distichon in
primū primi Libri metrum.

Torquatus cēso deiectus cardine cardine rerum:
Conqueritur vērā trusus ad Ima rota.



Armina q̄ quondam studio florente peregi:
Flebilis heu mœstos cogor inire modos.
Ecce mihi lacere, dicāt sribenda camenę:

Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*. *Textus Boetij: Anitij Manlij Torquati Seuerini Boetij . . . consolatio philosophica*. Lyon: Simon Vincent, 1510, Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

See also Dante Alighieri; Liberal Arts; Neoplatonism; Plato; Theodoric

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Bohemond of Taranto

Bohemond (or Bohemund; Bohemond I, prince of Antioch, c. 1050 or 1058-1111) was the eldest son of Robert Guiscard by Robert's first wife, Alberada. He developed in the shadow of his father's transformation from a Norman brigand-mercenary to the founder, as duke of Apulia, of a powerful new state in southern Italy. Bohemond emerged early as his father's chief lieutenant, notably during Robert Guiscard's daring invasion of the Byzantine empire in the early 1080s.

Bohemond was bypassed in the succession to his father's Apulian realm in favor of Roger Borsa, Robert's eldest son by his second wife. However, Bohemond forcibly extorted from his half-brother a territorial enclave that included Bari. Beyond that, he had inherited his father's grandiose dream of carving out a realm in the east at the expense of

Byzantium. The great project that was to become the First Crusade was clearly a perfect opportunity for Bohemond. When Pope Urban II called for crusaders to champion Christendom against Islam, Bohemond was among the western barons who responded. He was an archetype of the self-seeking opportunist, hungry for a principality of his own in the east.

Bohemond set out in the autumn of 1096 for Constantinople, where the crusaders had agreed to meet. The Byzantines, who knew him all too well, inevitably suspected that he had ulterior motives; but Bohemond went out of his way to be deferential to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (Alexios Komnenos). Pledging loyalty, he sought for himself the Byzantine post of *domestikos* of the east, and he became a leading negotiator between the crusaders and Alexius. He accepted Alexius's terms—an oath of fealty and a promise to surrender to the emperor any conquered cities or lands that had previously belonged to the empire—but Alexius had no illusions about Bohemond's sincerity or goals. As the expedition proceeded beyond the taking of Nicaea, Bohemond's self-interest became increasingly evident, and at a very early point he seems to have set his sights on the important Syrian city of Antioch, one particularly desired by Alexius. Bohemond was a leader in the prolonged, brutal siege of Antioch (1097-1098), and by clever manipulation he was able to secure its surrender to himself. He refused to share it with the other leaders, and—by now outspoken in his hostility to Alexius—he made it the center of his own principality. Bohemond remained in Antioch while the rest of the crusaders' forces went on to storm Jerusalem (1099).

Bohemond soon found himself beleaguered by both Byzantines and Turks; he was even briefly taken prisoner by the Turks, and he felt that his hold on Antioch was precarious. Convinced that Alexius was his supreme obstacle, Bohemond developed a characteristically daring scheme of attacking Byzantium directly, in his father's pattern. In 1104, he left behind his nephew and longtime deputy, Tancred, to hold Antioch, and secretly had himself conveyed back to Europe. (A story is told that, to avoid interception by Byzantine squadrons, Bohemond gave out the report that he was dead and then spent much of the voyage in a coffin, along with a dead chicken to add olfactory verisimilitude.) In Rome he convinced the gullible Pope Paschal II of

Alexius's treachery and animosity to the crusade and was given a blessing to organize a force to attack Byzantine lands, disseminating vicious propaganda against Alexius in the process. Bohemond made a landing at Avlona in October 1107 but was quickly contained by Alexius at Dyracchium. Compelled to surrender, Bohemond signed a humiliating treaty with Alexius in September 1108, once again accepting Byzantine suzerainty over Antioch. Bohemond never returned to his hard-won principality; shortly after making this treaty, he died, perhaps in Bari. Tancred refused to recognize the treaty of 1108 and thus initiated an independent Norman rule in Antioch that would last for the next few generations.

Bohemond was buried in a curious tomb, of either Muslim or crusader design, still to be seen outside the *duomo* in the town of Canosa di Puglia. On its bronze door there is an inscription of fulsome praise to this restless but ultimately futile Norman prince.

See also Byzantine Empire; Robert Guiscard; Urban II, Pope

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Bologna

The town of Bologna sits on the edge of the fertile plain of the Po River at its intersection with the Apennines. The site is an important junction of the roads and waterways connecting Lombard/ and the Romagna with the Veneto and Tuscany. Bologna became the home of the most important school of legal studies in Europe and a center of political and institutional innovation for much of the thirteenth century. Remarkably, guilds representing the town's artisans held a share of power for a century, 1228–1327. From the 1270s on, Bologna was torn by factional civil wars. The town faded in size and influence and fell repeatedly to the rule of *signori*, the Visconti, and the papacy. In the fifteenth century the Bentivoglio family established a long-lasting *signoria*.

Early History

Bologna is on the site of an important Etruscan town, Felsina. The Romans established a colony, Bononia, in 189 B.C.; it was destroyed by fire and rebuilt by Claudius in A.D. 53. Bologna was sacked by Alaric and the Visigoths in 410 and became part of the exarchate of Ravenna, under Byzantine rule. The Lombards sacked the town in 727 or 728 and then held it until the Carolingian conquest in 774. Charlemagne conceded the town to the papacy, though it remained under imperial authority and the jurisdiction of Carolingian counts. Bologna was a frontier town during the Carolingian and Ottonian periods and was reduced to a military center of modest proportions. From the end of the tenth century on, there was intensified traffic on Via Emilia, and Bologna enjoyed modest population growth and new construction, including the transfer of the cathedral of San Pietro from a suburb to the center of town.

The twelfth century saw a sporadic struggle for independence from imperial authority. In 1115, at news of the death of Countess Matilda of

Tuscany, the Bolognese tore down the castle that represented imperial and comital jurisdiction over the town and destroyed the records of their obligations. Henry V (king of Germany and Holy Roman emperor) ratified a *fait accompli* when he issued a diploma dated 16 May 1116 pardoning the Bolognese who had taken part in the revolt, including two jurists who were named as leaders. Henry conceded local autonomy and extended imperial safeguards, with provisions that protected the interests of merchants and landed proprietors, including safe navigation of the Po. In exchange the emperor was promised a substantial sum in annual tribute during imperial visits to Italy. The diploma effectively ratified a new, independent commune.

Significantly, the diploma was witnessed by Irnerius, the scholar of Roman law who first gave the Bolognese *studio* its reputation for legal studies. The *studio* gave Bologna special importance; political leaders were quick to perceive its usefulness. When the emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, at the Council of Roncaglia of 1158, sought to restore imperial authority, he drew on Bolognese jurists to define the imperial *regalia*, or jurisdictional rights. On the basis of the opinions of four learned students of Irnerius, he asserted his right to name civic magistrates and consuls.

In their relations with Barbarossa, the Bolognese fluctuated between cooperation and uprisings against imperial jurisdiction as represented by a *podestà* (podesta, or hired city manager). In 1167 Bologna joined the Lombard League and built an enlarged city wall to defend against any attack by the empire. After the peace of Constance, Bologna's autonomy from the emperor was effectively established. Emperor Henry VI allowed the town the right to mint its own coins; his death in 1197 marked the real end of imperial influence.

Consular Rule and the Rise of the Popular Commune

Bologna established a consular regime like that of many other communes. At first, the consuls were elected by acclamation by the *arengo*, or general assembly, but over time systems of indirect election developed. As elsewhere, this regime enabled an elite urban group to dominate most offices; members of the elite served as not only as town

consuls but also as canons of the cathedral, Bologna, like other Italian towns, attempted to avoid factional domination of executive offices by bringing in outsiders as podestas. In 1200-1203, the commune built a Palazzo del Podestà and demolished houses, churches, and towers to construct a large open piazza that was to become the Piazza Maggiore.



Church of Santo Stefano, Bologna. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

In the course of the thirteenth century the political base of government gradually broadened beyond the narrow consular aristocracy: corporations—including shoemakers, drapers, and tailors as well as merchants and money changers—were represented in the civic councils. Guilds were formed from the mid twelfth century on; they appear in documents of 1144 and 1169, and guild statutes exist from the 1240s. In the early thirteenth century the guilds were joined by societies of arms, voluntary associations for mutual protection. These had an improvised, ad hoc quality. Some were based in neighborhoods and overlapped with parish organizations; others brought together interest groups, including outsiders, like the Society of Lombards or the Society of Tuscans. Some arms societies—such as the butchers—were also guilds. The arms societies protected their members: for instance, if a member was involved in a legal case against a powerful opponent, other members might accompany him to court. Some societies worked

with the civic government to police neighborhoods. Twenty to twenty-four arms societies existed; their size varied from more than 100 to as many as 600 men.



Basilica of San Petronio, Bologna. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

By 1217-1219, the leaders of the guilds and arms societies held seats in the *consiglio*, a town council that until then had been made up of the consular aristocracy, including merchants and bankers. However, an aristocratic reaction set in, and the societies were dissolved in 1219-1220. In 1228, against the background of a conflict between Frederick II and the Second Lombard League, the merchant and landowner Giuseppe Toschi led a popular revolt that culminated in an attack on the town hall and the destruction of the statutes and the court and tax records. The armed societies and guilds then claimed and received a share in governance, which they held for more than a century. Popular political institutions were quickly formed: the most important such institution was the *anziani*, or elders, men elected by the guilds and armed societies who together with the consuls of the money changers and merchants formed the podesta's council.

Bologna played a major role in the Second Lombard League. In response to the military threat from Frederick in 1226-1227, the town built a stronghold called Castelfranco and a third set of walls—initially

a ditch, earth rampart, and palisade. Beginning in the twelfth century the Bolognese commune had worked to subject its *contado*, or rural lands, to civic authority, building fortifications, imposing taxes, and gradually reducing the autonomy of rural communities as well as that of seigneurs, including the bishop. Frederick II supported the bishop against the commune, and when war broke out in 1226 the bishop sided with Frederick against the commune and the Lombard League. After the peace, conflict over the commune's appropriation of episcopal jurisdictional rights continued; this led, in 1232, to a papal excommunication of Bologna, which forced a temporary suspension of the university. At the Battle of Fossalta in 1249 the Bolognese army captured Enzo, Frederick's favorite son; Enzo remained a prisoner until his death in 1272. Pini (1993, 1996, 1997) has argued that the division between Guelfs and Ghibel-lines within the town's nobility derived from debates over Enzo's fate.

The economy of Bologna was relatively weak: the *contaa* was small, and much of it was mountainous and unproductive. Ultimately, Bolognese merchants and bankers were not competitive with the Florentines. The town's major economic function was probably to house, provision, and maintain students. The Bolognese communal government made repeated attempts to strengthen the economy, including active efforts to bring in skilled artisans, particularly textile workers. In 1228-1231, 153 wool and silk masters and their families—500 to 600 people in all—were attracted by favorable contracts financed by the commune. Giuseppe Toschi, the leader of the popular revolt of 1228, sponsored twenty-three families. The civic government also sought to control and enhance resources that could stimulate the economy. One example is the canals, which had been begun in 1183 by private monopolistic groups but by 1217 were controlled by the commune. These provided hydraulic energy for grain mills, served the textile and leather industries, and ensured a water supply for the town's population. Public works included the third circle of city walls and a new cattle market. The Bolognese commune also recognized the advantages of porticoes lining the streets, and so it passed statutes systematizing the existing porticoes and requiring property owners to build new ones. In the thirteenth century, Bologna became a city of porticoes.

The town also created new free communities at sites of economic and strategic importance in the *contado* and made efforts to attract immigrant workers from other regions. A political campaign to free Bologna's serfs in 1256-1257 led to the emancipation of 5,855 people on 3 June 1257; their names and the names of their former lords are recorded in *Liber paradisus*. Lay proprietors were reimbursed eight *lire* for serfs under fourteen years of age and ten *lire* for adults. The preamble to the list speaks of restoring the liberty given by God at creation; but since serfs and men married to serfs were exempt from civic taxes, the emancipation was probably also motivated by a desire to increase tax revenues and preserve a rural workforce.

Studio and University

Legal studies were probably pursued in Bologna from the late eleventh century on. Ambitious rulers and emperors called on Bologna's jurists to provide legal justification for their authority. The most important early figure was Irnerius (died c. 1130), a teacher of the liberal arts who turned to the study of Roman law—notably, to the sixth-century *Digest* of Justinian, which had received little attention. As mentioned above, it was Irnerius who witnessed the imperial diploma giving the Bolognese commune autonomy. A series of scholars of Roman law through the twelfth century culminated in the Florentine Accursius, whose *Glossa ordinaria* (completed c. 1228) became the standard textbook. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries scholars called "postglossators" applied principles derived from Roman law to contemporary political problems.

Bologna was also a center of studies of canon law; in this regard its most important product was the *Concordance of Discordant Canons* or *Decretum* (1140) by the monk Gratian. The study of canon law was supported by the popes, particularly after the papacy of Alexander III (mid-twelfth century), who was himself a legal scholar.

Rhetorical studies at Bologna began with Adalberto Samaritani, a contemporary of Irnerius. Influential rhetorical and epistolary manuals were written by Buoncompagno da Signa (fl. c. 1195-1240) and Guido Faba (before 1190-1248). Notarial studies were established at Bologna

by Ranieri da Perugia; Rolandino de' Passeggeri's *Summa artis notariae* (c. 1255) became the standard textbook. The other university faculties were weaker: arts and medicine did not emerge until the second half of the thirteenth century, and the theology faculty was not established until 1364.

The formal university was created in 1190, when law students who were not Bolognese but were living in the city formed an association, or *universitas scholarium*, to aid those who were not protected by the civic or church courts. A complex constitution took shape, including for a time four *universitates*, governed by rectors and counselors elected by the students. The university rapidly took over the supervision of teaching, including hiring masters, paying their salaries, and imposing stiff fines if they failed to meet their obligations. Neither the masters themselves nor the citizens of Bologna had a voice. The *licentia docendi* was introduced by papacy in 1219. The university statutes were approved by the commune and papacy in 1252-1253. In its medieval heyday, the university probably comprised some 2,000 students, despite a tradition that puts the number at 10,000. In the fourteenth century the power of the students dwindled, and by 1350 the commune was appointing the masters. Notaries and jurists had a powerful impact on Bolognese politics; an important example is Rolandino de' Passeggeri, a doctor of notarsal arts who became a popular political leader. A few remaining monumental tombs of glossators, jurists, and notaries, including Rolandino, are striking visual evidence of these scholars' role in the medieval town.

Dominicans and Franciscans, Heresy and Inquisition

The Dominican order arrived in the city as early as 1218 and became an important presence; Dominic himself was buried in Bologna. Francis preached in Bologna in 1222; the Franciscan convent was built on land donated by the commune to the order in 1236. The town was a center of the Alleluia, a religious revival of the 1230s. The Dominican preacher John of Vicenza arrived in Bologna in 1233 and played a dramatic role as mediator and prophet; he was even reputed to raise the dead, and bands of his followers marched in streets. John arbitrated a long-

standing dispute between the town and the bishop over the commune's usurpation of episcopal jurisdictional rights, and he was invited to revise the town's statutes. It was John who first encouraged development of a cult around Dominic's corpse.

For a long time, the Cathars were present in Bologna. The registers include extensive documentation of a major Dominican Inquisition held in 1291-1310, during which 103 men and 37 women were implicated in Catharism. Bolognese Cathars tended to be artisans, particularly in leather and textiles, and many were immigrants to the city. In 1299, when two living men and one dead woman were burned at the stake for heresy, the town rioted in protest. The Inquisition also pursued the Apostolici, a group founded by Gerard Segarelli and led by Fra Dolcino.

Geremei and Lambertazzi, Magnate and *Popolo*

During the 1270s, Bologna was weakened financially and became embroiled in civil wars. Elite factions had developed in mid-century or earlier; they were identified with the Geremei and Lambertazzi families and linked to the international Guelf and Ghibelline parties. The city's political instability was worsened by a disastrous and costly war with Venice in 1272-1273 over control of the regional waterways, used to transport grain. In 1274, there was a ferocious battle between the factions. The Lambertazzi, who had ties to the Ghibellines, were expelled along with their relatives and followers, and their goods were confiscated by the town. This was a massive exile: 4,123 families numbering perhaps 12,000 to 14,000 people were driven from the city. In 1279, under pressure from Pope Nicholas III to reconcile the factions, Bologna readmitted the Lambertazzi; but after forty days of violence it expelled them again. In 1287, severe damage was done to 155 houses of the Lambertazzi. The faction was again admitted in 1299 and its goods, its access to civic office, and its privileges were restored. However, a third expulsion took place in 1306.

At the same time as these factional conflicts, antagonism arose between the *popolani* and the magnates, or nobles. Popular leaders, notably Rolandino de' Passesgeri, feared that the mag nates—a group

they described as rapacious wolves—would dominate the town and oppress the mild sheep, i.e., the guildsmen. Beginning in 1271, the Society of the Popolo imposed a series of ordinances that restricted the magnates' political power. The laws of 1282–1284, the *ordinamenti sacratì e sacratissimi*, established a list of about forty families who were considered magnates and limited their access to civic offices. This legislation also broke with tradition by requiring magnates to post a surety of 1,000 *lire* against their possible commission of crimes against the *popolani*; in addition, such crimes by the magnates were to be severely punished.

Significantly, Bologna never developed the rift between greater and lesser guilds that destabilized politics in Florence. The Bolognese popular regime was, by medieval standards, broad-based. Large numbers of men were admitted to public office: 800 sat in the *consiglio comunale*; 600 to 650 sat in the *consiglio del popolo e della massa*; and the 2,000 members of the *consiglio dei duemila*, who represented quarters, were charged with electing civic officials. The college of *anziani* and *consoli* held the real executive power; it was made up of four consuls from among the merchants and money changers and twenty from the guilds and armed societies.

***Signorie* and the Second Communal Age**

From the late thirteenth century on, Bologna—like other Italian towns—suffered a long decline. It was affected by a series of sieges as well as by famine and by successive waves of plague. The population dropped from some 50,000 in 1294 to 43,000 by 1324 and only 20,000–25,000 after the plague of 1348. The economy shrank. The university also suffered, particularly during a papal interdict of 1339 directed against Bologna and its *signore*, Taddeo Pepoli. The independent commune was put at risk after the emperor, in 1278, confirmed papal rather than imperial authority over the region. The banker Romeo Pepoli took over the town briefly in 1320. His son Taddeo was able to establish a *signoria*, or lordship, over Bologna that lasted from 1337 until 1350, when his sons sold the town to the Visconti of Milan. Bologna came to be ruled by Giovanni Visconti (1355–1360) and Giovanni da Oleggio (1355–1360);

then it fell to the papal reconquest by Cardinal Albornoz and was ruled by papal legates from 1360 to 1376. By the 1370s, the town began to recover; in 1371 the population numbered about 32,000. The Bolognese rose up in revolt and drove out the papal legate to establish a second communal age in 1376-1401. Many of the old forms of civic independence were regained, although the new regime was an oligarchy, with power in the hands of an elite and the representatives of the quarters rather than artisan corporations. The surest sign of this revival is the coining of the pure gold *bolognino* in 1380. During this period Bologna built the Palace of the Notaries and the Mercanzia, and in 1390 the town began the great church on the Piazza Maggiore, dedicated to San Petronio—an offer of thanks for its restored liberty. The Bentivoglio family controlled the town briefly in 1401-1402 and then, in 1435, established a *signoria* that was to last until 1507.

See also Accursius; Alaric the Visigoth; Albornoz, Gil Alvarez Cabrillo de; Apostolic Brotherhood; Buoncompagno da Signa; Cathars; Constance, Peace of; Dolcino, Fra; Dominic, Saint; Dominican Order; Education; Exarchate of Ravenna; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Glossa Ordinaria; Roman Law; Guido Faba; Guilds; Henry V, Emperor; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Irnerius; Law: Canon; Law; Roman; Lombard Leagues; Lombards; Rolandino de' Pas-seggeri; Universities; Visconti Family

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Bolsena

Bolsena is close to the site of an ancient Etruscan town, Velsna, near Orvieto in the region of Latium. Bolsena (in Latin, Volsinii) was founded by refugees from Velsna when the latter came under Roman control in 280 B.C. During the early Middle Ages Bolsena was destroyed and depopulated so severely that its bishopric moved to Orvieto. It was for some time under the control of the Lombards and was then absorbed into the papal states. In 1186, it became a possession of Orvieto; it was taken from Orvieto by Frederick II in 1240 but was returned in 1251. The papal states and Orvieto contested for possession of Bolsena, but in 1296 Pope Boniface VIII established joint ownership with Orvieto. The fourteenth century was characterized by continuing struggles, and in 1377, following a popular uprising, the walls of the town were largely destroyed by Pope Gregory IX.

The nearby Lake of Bolsena was well known for its marine life, and particularly for its fine eels; Pope Martin IV is said to have died of a surfeit of them. According to tradition, a miracle occurred in the grotto in the chapel of Santa Christina in 1263—the famous Miracle of Bolsena. It is said that an apparition of Christ's blood during the eucharist refuted the celebrant's doubts as to the truth of transubstantiation, and the priest's bloodied vestment is kept in an elaborate reliquary in the Chapel of the Corporale in the cathedral of Orvieto. The miracle is

commemorated in the fresco cycle by Ugolino di Prete Ilario, also in the cathedral of Orvieto; and in Raphael's famous fresco in the Stanze of the Vatican palace.

See also **Martin IV, Pope; Orvieto**

JOHN W. BARKER AND CHRISTOPHER KLEINHENZ

Bonagiunta Orbicciani Degli Averardi

Bonagiunta (c. 1220-before 1300), a poet from Lucca who preceded the *stil novo*, is a character in Dante's *Divine Comedy* (*Purgatorio*, 24). Bonagiunta was a judge and a notary; accordingly, in two authoritative manuscripts (Vatican 3793 and 3214) the poet is given the honorific *ser*, and his name is preserved in deeds drawn up between 1242 and 1257. Fewer than forty of his poems have survived: eleven *canzoni*, two "discords" (*descorts*, or disputes), five ballads, and some twenty sonnets. Three of the sonnets are addressed to other poets: one to Guinizzelli (d. 1276) and two to unidentified correspondents. Another two or three sonnets belong to a *tenzone*—a cycle of verses by several authors—initiated by the judge Gonnella Antelminelli with Bonagiunta and a certain Bonodico, all from Lucca. Bonagiunta's themes include, as might be expected, his changing moods (sorrow, hope, joy, disappointment) as an apprehensive lover, and praise of his lady. In some poems, as is also true of Guittone d'Arezzo (c. 1235-1294) and other Tuscan poets of the time, Bonagiunta touches on or develops moral topics: honor versus pleasure; wisdom and integrity versus foolishness; boasters; corrupt judges; how to deal with fortune; and so on.

To ascertain Bonagiunta's place in poetry, and to give him his due in the development of the Italian lyric, three crucial connections must be explored. How can we relate him to (1) the Sicilian school, (2) Guittone d'Arezzo, and (3) the *stil novo*? An adjunct to the third question is this: Why did Dante, in seeking a narrative catalyst to give himself an opportunity to proclaim and define his *dolce stil nuovo* (*Purgatorio*,

24:57), select Bonagiunta and not, as Contini (1960) wonders, Giacomo da Lentini or Guittone?

With regard to question 1, it is easy to reach agreement. Between the Sicilian school and Bonagiunta there is, in fact, a clear path of transfer and continuity; thus we have no trouble in granting, with Contini, that "apart from the very members of the School, Bonagiunta was the real transplanter of the Sicilian poetry to Tuscany."

However, as regards questions 2 and 3, Contini seems to go too far by loosening the connection between Bonagiunta and Guittone in an attempt to establish, instead, a more direct link between Bonagiunta and the poets of the *stil novo*; according to Contini, beneath the cumbersome superstructure of Guittone's *trobar clus* (hermetic style), Bonagiunta elaborated the Sicilian tradition and channeled it toward the results finally achieved by the Florentine *stil novo*. Marti (1973) has toned down this interpretation. *Bonagiuntismo* may have been the state of affairs to which Guittone was reacting in developing his own innovative, pithy writing; but Bonagiunta was no doubt attracted by the younger, more authoritative, and more charismatic Guittone. Although Bonagiunta's own tendency was comparatively archaic and *leu* (free, open), he considered himself a staunch supporter of Guittone. This is revealed in the sonnet directed to Guinizzelli (*Vol, ch'avete mutata la mainera*, "You who have changed the manner"), where he harshly chides Guinizzelli for changing the style then gloriously in force: that is, Guittone's. In addition, Dante perceived—and condemned—Bonagiunta as a Guittonian, in *De vulgari eloquentia* (1.xiii.1) and also in a famous episode in *Purgatory*, 24 (although, we should note, *lato sensu*, i.e., without the benefit of a detailed stylistic analysis).

An even thornier question is whether Bonagiunta might be considered a forerunner or incubator of the *stil novo* (a problem which also arises, for instance, in trying to place Chiaro Davanzati). This question is especially difficult because we do not know when Bonagiunta died or, more important, when he stopped writing. He probably outlived Guinizzelli, but we have no idea how long he remained active as a poet in the last twenty years of the century. However, it is not very likely, given his advanced age, that the features of the *stil novo* which some readers discern in his verses were due to any influence exerted on him by the new school (especially Cavalcanti),

as Francesco Novati was inclined to believe. Considering the continuity and the constraints of the lyrical tradition, one should be cautious in retrospectively applying the term *stil novo*, or even "stilnovistic," to lexical and metric combinations in the work of earlier poets. In such cases the real significance is to be found in the context, both literal and cultural.

For the episode in *Purgatory* 24, then, Dante would have thought of Bonagiunta for several reasons. For one thing, only through Bonagiunta could the lyrical reminiscence of Gentucca be introduced; for another, Dante certainly held Bonagiunta responsible for having blindly exalted Guittone's reputation (*Purgatory*, 26.124-126) over that of Guinizelli, whom Dante considered his own poetic father. Bonagiunta had resented and objected to the novelty of Guinizelli's "sweet style"; let him now joyfully acknowledge, in the unescapable dialectics of *contrappasso*, the messianic renewal that Dante was bringing about.

See also Dante Alighieri; *Dolce Stil Nuovo*; Guinizelli, Guido; Guittone d'Arezzo; Italian Poetry: Lyric

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Bonaiuto of Casentino

The Latin poet Bonaiuto of Casentino (died c. 1312) was originally from Borgo alia Collina, near Poppi in the province of Arezzo. He arrived in Rome during the winter of 1291-1292, and over the next nine years—a period that largely overlaps with the papacy of Boniface VIII—he pursued a successful career as a writer and chaplain at the papal court.

During this time, Bonaiuto produced, in addition to his routine documentary work, a number of occasional poems and other brief texts, not all of which have survived. His *Diversiloquium* (*Varied Discourse*) is a miscellany containing fourteen poems ranging in length from six to 155 lines and an unfinished prose treatise in epistolary form on virtues and vices. These were collected by Bonaiuto's scribe, G. of Romandiola (i.e., the Ro magna), and in most instances the occasion for each work is noted in the prose prefaces that the compiler provided. The datable pieces belong to the period 1292-1297. Several of the pieces celebrate aspects of Boniface's reign or commemorate members of his family, and it evidently because of this aspect of the work that *Diversiloquium* was preserved: the only known copy was already the property of the papacy in 1311. Two religious lyrics in *Diversiloquium* are addressed to Boniface's personal physician and are accompanied, in the manuscript, by musical notation; at least one of these, the sequence *Hec medela corporalis*, has entered the modern performance repertoire of medieval Italian music. Bonaiuto's other surviving literary work, transmitted separately, is a 52-line poem on the first papal jubilee (that of 1300); like *Diversiloquium*, it honors Boniface by name.

In 1301, Boniface appointed Bonaiuto (who was by then a canon of Le Mans and of Aquileia) a papal tax collector for parts of Germany, parts of Austria, the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the duchy of

Poland, and the marquisate of Moravia. Bonaiuto occupied this position until at least 1309. Bonaiuto's death is assumed to have occurred shortly before 29 April 1312, when Pope Clement V assigned to others property in the vicinity of Bologna that Bonaiuto had willed to the church.

Bonaiuto's poems, most of which have only recently been edited, shed light on certain aspects of curial life and document historical events, and their literary quality is far from negligible. Written in several different styles and forms, including classicizing hexameter verse, leonine hexameters, and accentual lyrics, they reveal the learning, skill, and versatility of their author and bear witness to the artistic culture valued at Boniface's court.

See also **Boniface VIII, Pope; Latin Literature**

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Bonamico

See **Buffalmacco**, **Bonamico**

Bonatti, Guido

Guido Bonatti (c. 1210-c. 1297), the foremost astrologer of his century, was born in the Romagna at Forlì. He practiced medicine as well as astrology, both of which he probably learned at nearby Bologna. He spent most of his life in Forlì, where he owned land, but from time to time he left to advise various Ghibelline leaders. In 1248, he warned Frederick II by letter of a plot against him, but Bonatti does not seem to have been Frederick's regular astrologer. He was at the court of Ezzelino da Romano in 1259, attended Guido Novello in 1260-1261, and counseled Guido da Montefeltro during Montefeltro's years at Forlì (1275-1283). There are many anecdotes about Guido Bonatti's legendary astuteness and astrological expertise, but today he is best remembered for his *Liber astronomicus* (after 1277), the most successful Latin textbook of astrology of the period. In *Inferno* (20.118), Dante placed Bonatti among the diviners in hell.

See also **Astrology**; **Dante Alighieri**; **Ezzelino III da Romano**; **Frederick II Hohenstaufen**; **Guido da Montefeltro**

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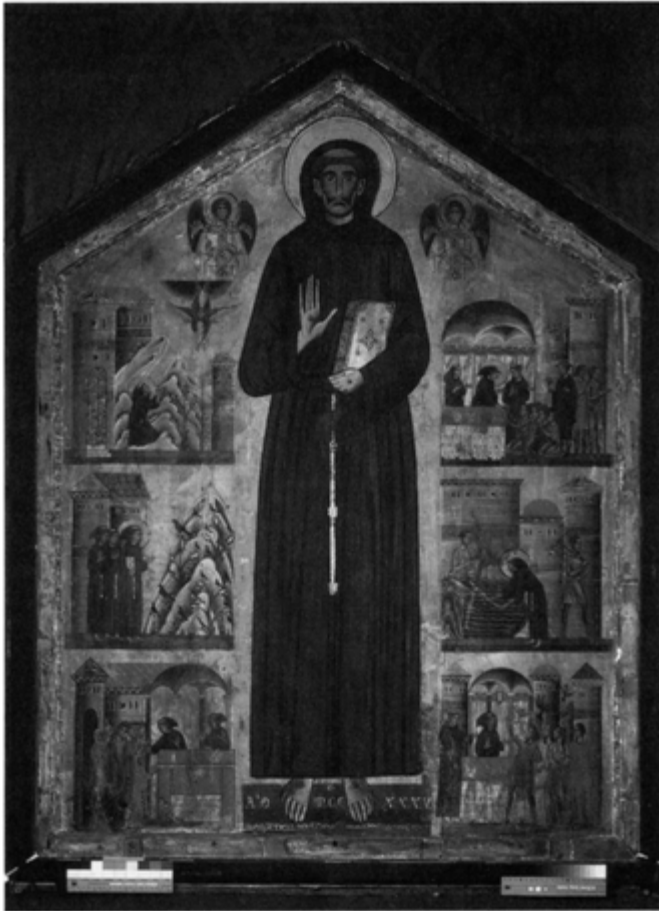
Bonaventura Berlinghieri

Bonaventura Berlinghieri (fl. 1235-1244) painted a gabled altarpiece at Pescia depicting Saint Francis flanked by six scenes of Francis's life and miracles. This work, unusual because it is both signed and dated (1235), is a linchpin in the chronology of Italian painting: it clarifies developments in style as well as in Franciscan iconography; and current analyses have been aided by its restoration in 1982.

The format and style of this work suggest that Bonaventura was the most innovative of the three sons of the Lucchese painter Berlinghiero di Milanese. Documents place the activity of Berlinghiero and his sons—Bonaventura, Barone, and Marco—between 1228 and 1282, primarily at Lucca; a relatively recent attempt by Caleca (1981) to associate the Berlinghieri of Lucca with Volterra has not changed that localization. Although Marco was commissioned to illuminate manuscripts and both Marco and Bonaventura received commissions for frescoes, most of the extant works associated with the Berlinghieri are images of the Virgin and Child and the Passion painted on wooden panels. These works are in a distinctive style, in which the linear Italian Romanesque tradition is transformed by a new and intense familiarity with Byzantine images produced shortly before 1200. On the basis of the resulting angular, expressive facial types and the architectural and landscape settings, a large number of works have been associated with the Berlinghieri family. Several of these have been attributed to Bonaventura Berlinghieri and his followers, including a diptych originally from Lucca but now in the Uffizi in Florence, portions of a Crucifixion in

Tereglio, and a group of works sometimes attributed to a separate "Oblate Cross Master." Together, these Lucchese painters had a profound impact on the style of painters in other Tuscan centers, especially Florence, such as the Bardi Saint Francis Master, the Bigallo Master, the Master of the Uffizi Crucifix 434, and Coppo di Marcovaldo.

See also Painting; Panel



Bonaventura Berlinghieri (1235-1274), altarpiece of Saint Francis and stories of his life. San Francesco, Pescia. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

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Bonaventure, Saint

Saint Bonaventure (or Bonaventura; Giovanni Fidanza, c. 1217-1274) entered the Franciscan order in 1243 and studied in Paris, first in the faculty of arts and then with the theologian Alexander of Hales. While he was in Paris, he prepared a commentary on the *Four Books of Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Bonaventure taught at Paris from 1248 on, successfully if somewhat controversially, until he was elected minister-general of the order in 1257. At some unrecorded point he had acquired the nickname Bonaventure or Bonaventura ("good fortune")—the name by which he is now known.

As leader of the Franciscans, Bonaventure tried to steer a middle course between the growing moral laxity of the order's Official wing and the increasing extremism and anti intellectualism of its fundamentalist Spiritual wing. The *Constitutions of Narbonne*, drawn up under his direction in 1260, were a first step toward healing the breach within the order, although the task was eventually to prove beyond the strength of either Bonaventure himself or his successors. His commentary on the Franciscan rule and his writings about Francis, based on his collection of reminiscences of the saint in the area around Assisi in 1261, are important documents recording his own moderate position. His life of Francis, *Legenda maior* and *Legenda minor*, was accepted by the order as the official biography in 1263; and three years later a general council of the order declared—to the fury of the Spiritual Franciscans—that all other biographies of Francis then in circulation should be destroyed.

Bonaventure's gifts as a conciliator were crucial in ending the lengthy vacancy in the papacy that arose after Clement IV's death in 1268; the election of Gregory X in 1271 was due largely to his influence,

Bonaventure died shortly after making a vital contribution to the attempt at the Council of Lyons to settle the schism between eastern and western Christianity.

Bonaventure's voluminous writings—commentaries, philosophy, theology, history, biography, devotional treatises, and sermons—were widely available and highly influential in the late Middle Ages. As a theologian he adhered substantially to a tradition inherited, through Saint Anselm, from Saint Augustine. Bonaventure was much less receptive than his contemporary and fellow Dominican Thomas Aquinas to the ideas and methodology associated with scholastic Aristotelianism, although the two taught simultaneously in Paris in 1256-1257. In their differing positions and approaches Bonaventure and Aquinas largely incarnated the profound differences between their two orders. Bonaventure's thought as a whole is marked—in a way that contrasts clearly with the essentially rational and philosophical tenets of Aquinas's thinking—by his belief in the value of mysticism as a form of knowledge, and of mystical experience as a means of knowing God. This is the doctrine encapsulated in what is perhaps his most popular and influential work, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* (*The Mind's Journey into God*), a title in which the choice of the preposition—in ("into") rather than simply *ad* ("to")—is highly significant. *Itinerarium* has sometimes been posited as an influence on Dante's *Comedy*, because Bonaventure recounts a mystical ascent toward visionary experience comparable to that described in Dante's work; but the connection, though not unlikely, has not been conclusively demonstrated,



Saint Bonaventure. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 214r.

However, it is in the *Comedy* that Bonaventure makes his most celebrated appearance in Italian literature, as one of the principal characters in the narrative of *Paradiso* (12.28-145). There, Bonaventure plays the role he occupied in history: spokesman for a moderate and spiritually pristine form of Franciscanism guaranteed by the authority of the order's founder. In an episode that parallels Thomas Aquinas's eulogy of Francis in Canto 10, Dante's Bonaventure first (verses 31–105) speaks at length in praise of Saint Dominic, founder of the Franciscans' great rival institution, and then (verses 112-126) bitterly condemns the failings of his own order in the early fourteenth century, summed up in the Official Franciscans' dwindling devotion to Francis's rule and the Spiritual Franciscans' excessively rigorous application of it. Finally (verses 127-145) he announces his own identity and goes on to list the other souls who appear alongside him: other early Franciscans (verses 130–132) as well as an assortment of Jewish and Christian thinkers—including, paradoxically and perhaps polemically, Joachim of Fiore, the intellectual patron of the Spirituals whom the historical Bonaventure (unlike Dante) disparaged.

See also Dante Allighieri; Francis of Assisi; Franciscan Order

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Bondie Dietaiuti

Little is known about the thirteenth-century Florentine poet Bondie Dietaiuti, although some conjectures have been made from his surviving works—four *canzoni* and three sonnets—in MS Vaticano Latino 3793. Bondie's compositions are marked by imitations of courtly Sicilian motifs (e.g., the phoenix and salamander found in bestiaries) and themes (love from afar, the physiology of love). Particularly important is Bondie's *canzone d'amtco* (*Amor, quando mi membra*) in response to Brunetto Latini's only extant *canzonetta* (*S'eo sono distretto inamoratamente*), which immediately precedes it in the Vatican manuscript. Avalle (1977) suggests that Bondie's correspondence poetry with Brunetto and Rustico Filippi (two of the seven works) constitutes

homoerotic texts, amounting to subtly coded personal communications between friends.

See also **Brunetto Latini**; **Italian Poetry: Lyric**; **Rustico Filippi**

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Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany

Boniface (c. 985-1052) was born in Mantua, the son of Tebaldo of Canossa and the countess Julia. He was a feudal lord, loyal to the German emperors Henry II and Conrad II. His north Lombard duchy included Mantua, Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Ferrara (and perhaps also Cremona, Brescia, and Piacenza); in 1027, the March of Tuscany was added to it by a decree of Conrad II.

Boniface was a strong proponent of the incorporation of the church within feudal structures. One of his allies in pro-imperial causes was Aribert, archbishop of Milan; but Boniface also followed Aribert's anti-imperial sentiments. Boniface accompanied Henry III to his coronation in Rome but refused to support Henry's intervention in papal disputes there. Boniface's first marriage was to Countess Rachilda, daughter of Guilberto degli Obertenghi. His second marriage was to Countess Beatrice, daughter of Duke Frederick of Lower Lotharingia (Bassa Lorena); he and Beatrice had three children, the most celebrated of whom was Matilda of Tuscany. Boniface was killed in San Martino dell'Argine; his death may have been ordered by Emperor Henry III as a consequence of Boniface's power and political autonomy vis-à-vis the emperor.

See also Aribert; Conrad II; Henry II, Saint and Emperor; Matilda, Countess of Tuscany

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Boniface VIII, Pope

Pope Boniface VIII (Benedetto Caetani, sometimes Gaetani; c. 1235 or 1240-1303, r. 1294-1303) was born in Anagni, a hill town southeast of Rome that was his family's ancestral home. He is remembered as the last great monarch-pope, an ambitious amasser of power and wealth. He asserted the supremacy of papal authority in the power struggles attending the advent of the European nation-states—struggles in which he was an able player. However, he was defeated in his clash with the French king Philip IV (the Fair) and was tried posthumously. Often, it is from the record of these posthumous proceedings that historians and Boniface's biographers have gleaned details of his personal character; thus it is difficult to know how seriously to take the charge that Boniface was a heretic who openly denied the immortality of the soul and the sanctity of the eucharist. He did surely use his office to increase the wealth of the church and did openly declare that it was a logical impossibility for the pope to be guilty of simony. Dante, for one, begged to differ and proclaimed Boniface's imminent arrival among the simoniacs in *Inferno* 19.

The young Benedetto (Benedict) Caetani began his legal education and his ecclesiastical career at Todi and Spoleto in the 1260s; he gained valuable diplomatic experience as a papal legate in France and England. He was made a cardinal by Pope Martin IV in 1281. The following year,

the uprising known as the Sicilian Vespers transferred control of Sicily from Charles I of Anjou, king of Naples (a papal fief), to Pedro III of Aragon. The struggle between Anjou and Aragon for the control of Sicily was to plague Boniface's entire tenure as pope.

The precise circumstances that led to Cardinal Benedict's accession to the papacy as Boniface VIII remain somewhat mysterious. After the death of Nicholas IV in 1292, the Colonna and Orsini factions in the College of Cardinals could not come to terms, and the conclave, removed to Perugia from malarial Rome, dragged on into the hot summer months of 1294. Benedict, who was now in his sixties and was intermittently unwell, with gout and kidney stones, rested in Viterbo and Sismano. He spent time in the company of a certain Parisian doctor with whom he discussed, rather casually, questions of faith and sexual morality. One witness reported having overheard Benedict say, "Sleeping with women or boys is no more a sin than rubbing your hands together." Meanwhile, the weary conclave finally agreed on an unlikely outsider, Pietro Morrone, a devout eremite of the Abruzzi who was an exponent of the fanatical asceticism that had been sweeping central Italy for a century. Pietro became Pope Celestine V and spent his entire five-month papacy in Naples under the watch of Charles of Anjou, frustrating the Franciscan Spirituals who hoped to make Celestine their long-awaited reformer, and overwhelmed by political demands he could not fathom. Celestine wanted to escape, and although it was unclear whether a pope could legally abdicate, Benedict assured him that abdication was both legal and appropriate. (One of the more wild-eyed chronicles has Benedict haunting Celestine at night, casting his voice into Celestine's cell through a tube and urging him to resign.) Celestine resigned on 13 December, and Benedict became Boniface VIII on the day before Christmas.

Boniface acted at once to reimpose papal authority by invalidating Celestine's appointments, which in any case had been rather arbitrary. During the first few years of his papacy, he intervened deftly in European affairs. By 1296, however, his tense relations with Philip the Fair and with Edward I of England had reached a crisis over the issue of taxation: did secular monarchs have the authority to tax the clergy? In the bull *Clericis laicos*, Boniface soundly forbade taxation of the clergy without the pope's approval. Philip responded by expelling Italian

trading agents from France and outlawing the export of gold bullion. The scene was set for their final conflict.

In 1297, however, there was a commotion closer to home. The Colonna, who were alarmed by the loss of their lands to the Caetani and Orsini under Boniface, at last openly challenged the legitimacy of his election. Boniface declared war, indeed a holy war, against the Colonna and their property, and by late 1298 he had the Colonna at his mercy: they had taken refuge in their mountaintop fortress at Palestrina. These events inform Dante's encounter in *Inferno* 27 with Guido da Montefeltro, a soldier turned Franciscan, an encounter in which the apparently penitent friar provides treacherous advice. In the end, Palestrina was razed, and the Colonna fled to France to bide their time.

Also in 1298, Boniface published an important compilation of canon law. In 1300, he declared the first jubilee. In 1301, he invited Philip's landless brother Charles of Valois to Italy, ostensibly to help him restore peace in Sicily—and in upstart Florence, where dangerous experiments in republican democracy had been under way since the early 1290s and the aristocratic Black Guelphs had been banished from power. By November 1301, Charles had entered Florence, reinstalled the Black Guelphs, and taken what he could for himself; but no peace came of his efforts. The Black Guelphs immediately exiled the leading Whites, including Dante, whose disdain for Boniface as an emblem of ecclesiastical corruption marks the entire *Comedy*.

In the meantime, the tension with Philip had led to open conflict and defiance on both sides. In 1301, Boniface issued the letter *Ausculda fili* (*Listen Here, Son*), an unbridled indictment of Philip; and in November 1302 he issued the famous bull *Unam sanctum*. According to *Unarn sanctam*, it is true that the world is ruled by two swords, temporal and spiritual, but the spiritual must forever guide and judge the temporal; and this must be taken on faith as divine revelation. In April 1303, Boniface recognized Albert of Hapsburg as Holy Roman emperor while reaffirming the absolute supremacy of the papacy in the bull *Patris aeterni*, in which the earlier military metaphors are replaced by astronomy; pope and emperor are, respectively, like the sun and moon, a greater source and a lesser, reflected light. Dante would redefine this traditional imagery in Book 3 of *Monarchist*, where both lights are

declared to be equally dependent on God. In the same month that he issued *Patris aeterni*, Boniface founded the University of Rome.

Through the spring and summer of 1303, Philip the Fair held council with his ministers and the alienated Colonna and drew up formal charges against Boniface, denying the legitimacy of Boniface's rule and demanding that he stand trial. Boniface moved to excommunicate Philip. A contingent of men led by Sciarra Colonna and Philip's minister Guillaume de Nogaret laid siege to Boniface at Anagni and seized the pope during the first week of September. Boniface managed to escape after three days, but he was utterly undone by the episode. He died in Rome on 12 October.



Arnolfo di Cambio (c. 1245-1302), bust of Pope Boniface VIII. Appartamento Pontificio, Vatican Palace, Vatican State. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

See also Anagni; Caetani Family; Celestine V, Pope; Colonna Family; Dante Alighieri; Florence; Montefeltro Family; Papacy; Rome

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Bonifacio Calvo

The thirteenth-century troubadour Bonifacio Calvo was Genoese but spent the greater part of his life in Spain, at the court of King Alfonso X the Wise. There, Bonifacio mainly wrote *sirventes* (poems of blame) in the style of Bertran de Born. For instance, he tried to incite Alfonso to war on Henry III of England, who was occupying the Gascogne

(Gascony); these particular *sirventes* can thus be dated 1253-1254. A particularly fine piece of work by Bonifacio is a *planh* (lament) on the death of his lady. Bonifacio's stay in Spain was also long enough to enable him to compose two *cantigas de amor* in Gallego-Portuguese; in his love poetry, he imitated Arnaut Daniel.

In 1266, Bonifacio returned to Genoa, where he wrote works in Occitan, including two *descorts* (disputes) with the Genoese poets Scot and Luquet Gattulus. Equally well known is Bonifacio's *sirventes* against the Venetians, which was answered by the merchant troubadour Bartolomeo Zorzi, then (1266-1273) a prisoner of the Genoese. In total, nineteen of Bonifacio's poems and two of his *descorts* are preserved.

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Bonino Da Campione

See Campione, Bonino da

Bono Giamboni

The thirteenth-century Florentine Bono Giamboni was famous in his own time as a translator of Latin works; he was also the author of noteworthy original prose works and indeed can be considered one of the fathers of Italian prose. His dates are unknown, but since he was a judge as early as 1261, he may have been born around 1235; the last document to contain his name is from 1292.

Two remarkable *volgarizzamenti* from Latin (translations into the vernacular) bear his name: Orosius's *Historiae adversus paganos* (*Histories Opposing Pagans*) and Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris* (*Summary of Military Matters*). They are evidence that at this time in the Middle Ages, although there was not yet any full awareness of different periods of latinity, there was an incipient interest in Rome and the classical world. In translating these works, Bono clearly intended to do justice to their content more than to the letter of the text. The attention to detail, the rhythm and syntactic structure, and the formal elegance of the Italian are uncommon for the period, as is the generally even tone. Bono also translated the austere *De miseria humane conditionis* of Lotario Diacono (Pope Innocent III), as *Delia miseria dell'uomo*. Here Bono reworks his source to suit his own pleasure; he includes the much lighter work of Albertano (Albertanus) da Brescia to create a small book of moral persuasion unusual for its originality and verve.

Bono also used a Boethian pseudo-autobiographical scheme for his major original work, *Libra de' vizi e delle virtudi* (*Book of Vices and Virtues*), in which Philosophy takes the narrator to the palace of Faith and to a battlefield of vices and virtues. This work shows Bono's familiarity with Latin authors, his thoughtful use of sources, and his quest for a noble Italian prose style that could simultaneously teach and

narrate. Its early date makes it a valuable example of contemporary prose, and its content is comparable to that of Brunetto Latini's encyclopedic *Trésor* and even to Dante's *Paradiso*.

During the Middle Ages, dozens of other works were attributed to Bono, perhaps because of the popularity of his own writings or perhaps for reasons that are now unclear to us. Among these attributions is a translation of Brunetto Latini's *Trésor* from Picardian French into Italian, although we cannot document with certainty that Bono could even read French, much less translate it. A recent theory is that Bono was the first translator of the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and that the otherwise unknown Guidotto da Bologna reworked Bono's translation to produce *Fiore di rettorica*. Still other works may eventually be ascribed to Bono, who is certainly an interesting figure, but we need to approach such attributions with caution.

See also **Brunetto Latini; Italian Prose**

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Bonvesin Da La Riva

Bonvesin da la Riva (c. 1240 or 1245-1313, 1314 or 1315) was the most important figure in thirteenth-century Lombard literature, and his work is so vast and various that he should appear as well in the cultural map

of medieval Europe as a whole. He was probably born in Milan; he spent the first part of his adult life in the nearby town of Legnano, but by 1288 he had returned to Milan, where he later died. Bonvesin was sincerely religious and was deeply involved in charitable organizations (he belonged to the third order of the Humiliati), but he remained a layman and married twice, though he remained childless. He kept private schools in Legnano and Milan, where he taught Latin (*grammatica*) and possibly other fundamentals to the sons of well-to-do bourgeois. He himself was also a member of the industrious middle class—the people who formed the backbone of the commune. (The Humiliati had interests in the profitable manufacture of textiles and in general were known for their economic activities no less than for their works of charity.) Bonvesin lived through a period of social and political upheaval during which the glorious old commune of Milan was undermined and the signory of the Visconti family was established. As a man of law and order, Bonvesin did his best to adjust to these dramatic changes.

Bonvesin's surviving writings consist of nineteen vernacular poems ranging in length from fifty-two to 1,048 lines. They bear Latin titles (either original or analogically reconstructed), and scholars have conventionally designated them by capital letters. In the following list, vv. indicates number of verses.

A: *De Sathana cum Virgine*, vv. 480

B: *Vulgare de elymosinis*, vv. 1048

C: *De quindecim miraculis que debent apparere ante diem iudicii*, vv. 52

D: *De die iudicii*, vv. 396

E-F: *De anima cum corpore*, vv. 532 (this work was at one time mistaken for two independent poems)

G: *Disputatio rose cum viola*, vv. 248

H: *Disputatio musce cum formica*, vv. 276

I: *De peccatore cum Virgine*, vv. 144

L: *Laudes de Virgine Maria*, vv. 528

M: *Rationes quare Virgo tenetur diligere peccatores*, vv. 124

N: *De quinquaginta curialitatibus ad mensam*, vv. 204

O: *Vulgare de passione sancti Job*, vv. 324

P: *Vita beati Alexii*, vv. 524
Q: *De falsis excusationibus*, vv. 276
R: *De vanitatibus*, vv. 128
S (1): *De scriptura nigra*, vv. 908
S (2): *De scriptura rubra*, vv. 448
S (3): *De scriptura aurea*, vv. 752
T: *Disputatio mensium*, vv. 736

To these must be added the following. (The letters U and W are not used.)

V: a translation of the famous *Disticha Catonis*, vv. 600
X (1–3): three fragments of a *De cruce*, vv. 70, 58, 60, discovered in 1979

However, the two manuscripts of V contain a text too corrupted to allow a recovery of the original reading.

The meter to which Bonvesin adheres faithfully is the quatrain of caesured alexandrines; in fact, his verses are more regular and more "literary" than, e.g., those of Giacomino da Verona, showing no tendency toward the decasyllable of the jongleurs. Only in N and in V do the lines rhyme in pairs (aabb); in all the other poems the stanzas are monorhymed (aaaa, bbbb, and so on).

There are eight manuscripts (dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), traditionally identified with Greek (lowercase) letters. Only manuscripts Alpha (α), Beta (β), and Gamma (γ) contain more than a single poem each, as follows.

Alpha (α): A to the first part of P
Beta (β): D, E-F, I, L, M, O, Q, R, S (1), S (2), S (3)
Gamma (γ): D, N, S (2)

Manuscript Alpha (α) is at the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin; manuscripts Beta (β) and Gamma (γ) are at the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

N was published (from Gamma, or γ) by B. Biondelli as early as 1847 and was subsequently (1869) reprinted and translated into English by W. M. Rossetti. Meanwhile (1850-1851), I. Bekker had caused something

of a stir among specialists by publishing in the *Berichte* of the Prussian Academy all the poems preserved in Alpha (α). There were subsequent partial editions—such as T (E. Lidforss 1872) and the controversial group Q-S (V. De Bartholomaeis 1901; L. Biàdene 1902)—until the 1930s. At that time G. Contini devoted himself to the task; and in 1941 he was able to offer, under the aegis of Società Filologica Romana, a masterly annotated critical edition of Bonvesin's vernacular poems. This edition was complete except for the three fragments of X and the second manuscript of V, which had not yet been discovered. Contini's edition is either based or modeled on manuscript α , from the early fourteenth century, which records Bonvesin's Old Milanese dialect most faithfully.

Thematically, the poems can be grouped in five categories, which will be discussed in turn:

1. Hagiography (B, L, M, O, P)
2. Religious didacticism (C, D, Q, R, S, X)
3. Secular didactic works (N, V)
4. Religious debates (A, E-F, I)
5. Moral-political debates (G, H, T)

Category 1. As a hagiographer, Bonvesin can be a remarkable narrator. He presents, in the moving tones of a participant, the wrenching sufferings of Saint Job and Saint Alexis; and he introduces numerous *exempla*, full of pathos and suspense, to illustrate the benevolent power of the Virgin Mary and the generosity of almsgivers (whose pity is always lavishly rewarded).

Category 2. In the category of religious didacticism, the central position is held by the "Book of the Three Scriptures," a triptych describing hell, Christ's passion, and paradise (respectively the "Black," "Red," and "Golden" scriptures). Hell and paradise—the two eternal destinations to which humans will be assigned by divine justice—depend on Christ's sacrifice, because Christians will be saved by treasuring the redemption or lost by forfeiting it. Bonvesin divides hell into twelve punishments and paradise into twelve blessings or glories, in order to convey that there are both correspondences and a sharp opposition between the two realms. Thus the stench, the company of devils, and the bloodcurdling screams of hell in S (1) correspond to a

heavenly fragrance, the society of angels, and sweet singing in S (2). Although Bonvesin uses his own descriptive pattern, all the typical ingredients of the genre are present: *exempla ficta*, the cruelties of the devils, the pathetic (and edifying) complaints of the damned, and so on. For paradise, he retains the metaphor of the Heavenly City, whose glory is matched only by the superlative fire of punishment. The rendering of this material, predictably, is flatter and more repetitious. In the section on the passion of Christ, which ends with some stanzas expressing intense pity, the suffering of Christ's mother is also emphasized.

Category 3. In the category of secular didacticism, "the fifty courtesies that must be observed at the table" (N, 1.3) are listed, sententiously but affably. They can surely be seen in the context of medieval courtesy books, and they are a delightful introduction to a late Gothic banquet hall and to the social life of the communal bourgeoisie.

Category 4. As regards the category of religious debates, there is no doubt that Bonvesin was a master of the debate—a rhetorical form which could be applied to love poetry and to didactic and religious genres. In E-F, in a series of speeches and debates, he elaborates on the well-known dispute between body and soul: the creator warns the soul; a "chapter" of members accuses the heart; and souls, both blessed and damned, address their former bodies, first when the bodies are still entombed and again at the resurrection. In I, the entreaties and the arguments of a repentant sinner succeed in mollifying a disapproving Virgin; in A, the crafty, insinuating Satan—one of Bonvesin's best characters—tries to dissuade Mary from intervening on behalf of souls, since her interference makes his job too difficult.

Category 5. In the category of moral-political debates, the term "moral-political" suggests the two different levels of meaning that can be constructed from a literal datum, the fable. These debates reveal Bonvesin's concerns as a citizen. The charming and useful Violet asserts its merits in the face of the arrogance and opulence of the Rose, and at the end, the judge—the Lily—proclaims that there is no winner. Here, allegorically, the communal class confronts the dissatisfied and threatening magnates of the city (G). In H, the hardworking Ant, who is another version of the Violet, vigorously attacks and puts to flight the profligate Fly, who represents a parasitic and anarchic "left" tainted

with heresy. In T, which can be seen as an amplified apologue that makes use of disputation, Bonvesin acknowledges as necessary the charismatic authority of King January over the unruly Months—thus indicating his acceptance of the Visconti's seignory, which he must have considered the only viable alternative to civic discord.

The bulk of Bonvesin's vernacular works can probably be placed in the 1270s and early 1280s, when he was still living and teaching in Legnano. His three Latin works are usually placed in subsequent decades; however, the prose of *De magnalibus Mediolani*—a fascinating panegyric to Milan discovered and published by Francesco Novati in 1894—may be dated with certainty to the year 1288. *Carmina de mensibus* (*Song of the Months*, in 430 hexameters, published by Leandro Biadene in 1901), is Bonvesin's own translation of T from the Italian. Some scholars hold that the Latin text of *Carmina de mensibus* might have been the original version of the poem, but this idea does not seem very credible. *Vita scholastica*, a long poem in elegiac couplets (w. 936), is a handbook meant for students but also useful to teachers; here the old *grammaticus* applies his rich personal experience. *Vita scholastica* was transmitted by more than thirty codices (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) and twentytwo printed editions (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries) and apparently was a success from the beginning.

The medieval poets of Lombardy were on the whole confined to the limbo of the archives, where they were seldom visited; not until the mid-nineteenth century did linguists and historians start looking for them. There were at least two reasons for this neglect: first, the literary Florentine dialect spread to northern Italy beginning in the late fourteenth century; second, the literary and academic tradition was firmly centered on Florentine. (Later, Boiardo tried to write his heroic poem in Florentine; and Poliziano, in *Favola d'Orfeo*, had already used the northern vernacular, by then a dialect, to achieve a sense of "otherness.") Today, the Lombard poets—unquestionably headed by Bonvesin—have been retrieved from oblivion by perceptive philologists and may finally be taken into account by critics who are unhindered by linguistic or aesthetic prejudice and are seeking an organic reconstruction of the literary civilization of Italy.

See also Dante Allighieri; Giacomino da Verona; Milan

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Bookkeeping, Double-Entry

During the Middle Ages, Italian bookkeeping led all of Europe in technical achievements. Although we may assume that merchants had kept account books in earlier times, the oldest remaining fragment of such a book dates from 1211: in it, the debtors' and creditors' accounts of a Bolognese client of a Florentine bank are written out in *volgare*, i.e., the vernacular. During the second half of the thirteenth century, we find an increase in the number of surviving records; and c. 1300 we find not only parts of account books but also complete books: those of the Fini, Farolfi, Peruzzi, Bardi, and Del Bene. Starting in the 1360s, we have the account books of Francesco Datini of Prato, which include many auxiliary and subsidiary books (until 1410, a total of almost 600 books). Without these resources, any analysis of the accounting systems would have to be based on presumptions.

Most of the account books that survive from before 1350 were written by Tuscan merchants. The first extant book of this period is from Milan in the second half of the fourteenth century (bank of del Maino, Marco Serrainerio company). These books are written in Latin, but with regard to bookkeeping and accounting they are structurally almost identical to Tuscan account books written in the vernacular. Not

until the fifteenth century do we find evidence of account books from other regions of Italy (for example, an account book of 1436–1439 of the Venetian Giacomo Badoer).

The entries of the accounts consisted mostly of one or several full sentences, skillfully set forth on a page divided into three columns. An entry started with the name of the debtor or creditor: the first letter of his name was placed in the left column. After the phrase *dee dare* (shall give) or *dee avere* (shall have), a statement of disposition followed the reason for the entry, with a short description of the business transaction, which often included an exact description of the trade goods. In older account books this was completed with the names of witnesses or guarantors who were present during the business transactions. Here the sentence was made up in such a way that the quantity of the traded goods—as well as the first letter of the client's name—could be written in the left column. At the end of the sentence or entry, the amount was noted so that it could easily be placed in the right column.

Italian merchants used Arabic numerals in calculations as early as the thirteenth century; but in their account books Roman numerals predominated—though with decreasing frequency—until the late fifteenth century. The page numbering and dates were increasingly written in Arabic numerals, as were notes, often appearing as intermediate totals or subtotals. However, the number of traded goods (placed in the left column) and the noted amount (in the right column) were written only in Roman numerals. This prolonged use of the "old" writing style was mostly due to a widespread belief that Roman numerals were forgery-proof.

For a long time, especially in notebooks, debits and credits were placed not side by side but rather one on top of the other (this was called a *sezione sovraaposto* entry). If a debt had been paid, it was written below the debit entry or entries. The entry was written as a whole sentence similar to the format described above; but instead of *dee dare* and *dee avere*, it used the words *ha dato* (has given), *ha avuto* (has gotten), or *abbiamo dato* (we have given). During the fourteenth century, account books were divided, on the whole, into one debit part in the front and one credit part at the back. The direct line-up of debit and credit was not established in Tuscany until nearly the end of the

century, although it may have been practiced somewhat earlier in Venice. At first, both the left page and the right page of two open sheets in the accountant's ledger were used (this format was called *alla veneziana*); later, a single page was divided into two parts by a vertical line.

Merchants kept different books for various areas of their businesses. Thus a *libro di entrata e uscita* (book of income and expenditures) served as a cashbook, whereas large quantities of goods traded over long distances were noted in a *libro di balle mandate* (book of bales dispatched). The income and profits of the *socii* (members or partners) as well as agreements made by the management, including elaborate business contracts, were recorded in a *libro secreto* (secret book). The ledger, in which debtors and creditors were recorded, was called the *libro grande* (by Datini), *mastro*, *campione*, *libro dell'asse*, *libro dei debitori e creditori* (by the Medici), or *libro reale* (in Arezzo). Because a great amount of information had to be recorded, several successive account books of the same type were required. In the beginning, such successive books were differentiated only by terms such as *libro nuovo* for the most recent book and *libro vecchio* for a book already completed. Quite soon, however, a system of identifying account books with single letters, colored bindings, or both was established. For example, one of Datini's ledgers is called *libro grande o giallo, segnato A* (large or yellow book, marked A).

In addition to classifying books by type of business or chronological order, merchants took into consideration whether the books contained original entries, which were then indicated as the first note for a transaction, or whether the lots were based on entries previously written in other account books. As shown in Datini's early account books from the 1360s and 1370s, rough chronological drafts—called *ricordanze*—were used even before the introduction of double-entry accounting. The entries for debtors and creditors in the *ricordanze* were then copied into a *memoriale*, a book which had been divided into a front section for debits and a back section for credits. Here, various entries for a particular person could be summarized. In order to condense information further, the entries in the *memoriale* were copied out again in the ledger.

Only in large companies do we find merchants whose main task was

keeping the account books. Typically, several employees would make entries into the different account ledgers more or less continuously. Quite often, there is evidence of more than one hand on a single page in an account book.

Not until sometime during the first half of the fifteenth century was "bookkeeping" taught by teachers or in schools. Before that, although calculation with Arabic numerals was taught in schools, a young merchant would study accounting as part of his education in his company's shops (*botteghe*). Nonetheless, a relatively homogeneous kind of bookkeeping was established because traders had strict contracts among themselves. A merchant from, say, Genoa or Milan could write a letter to his business partners in Tuscany asking them to enter his expenditures for purchased goods in his account in their books, and vice versa.

It is probable that from the beginning, commercial bookkeeping had to serve several simultaneous functions. A primary function was the legal security of the client, the *socii*, and the associates. Thus in the book dating from 1211 we find, in addition to the guarantors, the names of witnesses who could, if necessary, confirm business transactions; and after the bankruptcy of the Peruzzi in 1343, their books were examined by a communal committee. Moreover, there was a growing acceptance of commercial activity in general, and specifically of the widening practice of noting the proceedings; as a result, during the second half of the fourteenth century account books came more and more to be considered valid evidence in courts of law. Baldo degli Ubaldi granted a ledger (which he called *codex rationum*) almost the same evidential value as a notarial document. About 1400, Francesco Datini sent for the account books of his branch in Avignon because he planned to use them in a legal dispute at the Court of the Guild. Furthermore, in some books we find notes (called *ricordanze*) indicating that someone had prepared a legal document regarding one or another business transaction. However, merchants generally did not—as the monk and mathematician Luca Pacioli proposed in 1494—submit their accounts to guild committees or municipal offices for authentication.

Another function of bookkeeping was control over employees. Cashbooks and *spese di casa* books, especially, had to be designed in a way that would make it hard for an unsophisticated employee to

embezzle money. If the balances of cash and cash income corresponded, one could assume proper management. Still, we should note that cashbooks were not always kept with the necessary continuity.

A third function was to maintain exact and quick balances of business transactions, as an indicator of success. In fact, scholars and researchers assumed for a long time that bookkeeping in the Middle Ages served mainly this function, as is the case today; accordingly, they interpreted the further development of bookkeeping as an early indication of a capitalistic, profit-focused mentality among Italian merchants. Double-entry bookkeeping was considered a particularly sensible method of maintaining balances: every financial event had to be entered twice, once as a credit and once as a debit; together, these events formed a sort of closed system with at least five different types of accounts (de Roover 1937,270). In the 1920s, the German sociologist Werner Sombart was one of the first to link capitalistic profit-focused thinking with the abstract concept of enterprise as such (in contrast to a concrete concept of the merchant), and with the method of double-entry bookkeeping. Italian researchers (particularly Melis) also subscribed to this view, and they used surviving fragments of account books to argue that it was applicable in very early times.

The first generally accepted evidence of double-entry bookkeeping derives from the communal account books of the city of Genoa in 1340; and it is stated in these books that they are being kept *ad modum banchi* (in the manner of a bank), so we can assume an earlier use of the method among private merchants. However, the method did not become popular among Italian merchants until the 1380s, and even thereafter it spread relatively slowly. In 1383, Datini changed the bookkeeping of almost all his *fondaci* to the new system; but by the end of the fourteenth century it had been introduced by the Bank of del Maino in Milan for only a short period. The earliest evidence of a "journal" dates from the 1390s; this was not a necessary element of double-entry bookkeeping, but it was a rather important auxiliary book in which the entries were formulated for the assignment of sums to specific accounts. The first actual descriptions of double-entry booking are to be found in *Il libro dell'arte di mercatura* (1459) by the merchant Benedetto Cotrugli and in a chapter of *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni, et proportionalita* (1494) by Luca Pacioli.

Summa was once believed to be the earliest description; this was not true, but the explanations in *Summa* are more extensive than Cotrugli's and, having already been printed, were disseminated more quickly (Cotrugli's writings were not printed before the mid-sixteenth century).

The rather slow spread of double-entry bookkeeping and its rather late use in tractates suggest that during the fourteenth century the method was considered less advantageous than scholars and researchers may have assumed. Yamey has pointed out that, owing to the rather inconsequential manner in which the method was used by merchants in the Middle Ages, it could hardly have been seen as a suitable instrument for determining gains and losses. Even in the fifteenth century, most of the "balance" sheets of the Medici did not balance, and there is no evidence of efforts to find and correct the mistakes. Therefore, when we consider the world of medieval merchants, the importance of double-entry bookkeeping in particular—and, more generally, bookkeeping as an indicator of success—must be seen in relative terms.

We have so far noted three functions of bookkeeping: legal security, control of employees, and the maintenance of balances in order to indicate gains and losses and hence success. A fourth function—memory—is usually identified as a basic and very old motive for establishing account books. In Italy, moreover, the practice of selling goods on credit (something that was not done by German merchants) made it necessary to note debtors and also creditors, i.e., suppliers. This explains why personal expenditures of that kind were recorded so early and so frequently. In the second half of the fourteenth century, these accounts, kept as memory aids, apparently still formed the core of bookkeeping. For this exclusive purpose, the first company whose accounts were recorded almost completely—a company led by Francesco Datini and Toro di Berto, founded in Avignon in 1367—noted, within a period of less than six years, more than 10,000 lots for several hundred clients. Such a large amount of information can hardly be given an orderly structure ad hoc, and so it needs considerable revision to ensure that the layout of the entries is clear and that no entry can be inadvertently overlooked. The necessary revision of entries written for the purpose of memory was the main reason for copying entries from the *ricordanze* into the *memoriale* and ultimately into the ledger as

described above. In other words, in this context the inevitable restructuring of material had to do mainly with a need to establish a usable base of information by copying entries from a very large number of notes into a new account book. The first steps toward elaborate bookkeeping may have resulted from the function of the method as an aid to memory, and from the necessity of revision.-In any case, for some time the element of bookkeeping that was kept up most consistently was the running of debtors' and creditors' accounts. This is understandable, because a forgotten entry of a debtor most certainly meant a loss of money for the company, whereas a carelessly kept cashbook, for instance, would entail a loss of money only if dishonest employees were involved.

Many connections may be drawn between account books and the *libri di famiglia* in which merchants noted "private" events. There are numerous parallels, including the style of writing (*mercantesca*, which developed from notary italic during the fourteenth century); the names of books (*ricordanze* and *libra segreto* are found in both types of texts); and the structure of entries (births, marriages, and deaths in *libri di famiglia* are frequently listed like entries in an account book in paragraph form). Probably, these similarities arose because merchants used account books so extensively. Furthermore, "personal notes" may be found in business books, and large sections of *libri di famiglia* quite naturally contained commercial transactions.

See also Banks and Banking; Datini, Francesco di Marco

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Bookmaking and Book Production

Three great figures stand out in the world of books in Italy at the beginning of the Middle Ages: Cassiodorus, Benedict of Nursia, and Gregory the Great.

Cassiodorus (c. 490-c. 583) was perhaps the first to have recognized a need to conserve ancient books and texts. He was born into the ordered life of a patrician elite that still maintained the traditions of empire, and he served the Ostrogoth king Theodoric in a number of increasingly important positions. However, Cassiodorus withdrew from politics after Theodoric's death and the subsequent struggles between the Goths and the Byzantines for control of Italy. In later life he witnessed the Lombard invasions which destroyed the last vestiges of the empire in Italy and its ancient culture. During the Gothic conquest, the Roman aristocrats had maintained themselves by becoming a valued bureaucracy for their illiterate masters, and this bureaucracy came to control writing, government documents and records, and books. The Lombards, by contrast, had no use for such services or for the class that provided them. Cassiodorus could look back to a time when the empire

had supported a flourishing book trade, but now, with the collapse of the larger economic system and the social and cultural structures that would support a large-scale secular book trade, book production came to a halt. At about the time of his retirement from public life in about 540, Cassiodorus established his celebrated monastery at Vivarium (though he did not take up permanent residence there for another fifteen years) and began the process of collecting books and making new copies. Book production was at the center of this monastic community, as detailed in *Institutiones* (c. 562), in which Cassiodorus sets out his instructions for scriptorial procedures and practice. Unfortunately, Vivarium did not endure after Cassiodorus died, but his vision of reviving book production in a monastic setting did endure, with great and positive results.

Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-547) is important to medieval book production because of his authorship of *Regula sancti Benedicti*, which became the basis for western monasticism. Actually, books and bookmaking have only a small place in the *Regula*, and the contrast between the early Benedictine community at Monte Cassino and Cassiodorus's Vivarium is striking. But even so, Benedict recognized the necessity of books—both for private study and for public reading—and from that small beginning the Benedictines would go on to create great monasteries across western Europe containing large scriptoria and extensive libraries. It was as if Cassiodorus's vision of a book-centered monastic community had been adopted by the Benedictines. However, the vision that reshaped the Benedictine movement and gave books and book production a central role was not Cassiodorus's but that of Gregory the Great (c. 540-604).

When the monastic community founded by Benedict at Monte Cassino was forced to flee in the face of the Lombards' attacks, the monks sought refuge in Rome. Here, in Gregory, they found friendship and the support of a fellow monk. As pope (590-604), Gregory began to emphasize bookmaking as a significant and important part of monastic life. Books were essential to Christianity; and Bibles, liturgical works, and other patristic books were required for the church to function. These books had to be supplied, and in addition Gregory was a prolific author who wanted his own works to circulate. Whatever might have been left of the old secular book trade in Rome, it was insufficient to

meet Gregory's needs. His solution was to put his fellow monks to work copying books, an act that permanently changed the nature of Benedictine monasticism. Wherever the Benedictines went and established new monasteries, they brought books and bookmaking. In Italy this was particularly true in Farfa, San Vincenzo at Volturmo, San Salvatore, and the restored Monte Cassino.

At this time books had several forms. The most common format was the codex, but rolls and wax tablets continued to be used. Each format had its appropriate use. The roll, which had been the dominant format in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds, was used for documents in the Vatican archives well into the Middle Ages. Likewise, the wax tablet—usually consisting of several wooden tablets hollowed out on one side, filled with wax, and then joined together with thongs, like a notebook—remained a common writing surface through much of the medieval period for initial composition, correspondence, notes, or business memorandums. Wax was a medium that allowed for exceptionally quick writing, using a stylus; and later the surface could be easily smoothed for reuse. At the time when Gregory was reviving book production in Rome, the wax tablet, the papyrus roll, and the parchment codex each had a specific and integrated role in bookmaking. Gregory's *Moralia*, a commentary on the Book of Job, is a case in point. Before becoming pope, Gregory had served as papal ambassador in Constantinople, where he preached a series of sermons on the Book of Job. These sermons were taken down in shorthand by a stenographer on wax tablets, in a highly abbreviated cursive script. Soon afterward, the text was transferred, still in an abbreviated cursive form, to papyrus rolls, and the wax tablets were smoothed over for reuse. Thirty-five papyrus rolls were used for *Moralia*. After Gregory became pope, the text was transferred to parchment codices, six in all, written in a careful set uncial script using few abbreviations beyond the *nomina sacra* (holy names). While the codex was certainly the end product, the wax tablet and the papyrus roll played important and integrated parts in the production of the text. Papyrus rolls may have continued to be used in this manner for some centuries, but as papyrus became expensive and difficult to acquire, the small quantities of available papyrus were used for more permanent purposes. Wax tablets, on the other hand, continued to be used for initial composition for

many centuries to come, and it was only with the rise of scholasticism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that authors changed from the ancient mode of dictating to a secretary who wrote using a wax tablet to the modern mode of composition by the author using a pen and parchment (or paper).

As important as the Benedictines were to the survival of books in the early Middle Ages in Italy, other monastic influences were also present. In particular, the great Irish missionary monk Columbanus (d. 615), after having established a series of Irish monastic houses, including Luxeuil and Fontaines in Gaul, spent the last months of his life in Bobbio, a monastery on the Trebbia River in Northern Italy. Bobbio, like the other Irish establishments on the continent, soon became an active center for book production. However, it has been celebrated particularly for its extensive reuse of older manuscripts: these palimpsests preserved within their primary texts several ancient works that would otherwise have disappeared. Although the Roman and Celtic churches disagreed on a number of doctrinal points, particularly on calculating the date for Easter, they were in complete agreement on the importance of book production. When the Celtic houses were subsumed by the Benedictines, many things changed, but not the central place of books and bookmaking in the life of the community. Bobbio became one of the greatest Benedictine houses in northern Italy.

Monastic book production was relatively uniform across Italy and indeed much of the rest of western Europe, although a distinctive Italian script developed in the eighth century and survived for many centuries in the south (where it is called Beneventan), beyond the reach of Carolingian reforms. In the Benedictine houses the scriptorium, where book production was undertaken, was generally a large room that might also have served as the library (which more often than not was simply a chest full of books). The librarian—the *amarius* or *bibliothecarius*—was often in charge of the scriptorium. Depending on the size of the monastery and the scriptorium, there might be several classes of scribes, though such distinctions varied with place and time. Scribes might be distinguished as senior (*anti-quariti*) and junior (*librarii*). There might also be rubricators, miniators (or painters), illuminators, and correctors. Before the twelfth century, scribes were almost always monks, but after this time there began to develop a class

of professional scribes, often employed by monasteries. Monastic scribes generally worked about six hours a day copying. Copying and their religious duties accounted for all the daylight hours; artificial light was rarely used. Silence was imposed on the scriptorium in the sense that conversation was forbidden, and in order to communicate the monks devised an elaborate system of hand signals. But the copying itself was not silent. Silent reading was a development of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Before that time, each scribe essentially dictated to himself, and the scriptorium was filled with a dull murmuring.

Beyond a text to copy, bookmaking required parchment (later paper), ink, and pens. Parchment, usually thick and rough, has traditionally been made from sheepskin; and vellum, thinner and finer, from calfskin—though in practice it is difficult to determine the origin of any finished skin. Skins were usually soaked in a lime solution for three to ten days, washed in water, and then stretched on a frame and scraped. Parchment, or sheepskin, was scraped only on one side; vellum, or calfskin, was scraped on both sides. When the skin was dry, it was wet slightly again, and then it was pounced (rubbed with pumice) to smooth the surface and remove blemishes. The skin was then completely rewet and dried again under tension. Finally it was finished again by pouncing, and perhaps by rubbing chalk or some other compound into it to give the skin a smooth white surface which would take ink but would allow no bleeding.

An alternative to parchment in the later Middle Ages was paper, which had the advantage of being much less expensive, although it was not as durable. Paper was introduced into Italy in the eleventh century by the Muslims in Sicily. By the first half of the thirteenth century paper mills were active in Fabriano (where paper is still made today) and in the hills above Genoa. Italian papermaking was a departure from the traditional techniques used by the Muslims. The Italian papermakers used large hammers embedded with nails to pulverize the fermented rags (usually linen); rigid molds made of wires (which allowed an innovation, the watermark) with removable deckles that were immersed into vats of suspended rag pulp to create sheets of paper; new drying techniques; and sizing (an additive which kept the ink from bleeding). From these small beginnings we can trace the origin of western paper manufacture. Within fifty years after the introduction

of paper, many mills were operating in the hills of central Italy and in the north, producing paper of exceptional quality, and soon Italian paper was being exported throughout Europe and the Mediterranean. By the fifteenth century, mills were operating in France and north of the Alps; these curtailed the demand for Italian paper to some degree, though Italian paper always enjoyed the reputation of being of the first quality.

Having selected a writing surface, the scribe might need to prepare ink. Iron-gall ink was made by mixing pulverized plant galls with ferrous sulfate (commonly known as copperas) and gum arabic to give it viscosity. More often than not, the ink was already prepared for the scribe, and at most he might need to mix the powdered ink with water.

The third requirement was a pen. This was a reed in the Middle Ages, and a quill later.

With the appropriate materials before him—the parchment or paper (or perhaps both), ink, and pen—the scribe first produced a quire, or a gathering of leaves. This could be accomplished in two ways. The more traditional way was to take four sheets of parchment or paper, fold each once, and then nest one inside the other, thus creating a booklet or quire. This was naturally the easiest method with large books. With smaller books, it was easier to use the folding method. By folding the sheet twice, one obtained a quire of four leaves or eight pages; by folding it three times one obtained eight leaves or sixteen pages—the standard quire size during the Middle Ages (though this varied with place and time).

For the parchment book, it was essential that the sheets be positioned so that the hair, or outer, side of the skin always faced another hair side—and likewise that the flesh, or inner, side of the skin always faced another flesh side. The hair side of a skin is yellower and rougher than the flesh side, which is often milky-white. For aesthetic reasons, it was essential that at any opening of the book the reader would see only one color and texture of skin. If the sheets were arranged properly the reader was never even aware of a difference in the sides of the skin, but should hair face flesh the difference could be jarring. If the quire was constructed by the folding method, it would automatically form the correct pattern of hair and flesh. Naturally, however, there were unsolvable problems in arranging the hair and flesh sides when it was

necessary for textual or other reasons to add an extra leaf, or bifolium.

The next step was to prick the quire. This produced a series of small, almost invisible, holes which acted as guides for ruling each page. In addition to pricking along the side margins, it was also usual to place several prickings along the top and the bottom so as to delineate the textual frame. The quire might be pricked folded; this was the most efficient method, as it required prickings down only one side of the leaf. Or the quire might be pricked flat; this method required prickings in both outer margins. After the quire was pricked, it was ruled. There were three major modes of ruling. The first, usually associated with the early Middle Ages (though also commonly found in humanistic manuscripts of the fifteenth century whose writers adopted Carolingian practice in the belief that it was Roman), was the use of a stylus that created a furrow as it was pulled across the surface. This method produced nearly invisible ruling and had the advantage of producing multiple rulings, on both sides of each sheet stacked in a pile. It was, however, rather unsuitable for paper, as the stylus could easily rip or tear the surface. The second method of ruling, usually associated with the middle of the medieval period, was to use lead plummet, an early form of pencil. The third method, most common at the end of the Middle Ages, was the use of pen and ink. No doubt this was a result of the increased use of paper in book production during the period. Both lead plummet and ink were far less efficient than drypoint ruling, as each side of each sheet had to be individually ruled.

Now the scribe was ready to write. In the ancient world dictation to a group of scribes had been quite common, but medieval scribes copied individually. The desk was at an angle, and often the scribe would write with one hand and hold a penknife in the other to keep the writing surface in place; the knife was also useful for making erasures by scraping off the wet ink. The normal method of writing was to begin on the first page (the recto of the first folio) of the quire and copy the text straight through in its natural order. The scribe had to pause after finishing each recto (except for the middle bifolium) before going on to the verso in order to let the ink dry. As the scribe finished each page, he would take a fine-nibbed pen and lightly write instructions in the margin on how to fill blank spaces with rubrics, decorations, capitals, pictures, and the like. These instructions have rarely survived, because

they were usually trimmed away by the binder.

After the scribe had finished copying a quire, it was often checked by a corrector. The corrector's job was to compare the exemplar with the copy and make sure there were no errors. When errors were found, they might be erased by scraping off the ink with a knife, or by applying a lightly acidic solution to loosen the ink. The corrector could then supply the proper reading. In many instances the corrector simply lined through the error and supplied the correction interlinearly or marginally.

Rubrication, the next stage, was almost invariably red (*rubrica* is red earth or red ocher). Typically, it consisted of chapter headings or, in more specialized texts such as commentaries, the word or phrase being glossed. In addition, the rubricator might supply colored paragraph marks and highlight capital letters in the body of the text.

The decorating, painting, and illumination could be a complex process involving several scribes and artists. After a base coat was applied, the next step was usually to make an outline in pencil (lead plummet) and then ink. If there was to be any illumination, or gilding, it was done before paint was applied, so that the paint could cover any rough edges. Each color was applied in turn and allowed to dry; the final step at this stage was the application of stipple, or white highlighting.

The end of the bookmaking process was binding. The binder would make sure that the sheets or quires were properly assembled and ordered. The gatherings were placed in a sewing frame and attached with linen thread to several leather thongs, flat or twisted strips of vellum, or cords—known generally as bands once they had been sewn to the text block—which give medieval books their characteristic "ribbed" appearance. A binder might supply a bifolium, of vellum or paper, which would serve as a pastedown and a free endpaper, or he might supply several bifolia that functioned as flyleaves. The book might be soft- or hardbound. A softbound book was usually covered in vellum, though stiffened leather was also used. A hardbound book was bound in stout boards and covered in leather or pigskin. During the medieval period, the boards were made flush with the text block because books were stored on their sides. As a protective measure for books that were laid flat, medieval binders added metal bosses and

metal corners to the covers. Titles were written on the fore-edges but not on the spines, and covers were usually held together with metal clasps. The covers might be decorated with simple tooling, more detailed panel stamping, or even elaborate metalwork laden with jewels. Yet most ordinary medieval books had only modest bindings with little decoration, and indeed many books had no bindings at all beyond a protective piece of parchment that was wrapped around the quires of the book and might or might not be loosely attached.

With the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century, there was a shift away from the monastic scriptoria, as cathedral and abbey schools became more important and as cities and merchants developed notarial needs. The newly established mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans were often associated with the new universities and obtained their books from the book trade in Bologna and other Italian university cities. The universities created a new reading public that required new texts, reference works, and commentaries. The new secular book trade became a licensed appendage of the university (before the end of the thirteenth century in Bologna); this trade consisted of stationers, scribes, parchment makers, papermakers, bookbinders, and others associated with making books. They enjoyed certain rights, such as an exemption from taxes and the right to be tried in university courts. The same book tended to be sold and resold through many generations, and it was the stationer's responsibility to sell a book, buy it back, sell it again, and so forth. He could buy and sell only under certain conditions: he had to advertise the titles he had in stock; prices were fixed; and students and professors received discounts.

In order to produce the large numbers of textbooks required by students and maintain their textual accuracy, the *pecia* system of copying was instituted. The system began in Italy c. 1200 and ended c. 1425-1450. It existed in at least seven universities in Italy and many others across Europe. The stationer held one or more exact copies (the exemplar) of a text in pieces (hence *Pecia*), usually a gathering of four folios (sixteen columns) or perhaps six folios. Each column had to have a standard number of lines (usually sixty), and each line a standard number of letters (usually thirty). Each part was rented out for a specific time (a week at Bologna) so that students or scribes could copy it. In this way a number of people could be copying parts of the same

book at the same time. Stationers were required to rent pieces to anyone who requested them, and the charges were fixed (e.g., at Treviso in 1318 the charges were six pence for copying, and two pence for correcting).

In thirteenth-century Italy, there was no single center of book production that provided an authoritative model for the whole country (as Paris did for France). Monte Cassino still maintained the old monastic customs, as was also true in Rome and Tuscany. Bologna had developed its own style of script and bookmaking, which was adopted in the universities of Padua and Naples. The aristocratic courts in the cities of the northeast eagerly consumed locally produced deluxe copies of Provençal lyrics and French epic poetry and romances. But even though no single style of book was dominant in Italy, certain trends were evident. During this period books became smaller, script became more compact, and the number of abbreviations increased. The two-column format became the norm, and ornament was almost abandoned on all books except those for the luxury trade. Scholastic texts became more complex, and this complexity was reflected in the organizational design and layout of books. In this regard, the developments included dividing the text into chapters and subchapters and adding tables of chapter headings, alphabetical tables by subject, and running heads. New forms of punctuation, such as colored paragraph marks, were introduced. Quotations were underlined in red, marginal notes were added, and diagrams were supplied. The resulting multistructured apparatus, perhaps most commonly seen in a glossed Bible or Psalter, was visual and was meant for a reader, not a hearer. Soft bindings tended to replace wooden boards, and parchment became progressively thinner as the number of folios per gathering increased. Ultimately, paper replaced parchment altogether.

By the end of the thirteenth century another reading public was emerging in the cities of Italy, comprising merchants, artisans, civil servants, and women. The commercial book trade that developed in Milan, Florence, Venice, Rome, Naples, and other Italian cities catered to these customers and therefore specialized in vernacular books, written in common everyday scripts such as *littera mercantesca*. Spurred on by a demand for books of hours, a particular favorite of women, the new urban book trade completely replaced the monastic

scriptoria as producers of deluxe illuminated books. Books of courtly poetry, which had been produced in Provençal for traditional aristocratic readers, were now translated into Italian for the new urban readers. And of course vernacular prose and poetic works from such great Italian authors as Dante (1265-1321), Petrarch (1304-1374), and Boccaccio (1313-1375) soon filled many volumes. It was in these volumes, especially those of Petrarch, that a new model for Italian books emerged. Petrarch rejected the medieval Gothic book, particularly because of its ugly, cramped script and its awkward size. He advocated a much more legible and less abbreviated script based on Carolingian minuscule, which he believed to be the script of the ancients. He also advocated a much smaller and more manageable book that would easily fit the hand and make reading an easy and comfortable act. He was ultimately concerned with the book as an extension of the authorial persona. In Florence at the end of the century, Niccolò Niccoli (1364-1437), a merchant and scholar; Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), a young scribe; and the statesman Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406) created the mature model envisioned by Petrarch. Though it was not the small, intimate book Petrarch had hoped for, it was nonetheless elegant, legible, and authoritative. The humanist book of the fourteenth century is a hallmark of the Renaissance and remains today an unquestioned model for fine bookmaking.

See also Benedict of Nursia, Saint; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Cassiodorus; Dante Alighieri; Farfa; Gregory I, Pope; Palaeography; Petrarca, Francesco

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Botany and Botanical Lore

Like animals, plants of every imaginable kind made their way into early Christian literature, which eventually became a source for the herbals and medical texts of the late Middle Ages. Among the earliest church fathers to gather information about plants systematically was Melito, bishop of Sardis (d. 190), whose *Clavis scripturae* (*Keys to the Scriptures*) was composed of several books: *De bestiis*, *De lignis et floribus*, *De avibus*, and *De mundus*. In the section *On Wood and Flowers*, Melito offers brief symbolic attributes of plants based on the scriptures. This approach to the natural world was later amplified in works such as sermons by Ambrose, bishop of Milan (Saint Ambrose, d. 397; *Hexameron*, "Paradise," "Cain and Abel"), and the early church

father Basil (c. 329–379; *Homilies*). These were followed by the encyclopedic, theological, and narrative texts of later medieval writers such as Saint Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury (d. 709, in *Aenigmatum liber*, or *Book of Riddles*); Hrabanus Maurus (c. 784–856, in *De universo mundi*); Hildegard of Bingen (c. 1099–1179, in *De physica*); Petrus Comestor (eleventh century, in *Historia scholastica*); Herrad, abbess of Landsberg (c. 1130–1195, in *Hortus deliciarum*, or *Garden of Delights*); Albertus Magnus (bishop of Ratisbon, 1193–1206); Bartholomaeus Anglicus (fl. c. 1220–1240, in *De proprietatibus rerum*, or *On the Properties of Things*); and Petrus de Mora (in *De rosa*).

Very early in medieval botanical literature we find comments and commentaries on plants that diverge from the the early church fathers; these follow instead the Aristotelian approach of documenting natural phenomena, as exemplified in *Theophrastus (On the Enquiry into Plants)*. From the Aristotelian tradition emerged the first compilations of plant descriptions and lore that had medicinal value. For example, Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (second century B.C.) was a major source of plant lore in the Middle Ages. Aemilius Macer Floridus's *De viribus herbarum* (*Rufinus's Herbal*, c. 16 B.C.) was copied frequently during the ninth through twelfth centuries, when it was sometimes called *Materia medica* or *De viribus herbarum*. A version under the title *De viribus herbarum* was one of the first printed books. In this apotropaic tradition, the work that was most famous and most frequently copied and cited was by Apuleius Barbarus Sextus (c. 400); it was known under several titles: *De medicaminibus herbarum*, *Herbarius Apulei Platonici*, *Herbarium se Sextus Apuleius Barbarus*, and *De herbarum virtutibus*. A notable example of medicinal herbals is a Greek herbal by the physician Dioscorides Pedanius of Anazarbos (c. 40–90); the earliest surviving manuscript is the beautifully illustrated *Dioscorides* of Anicia Juliana (512). Walafriad Strabo's *Hortulus* (c. 840) deals with plants strictly from a gardener's and poet's point of view, offering no symbolic analogies but some lore about the medicinal value of each plant mentioned.

In the late Middle Ages there was an infusion of Arabic texts on the medicinal value of plants, particularly in and around Arabic-Italian communities of southern Italy such as the one at Salerno, and a type of medical book combining eastern and western lore emerged in the

thirteenth century. Among books of this type is *Circa instans* by Matthaes Platearius (c. 1130-1161), a larger version of the Salernitan texts, which were usually small books called *Pocketbooks of Health* (*Taccuinum sanitatis*) or *Pocketbooks of Salerno* (*Taccuinum salernitatum*). These books purported to be based on secret knowledge of curative and poisonous attributes of plants.

The encyclopedists often integrated apocryphal lore with references to scripture and to the sermons of the church fathers; following their works, another form of commentary on plants emerged in popular literature and travel narratives. These texts include *L'acerba* (c. 1314) by Cecco d'Ascoli (1269-1327); *Mirror of Human Salvation* (*Speculum humanae salvationis*, anonymous), which was probably based in part on *Mirror of Nature* (*Speculum naturale*) by Vincent of Beauvais; and various "leg-ends"—of Seth, the infancy of Christ (*Protoevangelary Infancy*), Adam and Eve, the unicorn, and the oak. Other works in this vein include Herrad of Landsberg's *Hortus deliciarum* and the *Golden Legend* (*Legenda aurea*) of the prelate Jacobus da Voragine (1228 or 1230-1298). Popular Italian poetry dedicated to the Virgin, though based on prototypes found mostly in Psalms, abounds in references to Mary as a rose, a violet, a *hortus conclusus* (enclosed garden), and a wreath of flowers (*ghirlanda*).

By the fourteenth century, a significant amount of information on plants had been accumulated, including apocryphal lore, symbolic commentaries, and medicinal herbals. Each type of information was treated in its own separate category and used for some particular end—therapeutic, homeopathic, symbolic, poetic, or practical (as nourishment).

In the fifteenth century, there was a brief nourishing of plant symbolism that would continue to have an impact for the next two centuries; but this symbolism was of a different character from that in the Middle Ages and included another ingredient: legends from classical literature. Much later, in the eighteenth century, this large body of plant images and lore would be transcended by a rationalistic approach, and the documentation of Linnaeus would supersede ancient and Christian traditions in an attempt to achieve completely objective observation and scientific classification.

See also Allegory; Aviary; Bestiaries; Physiologus

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Brescia

Brescia occupies a strategic position at the mouth of Val Trompia on the road from Verona to Bergamo. It was originally the capital of the Cenomani Celts of Cisalpine Gaul. It became an ally of Rome in 225 B.C. and an imperial colony under Augustus in 27 B.C. The rectangular city plan preserves traces of the Roman plan, and significant remains erected by Vespasian in the first century after Christ survive. By tradition Brescia was the main suffragan see of Milan, and according to legend, the first bishop was consecrated by Barnabas, the companion of the apostle Paul. The city was certainly an episcopal see by the end of the fourth century, when Gaudentius (died c. 410) is recorded as bishop.

Brescia was sacked by the Huns under Attila c. 450 and conquered by the Lombards in 596. According to Paul the Deacon, it became the seat of several Lombard noble families, and by 601 it was the seat of a duchy under Rothari (d. 652), later king of the Lombards. Desiderius, the last Lombard king, was duke of Brescia before he obtained the crown in 756. His wife Ansa founded the Benedictine monastery of San Salvatore, which subsequently became one of the most powerful monasteries in northern Italy as a result of royal patronage. Early in the Carolingian period, the Frankish Supponid family obtained comital privileges in Brescia. Through royal gifts and fiefs the Supponids assembled extensive holdings in Lombardy and western Emilia. In the succession crisis following the death of Louis II in 875, they were crucial supporters of their kinsman Berengar I (d. 924), duke of Friuli, who became king of Lombardy in 888. During Berengar's reign, a threat of Hungarian raids led to the fortification of the city and its suburbs.

By the beginning of the eleventh century, Brescia was part of a trading network that included several Lombard cities to which it was linked by the Oglio River. A growing prosperity was reflected in the construction of a new cathedral over the sixth-century basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, of which floor mosaics survive. The cathedral, known

as La Rotonda because of its central plan, is a good example of Lombard Romanesque. Sources of this period refer to a count of Brescia, but the bishop appears to have been the dominant political figure. There is evidence that the citizens conducted diplomatic negotiations as early as 969; and in 1038 an association of 154 citizens forced Bishop Uldericus to concede jurisdiction over territory adjacent to the city. The bishops nevertheless remained powerful well into the twelfth century. In 1139, Bishop Manfred (d. 1153) secured from Innocent II the condemnation and exile of Arnold of Brescia (d. 1155), whose teachings on poverty and church reform supported a citizenry independent of the church's control.



La Rotonda, or old *duomo*, Brescia. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The first reference to a commune and a citizens' assembly dates from 1120. By 1127, the commune was appointing magistrates called consuls, drawn from powerful local families. The Brescian commune allied itself with Milan, Bergamo, and Mantua against Emperor Frederick I and joined the first Lombard League in 1167. In the mid-twelfth century, a senior consul appears to have exercised authority over a college whose number varied, while merchant consuls oversaw trade, perhaps in connection with the establishment of a new market in 1173. After 1182, consuls alternated with a *podestà* (podesta, a chief magistrate). The

influence of Milan over Brescian affairs was reflected in the appointment of the Milanese Guglielmo de Osa as the first podesta. Several buildings survive from the communal period. The Torre del Popolo at the northern end of the Piazza del Duomo dates from the eleventh century. The adjacent palace of the commune, the Broletto, was begun in 1187 but was not completed until 1235. The defensive walls were enlarged in 1184-1186 and again between 1235 and 1249; the Castello that dominates the city from the Cidneo Hill was rebuilt by the Visconti in the fourteenth century. The Romanesque churches of Santa Giulia and Santa Maria in Solario were built in the twelfth century. Though much altered in the fifteenth century, the Romanesque-Gothic church of San Francesco retains its thirteenth-century plan and facade.

By 1200, Brescia was dominated by armed aristocratic factions whose conflicts reflected the quarrels between Guelfs and Ghibellines in Milan. After 1227, Brescia sided with the Milanese Guelf faction of the della Torre against Frederick II, who unsuccessfully besieged the city in 1238. The commune's victory was short-lived: beginning in 1258 Brescia was held in succession by the Ghibelline *signori* (lords) Ezzelino da Romano, Oberto Pallavicino, and Buoso da Dovara, passing finally to the Guelf Charles of Anjou in 1266. The growth of the *popolo*, a broader-based association of citizens, was reflected in this period by the expansion of the communal council to 2,000 members, the establishment of popular institutions parallel to those of the commune, and the construction of a Palazzo del Popolo in 1285. These developments, however, coincided with a rise in factionalism that perpetuated the domination of the city by a succession of *signori* in the second half of the thirteenth century.

In 1311, Brescia was captured by Emperor Henry VII and incorporated into the Veronese empire of the della Scala. Reconquered for the Guelfs in 1316 by Robert of Anjou, the city was forced to seek protection against Ghibelline exiles by placing itself under the lordship of John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, in 1330, only to be taken two years later by Mastino della Scala. In 1339, Azzone Visconti, who had been elected *signore* of Milan, captured Brescia. Thereafter, except for a short period under the Malatesta early in the fifteenth century, the city remained under the control of the Visconti until 1426, when it was conquered by the Venetians.

See also Arnold of Brescia; Delia Scala Family; Desiderius; Frankish Kingdom; Ghibelline; Guelfs; Lombards; Milan; Verona; Visconti Family

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Brindisi

Brindisi, in a sheltered inlet beyond a natural harbor on the Adriatic coast, has been an important port city since its origins. According to various legends it was founded by the Greek Diomedes, returning from the Trojan war, or by Cretans from Knossos; but it seems to have developed by the seventh or sixth century B.C. as a port town used by a local people, the Messapians, in their trade with neighboring Greek settlements. For a long time, it competed with the important Greek city of Taranto (Tarentum) for domination of the "heel" of Italy. However, the true significance of Brindisi began in 266 B.C. with its incorporation into Roman Italy, and with its eclipse of Taranto when that city fell to Rome during the Pyrrhic war. Brindisi formally became a Roman colony in 244 B.C. as Brundisium. It was rewarded for its steadfast loyalty to Rome after the battle of Cannae, and it became the chief Roman naval base during the Punic war and the wars against the Illyrian pirates.

Meanwhile, the Via Appia, running to Taranto and terminating at Brindisi, was completed in the late third century B.C.; its completion made Brindisi the Mediterranean gateway for Rome and the principal port for traffic to and from Italy. Brindisi also offered a junction with Via Egnatia, which extended from Aquileia in northern Italy across the Balkan Peninsula and connected to Thessaloniki and eventually to Constantinople; thus Brindisi soon became the counterpart of Durazzo (Dyracchium or Epidamnus, modern Durres in Albania) across the Adriatic. In 49 B.C., Caesar attempted to bottle up his rival Pompey in Brindisi, and nine years later Brindisi was the venue for the *foedus brundisium*, a brief reconciliation between Mark Antony and Octavian; both events suggest the importance of the city. After peace was restored, Horace described the journey from Rome to Brundisium in a famous satire; and here, on 21 September 19 B.C., the weary Virgil died upon returning from Greece—according to local tradition (and a plaque), the house by the harbor where he died, or at least its site, can be identified. Brindisi became even more accessible when Trajan constructed an alternative coastal road, Appia Traiana, opened in 109 A.D.; its terminus at Brindisi's harbor was marked by two columns, one

of which still stands. Under the Romans, Brindisi remained prosperous for generations, as travelers of every stripe, from emperors to slaves, passed through it to enter or leave Italy by sea.

Tradition dates the beginning of the Christianization of Brindisi to Saint Leucio in the second century, and it became the seat of a bishopric. But with the disruption of Roman rule, Brindisi began to decline. After being held for a time by the Ostrogoths, it was retaken by the reconquests of Justinian and was used as a command post by Byzantine generals in their struggle with Totila. In the second half of the seventh century it passed into the hands of the Lombards, becoming the southernmost holding of the duchy of Benevento. It was devastated repeatedly by raiding Saracens, who briefly occupied it until 868, when the Frankish emperor Louis II destroyed it. With the restoration of Byzantine government in Puglia (Apulia) in the late tenth century, Brindisi was revived, and its bishopric—which had been removed for some time—was not only restored but elevated to an archbishopric, under the see of Constantinople. Nevertheless, Brindisi suffered in recurrent wars between the Byzantine rulers and the dukes of Benevento. Then it became a prey of the Normans, who finally occupied it in 1071, when they also took Bari. The victorious Robert Guiscard awarded Brindisi to his brother Godfrey, but it became a crown possession under Roger II (1095-1154), the son of another brother of Robert Guiscard. Under Roger and his successors the city was a pivot for the Normans' naval operations. At the same time, the revival of maritime traffic in the Mediterranean, the recurrent passage of crusaders, and the rapid expansion of pilgrimages all made Brindisi once again a lively and significant port and commercial center.

Until the 1150s, the Byzantines made sporadic efforts to recover the city, culminating in the machinations of Emperor Manuel I, but without real success. (By tradition, some of the city's churches were allowed to retain the Greek rite.) In contrast, Brindisi was one of the strongholds of the last Norman king, Tancred of Lecce, in his struggle with the Hohenstaufen claimant, Emperor Henry VI. Henry's son Frederick II (1194–1250) granted Brindisi numerous privileges, but he also built one of his strong fortresses there, and passed it on to his own son Manfred.

With the coming of the Angevins, Brindisi received new fortifications, an arsenal, expanded port facilities, new churches, and

further privileges. But the price was a disruptive involvement in the dynastic wars that plagued the Angevin realm during the fourteenth century. Brindisi was sacked in 1352 by Louis the Great of Hungary, of the Durazzo branch of the Angevins; and in 1383 by Louis I of Anjou, of the Neapolitan branch. The sack of 1383 was followed by the stormy lordship of Raimondo Orsini del Balzo and the ravages of his policies of war.

During one phase of Aragonese rule, efforts to protect the city from Turkish attacks prompted alterations of the port entries that nearly destroyed the harbor. In 1456, an earthquake badly damaged the city; Ferdinand of Aragon sponsored its rebuilding. For a brief time (1496—1509), Brindisi was held by the Venetians. The reestablishment of Spanish rule initiated an era of decay and decline that was not arrested until 1869, when the opening of the Suez Canal revived Brindisi's commercial prospects.

The city today still preserves a number of fine medieval monuments. The Romanesque cathedral, which incorporates elements of earlier construction, was first dedicated by Urban II in 1089, and work on it continued until 1132. Frederick II celebrated his marriage to Yolanda of Jerusalem at the cathedral in 1225. Although it was considerably rebuilt in the eighteenth century; it still preserves noteworthy sections of mosaic pavement dating from 1178. Particularly interesting is San Giovanni al Sepolcro, a large circular baptistery built by the Knights Templar in the late eleventh century on the remains of an early Christian structure and later passed from the Templars to the Hospitallers (Knights of Saint John). Its horseshoe-shaped ambulatory has columns with some finely sculptured capitals, and its walls are decorated with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century frescoes.



Fountain of Tancredi, Brindisi. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

Another early Romanesque church, San Benedetto (1080), has imaginative interior and exterior sculptural decoration and a lovely cloister. The Romanesque church of Santa Lucia preserves interesting architectural and decorative features, although it has been repeatedly rebuilt and altered. The crypt (1225) is especially fine, and the church itself retains fragments (twelfth-fourteenth centuries) of what must originally have been extensive fresco decoration. The small thirteenth-century Chiesa del Cristo (del Crocifisso) has a richly decorated facade, and the interior preserves a thirteenth-century wooden crucifix of unusual significance.

The Swabian castle (1227) is largely a construction of Frederick II, with subsequent additions by Ferdinand of Aragon (1481) and Charles V (1550). The Palazzetto Balsamo is notable for its charming sculptural decoration (early fourteenth century).

Just outside the old city are two more monuments of interest, the Fountain of Tancred and Santa Maria del Casale. The Fountain of Tancred, along the main road to the west of the castle, is said to have been built in 1192 to commemorate a political marriage: that of Eirene Angelina, daughter of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos, to Roger, the ill-fated son of the equally ill-starred Tancred of Lecce, the last Norman king. (After Isaac and Tancred were defeated, Eirene was married off by the victorious Hohenstaufen emperor, Henry VI, to his

brother, Philip of Swabia.) Tradition has it that the Fountain of Tancred was a favorite stopping-place for pilgrims and crusaders on their way into the city.

About 3 kilometers (1.8 miles) north of the city center is the impressive church of Santa Maria del Casale, an ambitious structure in mixed Romanesque-Gothic style erected in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century by Philip of Anjou, prince of Taranto. Its facade is decorated with elaborate geometric designs in two-color stone mosaic. There is also handsome sculptural work, and the interior has unusually fine frescoes: a grand Last Judgment, signed by Rinaldo da Taranto, plus a full cycle of supplemental scenes, all in the Byzantine revival style of the early fourteenth century.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Bari; Benevento; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Justinian I; Lombards; Louis II, Emperor; Manfred; Normans; Ostrogoths; Robert Guiscard; Roger II; Tancred of Lecce and Roger III, Kings of Sicily; Totila; Virgil

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Bronze Doors

Bronze (an alloy of copper and tin) was one of the most prestigious materials in antiquity, and the casting of doors in bronze, requiring considerable technical expertise, was highly prized. Bronze doors still survive from antiquity and can be seen, for example, at the church of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome. These are plain, without figurative illustrations.

In the Romanesque period bronze doors became a fashionable and costly feature of prestigious programs of church decoration, especially in the Italian peninsula. The principal difference in their design, in comparison with antique doors, was in the introduction of narrative illustrations, usually scenes from the life of Christ or scenes having to do with local saints. Narrative is one of the key elements of Romanesque art.

Italy in the eleventh century did not have a tradition of bronze casting comparable to that developed in Germany at the end of the tenth century under the Ottonian rulers, or to that found in the Byzantine empire. One option, therefore, was to commission and import doors wholesale from elsewhere. An early example of this practice can be seen at Amalfi in southern Italy, where the doors for the cathedral were imported from Constantinople. Their design consists of incised figures with inlaid silver heads, hands, and feet (most of the silver has, however, been removed). These doors have an inscription giving their date (1066) and the name of their donor, Mauro, who came from the Mauronne family of Amalfi—wealthy merchants with trading links in Constantinople. Saint Mark's in Venice has similar doors, which were obtained from Constantinople; its central nave door, however, was commissioned locally by Leo da Molino (who is himself represented on them, prostrate before Saint Mark) in or c. 1112 and is generally thought to have been made in Venice.



Door of *duomo* Amalfi. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

In contrast, it is thought that a team of itinerant metalworkers from Saxony in Germany were hired to produce the original doors for the church of San Zeno in Verona, in northern Italy. These are very different in style and technique from the Byzantine doors discussed above. They are unusually wide for church doors, probably as a result of enlargement at the end of the twelfth century. These doors have forty-eight bronze panels attached to a wooden backing, with figures set off in high relief. Two distinct styles have been distinguished in their execution: the earlier of the two styles is roughly contemporary with

the construction of the church in the 1130s and was probably produced by the team of Saxon artists; the later additions belong to the late twelfth century and appear to be the product of local artists, as their figure style is very close to that of the portal sculpture. The doors have illustrations from both the Old and the New Testaments as well as from the life of the titular saint, Zeno.

In the second half of the twelfth century bronze casting in Italy began to flourish, and indigenous workshops arose. Two distinctive artistic personalities stand out: Barisano of Trani and Bonanno of Pisa. In an age when artists are usually anonymous, the fact that they are identified by means of inscriptions is an indication of their status.



Bronze doors, church of San Zeno, Verona. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Barisano of Trani was responsible for executing the doors of the cathedral in Ravello (which bear the date 1179) and at Trani. He worked closely within the Byzantine tradition, although using low relief rather than the silver inlay technique favored by the Byzantines. The doors at Ravello may be taken as representative of his work. They contain largely single-figure subjects, principally the apostles, but also narrative scenes from the New Testament such as a Deposition. Barisano appears

to have reused molds, as subjects identical to those found at Ravello recur in other works by him. Barisano later worked on the most prestigious artistic commission of the period, the great monastic church—later the cathedral—of Monreale, near Palermo, which the last Norman ruler of Sicily, King William II, commissioned as a dynastic mausoleum. Barisano was responsible for the doors on the northern side of the church, which provide an entrance to the nave and are usually dated between 1185 and 1189. These doors are in low relief and have largely single-figure subjects.



Bronze doors of *duomo* (Barisano da Trani), Ravello. Photograph courtesy of Christopher KJehnenz.

Bonanno of Pisa's style and technique may be aligned with the German tradition found at San Zeno in Verona, grafted onto indigenous artistic traditions. His most important commission was for the doors of the west facade of the cathedral of Pisa, which were completed in 1180 but were destroyed by fire in 1595. Bonanno's doors for the south transept (the Porta di San Ranieri), however, survive. They contain narrative illustrations from the life of Christ, beginning at the bottom left with an Annunciation and ending at the top right with an Ascension, and, above that, a double panel representing Christ and the Virgin Mary enthroned. Between these narrative scenes are interspersed figures of prophets. A noteworthy feature in certain scenes on these doors is the presence of palm trees, which give a sense of place. Bonanno of Pisa also worked at Monreale, where he was responsible for the doors for the west portal, which bear the date 1186 and are far more ambitious in design than those by Barisano in the north portal. They are the largest bronze doors to survive from the Romanesque period—about 26 feet (7.8 meters) by 12 feet (3.7 meters)—and they contain an extensive iconographic program of illustrations from the Old and New Testaments.

White (1988) has demonstrated the importance of Bonanno's doors at Pisa and Monreale, with their clear, legible designs, for later developments in *Trecento* narrative art. They were an important source for Andrea Pisano in the design of the south doors of the Baptistry of the cathedral in Florence, which were commissioned in 1329 by the Calimala (wool importers) guild. The bronze doors of Romanesque Italy rank among the greatest artistic and technical achievements of the period.

See also Amalfi; Monreale; Pisa; Pisano, Andrea; Trani; Verona

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Brunetto Latini

Brunetto (c. 1220-1294) was active in Florentine public life as a *notaio* (notary) or lawyer by 1254. In 1260, he was sent as ambassador by the Florentine commune to King Alfonso X el Sabio (the Wise) of Castile, with the aim of enlisting Alfonso—a Guelf—in the struggle against Manfred and the Ghibellines. Brunetto was returning from this embassy, according to his *Tesoretto* (verses 123-162), when he met at the Pass of Roncesvalles a student from Bologna who told him of the Guelfs' defeat at Montaperti (4 September 1260). Brunetto then spent six years of exile in France until the defeat and death of Manfred at Benevento (28 February 1266). During his exile Brunetto visited friars at Montpellier (*Tesoretto*, 2539-2545); wrote notarial letters at Paris (September 1263) and Bar-sur-Aube (April 1264); and composed his two most important didactical works: the prose *Livres dou trésor* (*Book of the Treasure*) in the Picardian dialect, and the verse *Tesoretto* (*Little Treasure*) in his native Tuscan. In France Brunetto also wrote his *Rettorica*, an Italian translation of and commentary on the first seventeen chapters of Cicero's *De inventione*. After returning to Florence, Brunetto held a series of important public offices and was frequently consulted by the Florentine government. He introduced the *stilus altus* (high style) of the imperial chancery into Florentine letters; he also continued his efforts toward public education by translating a

number of Ciceronian orations into Italian and composing his *Sommetta*, a collection of letters for teaching *ars dictaminis*. Brunetto was married and was the father of a daughter and two sons. He was buried at Santa Maria Maggiore, Florence.

In both *Trésor* and *Tesoretto*, Brunetto strove for a compendium of diverse technical information, but any closer association that he may have intended for these works remains unclear. Since he decided to write in the vernacular, both works are aimed at a secular readership, although in different ways: in *Trésor* he transposes Latin learning into a flourishing Romance koine for popular use, whereas *Tesoretto* fosters Italian as a *vulgaris illustris* (refined vernacular). Brunetto followed the example of the *Roman de la Rose* (c. 1225-1230) of Guillaume de Lorris—predating the continuation of the *Roman* by Jean de Meun (Jean Chopinel, Jean de Meung, c. 1269-1278) and beginning an interest in this great allegory of love that would absorb four or five generations of Italian poets. This early italianization of the *Roman de la Rose* proved to be rough going: the narrator of *Tesoretto* repeatedly interrupts himself to lament that its heptasyllabic couplets impose constrictions on his burgeoning material.

Tesoretto opens with an adulatory dedication to an anonymous *valente signore* (skillful lord), a man peerless in all the arts of peace and war, surpassing even the respective virtues of such figures as Solomon, Alexander, and Cicero. The narrative introduces the political turmoil that occasioned Brunetto's embassy to Alfonso the Wise; but then the student's calamitous news and his own exile cause his thoughts to turn inward, he loses his way in a forest, and the historic-biographical scene modulates into a visionary landscape. There his thoughts revive, and he observes the vast spectacle of Nature, a personification closely akin to figures in two other influential models for *Tesoretto*: Boethius's *Consolatio philosophiae* (*Consolation of Philosophy*) and Alanus de Insuii's *De planctu naturae* (*Lament of Nature*). Nature instructs Brunetto in the history and metaphysics of creation, in human psychology and physiognomy, and in astronomy and geography. Carrying Nature's *insegna* (banner) to guard against evil, Brunetto moves from cosmology to ethics: he proceeds to the court of the empress Virtue, who, with her four daughter-queens, is encircled by magnates and scholars. He overhears the practical advice—mostly

concerning interrelations of honor and finance—given to a knight by Larghezza (Largesse), Cortesia (Courtesy), and Prode-ffa (Prowess, who counsels the knight to hire a lawyer before opting to avenge a tort bodily). The narrator then decides to seek Fortune, parting from the knight and going to the right along a forking road to arrive at a fair meadow, the Kingdom of Love. There follows an excursus on the psychology of pleasure until the narrator, exasperatingly, falls subject to Cupid's power; suddenly, however, he sees Ovid, who teaches him self-mastery in matters of love. He next journeys to the friars at Montpellier, where *Tesoretto* closes on a note of penitent introspection and reopens (verse 2427) in the *modus dicendi* (style) of a personal letter. Now acutely conscious of the ambiguity of this world, and of its characteristically slippery language, Brunetto is disposed to ask his *fino amico caro* (dear friend): *Nonsai tu ke lo mondo/Si dovria dir "non mondo"?* (2457-2458, "Don't you know that the world/Itself should be called impure?"). The glorious personages invoked in the dedication are now seen to have been vanquished by death, and Brunetto's previous investment in fame is retracted through an exposition of the seven deadly sins, with pride foremost. Brunetto is then sufficiently penitent to take up his journey to the seven liberal arts, forgoing his search for Fortune. Finally he finds himself on Mount Olympus, where he meets Ptolemy; the poem breaks off (2944) just as Ptolemy is about to respond to a question on the interlinking of the four elements.

Tesoretto has recently been characterized as an Ovidian "art and remedy of fame"; be that as it may, Dante Alighieri evidently found Brunetto himself in need of therapy. The hunger for knowledge that inspired *Trésor* and impels Brunetto through *Tesoretto* informs—more or less directly—the controversial depiction in Canto 15 in Dante's *Inferno*, where Brunetto appears among the sodomites, bitterly cursing the Florentines for not overcoming their savage origins. Dante's Brunetto believes that the published treasure of his learning (*mio Tesoro*) can effect a kind of worldly immortality, and Dante honors him for teaching *come l'uom s'eterna* ("how man makes himself immortal," 85). However, it remains to be answered why Dante damned his Brunetto, his former teacher, to this part of hell. The grammar teacher as pederast was, often, little more than a common trope; thus critics have been skeptical about the idea that Dante was imputing

homosexuality to Brunetto—either they deny the notion (for which, in fact, there is no evidence) or they contextualize it, correctly identifying the medieval use of "sodomy" as connoting various forms of behavior, sexual or not, that signify violence done to nature. In this sense, Dante could also be implying that Brunetto betrayed his heritage by seeking renown through his French writings and thereby committing an unnatural act against his mother tongue (cf. *Convivio*, 1:10-13).

Tesoretto survives in sixteen manuscripts. Its influence, though considerable, was confined mostly to *Trecento* Italy. Boccaccio was sufficiently inspired by it to extend its general enterprise in his *Amorosa visione*, adapting French narrative models to Italian conditions for expressly didactic purposes.

See also Allegory; Ars Dictaminis; Dante Alighieri; Florence

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Bruno of Segni

Bruno (c. 1040 or 1050-1123) was educated at the schools of Bologna, which were becoming increasingly important during his time. In 1079, he was sent to Rome for a synod on the eucharistic doctrine of Berengar of Tours. There, reportedly, Bruno's vigorous denunciation of Berengar carried the day and won him the friendship of Pope Gregory VII. That same year, Bruno was consecrated bishop of Segni.

Bruno traveled regularly in Gregory's entourage and was an outspoken supporter of the pope. In 1082, Bruno was briefly imprisoned by Count Aynulf of Segni, a partisan of Emperor Henry IV. Bruno later served actively under popes Victor III (r. 1086-1087) and Urban II (1088-1099), and he attended several councils, including Clermont (1095).

In 1103, Bruno entered the abbey of Monte Cassino; in 1107, despite his prolonged absences, he was elected its abbot. If Bruno saw this as a possible step toward the papacy, he was right: John of Gaeta, who had been a monk at Monte Cassino, became Pope Gelasius II (r. 1118-1119). However, Bruno himself, after vehemently criticizing Pope Paschal II (r. 1099—1118) for signing the Concordat of Sutri (1111), was forced to return to Segni, where he died.

The great number of Bruno's extant works, including homilies and scriptural and liturgical commentaries, testify amply to the high regard his contemporaries had for his skill as an exegete. His work is more innovative as political allegory than as theology, and it offers the historian valuable insights into the rhetorical battles of the reform movement.

There are no critical editions of Bruno's works, with the exception of one letter available in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de lite*; however, the manuscripts have been examined by Grégoire (1965).

Bruno's extant works are contained in *Patrologia Latina* (Vols. 164-165).

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Buffalmacco, Bonamico

The fourteenth-century Tuscan painter Bonamico Buffalmacco was celebrated by fabulists for his great wit but remains one of the more obscure characters in the history of late medieval Italian art. Some scholars argue that Buffalmacco participated in the decoration of significant projects, including an important (and highly controversial) Pisan fresco, but little documentation has been unearthed that might either confirm or disconfirm his contribution to the visual arts.

What we know with certainty about this elusive figure can be summed up briefly. In archival sources, there are three references to a painter named Bonamicus. In 1320, he is mentioned as a member of

Giotto's workshop. He appears in a Pisan document in 1336, promising to return to a priest five gold florins paid as an advance on an unfinished altarpiece. In 1341, Bonamicus is named as the painter of a fresco (now damaged) in the bishop's chapel in the Duomo at Arezzo. Beyond these meager traces, nothing of substance can be said about the life or work of Bonamicus.

Thanks to the musings of Boccaccio, however, specialists in the trecento are confronted with a tantalizingly complete, although unsubstantiated, biography of this Bonamicus. A "Bo namico," with the surname Buffalmacco added, is featured in four stories in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (8:3, 6, 9 and 9:5). This character is presented as a clever, astute, and keenly observant painter, but easily distracted and more interested in playing pranks than in creating pictures. His foil in two stories is Calendrino, a halfwit who manages to endure both a stoning by Buffalmacco and the consumption of dog ginger dipped in sweetened aloe. There is absolutely nothing to suggest that Buffalmacco is anything more than a figment of Boccaccio's active imagination, just as there is no evidence to suggest that Calendrino (or Pampinea or Filomena, for that matter) was a living Florentine. Perhaps Boccaccio's Buffalmacco, whose name derives from the Italian word for humor or joke (*buffo*), is merely a stereotype of trecento painters.

Not surprisingly, however, Boccaccio's account caught the attention of later writers. Franco Sacchetti (c. 1330–1400) included Buffalmacco in novella 161 of his *Trecentonovelle*, where the painter again appears as a wisecracking savant; and both Ghiberti and Vasari worked strenuously to create a body of work for the man. More recently, some scholars have tried to reconstruct Buffalmacco's supposed career, using the three archival references to the mysterious Bonamicus as the basis for their conclusions.

Perhaps the most elaborate attempt to reconstruct Bufralmacco's career was Beilosi's (1974). Bellosi not only elevated Bonamicus to the status of a major master but also identified him as the painter responsible for the important fresco *Triumph of Death* in the Camposanto in Pisa. Although the archival entry of 1336 places Bonamicus in Pisa at a convenient, albeit early, time, Beilosi's theory is problematic, for there is no consensus on the date of the *Triumph of Death*: Longhi and Meiss believed the painting to have been executed

after the black death, but Bellosi (1974) and De Benedictis (1974) have argued that it was done before the plague. In either case, though, there is still no hard evidence that Buffalmacco was its painter, or even a real person.

In the end, all we can safely say is that Bonamicus Buffalmacco's biography and works are shrouded in mystery because of an irritating lack of documentation. We know so little about him that it is impossible to say anything more substantial.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Pisa; Sacchetti, Franco**

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Bulgars

Among the peoples of late antiquity called barbarians were the Bulgars, originally seminomadic Central Asians speaking a probably Turkic language. Many Bulgars moved into the eastern Danube provinces of the Roman empire in the late fifth century; some served with the Roman (early Byzantine) army, mostly as mounted troops, and some of these may have seen combat in Italy when it was being reconquered for the empire. Gregory the Great has a story in Book 4 of the *Dialogues* involving a Bulgar soldier on Narses's staff speaking the (exotic) Bulgar tongue in the city of Rome in the 550s or 560s. Paul the Deacon (c. 720-c. 799) tells us that Bulgars formed part of the ethnic

assortment brought into Italy by the Lombards in their migration of the late 560s and that the Bulgars had left their mark in the names of villages still in use in his own day. An organized group of Bulgars said to have been part of a large diaspora from the qaganate of Great Bulgaria to the northeast of the Black Sea entered Roman territory in the exarchate of Ravenna c. 660 and were settled in the Pentapolis. Not long afterward, a sizable Bulgar military force accompanied by the soldiers' families offered its services to the Lombard king Grimoald I. This force was sent to the duchy of Benevento, and its members were given lands in present-day Molise, where their leader, Alzec, became a local *gastald*. In Paul the Deacon's time their descendants still used their original language but also spoke Latin. Human graves dated c. 650-700 indicating practices associated with steppe culture (including horse burials) have been found in the part of Molise where these Bulgars are said to have settled; the graves may well document this element of the ethnic mix in early medieval Italy.

Also in the later seventh century, many Bulgars settled in the lower Danube region in areas still nominally Roman; the qaganate they formed there is the ancestor of modern Bulgaria. Over time they were assimilated into the general population and became Slavic-speakers. In contemporary sources, their Slavic descendants and successors are also called Bulgars; this usage of the term really specifies a region of origin. Eugenius Vulgarius, a Campanian poet and churchman of the late ninth and early tenth century whose culture was both Latin and Greek, may have had such Bulgarian antecedents. Most of the presumably Bulgar place-names attested to in medieval Italy do not appear in the records before the eleventh century, although the district in northern Lombardy called Bulgaria or Burgaria is a prominent exception. These place-names are now usually thought to reflect local Bulgarian settlements (known to have occurred at various times) or the presence of Bogomils (members of this originally Bulgarian sect were often called Bulgari) but not that of earlier, unslavicized Bulgars. Some too may have completely different etymologies unrelated either to Bulgars or to Bulgarians.

See also **Lombards**

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Buoncompagno Da Signa

Together with Bene da Firenze and Guido Faba, Buoncompagno (or Boncompagno, c. 1165-c. 1240) was among the leading representatives of the Bolognese school of the rhetorical *ars dictaminis* (art of prose composition) during its heyday in the thirteenth century, and of these three he was by far the most versatile and colorful. He was born in Signa, near Florence, sometime between 1165 and 1175. He began his studies in Florence and probably completed them in Bologna. By 1194, he had begun his career in Bologna as a teacher (*magister*) of rhetoric; eventually he became the preeminent doctor of that discipline, which served largely as a propaedeutic to the study of law. (At the time, law predominated in the university at Bologna.) After 1215, he worked in Venice, Reggio, and Padua; he returned to Bologna by 1235, but in 1240 we find him in Florence. The chronicler Salimbene of Parma also

reports that Buoncompagno tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain an appointment at the papal curia in Rome in 1240. Buoncompagno died, apparently in poverty, in the hospital of San Giovanni Evangelista in Florence.

Buoncompagno's writings centered on *ars dictaminis*, and his most influential work in this genre is the *Rhetorica antiqua*, or *Ancient Rhetoric*, also known as *Boncompagnus* (1215, revised 1226). This is primarily a vast collection of sample letters, arranged according to the social positions of writers and recipients, and covering a wide variety of situations from students' requests for money from home to correspondence with popes and emperors. It had been preceded by smaller works in the genre. *V tabule salutationum* (*Five Catalogs of Salutations*, c. 1194) gave a systematic overview of epistolary greetings, to which *X tabule* (*Ten Catalogs*) added instructions, now lost, for composing letters, privileges, orations, and wills. *Tractatus virtutum* (*Treatise on Virtues*, c. 1197) discussed virtues and vices of style. *Notule auree* (*Golden Notes*, c. 1197) provided suggestions for openings of letters, a subject revisited in *Breviloquium* (*Summary*, c. 1203). *Palma* (c. 1198) gave general rules for the main parts of a letter—salutation, narration, and petition—as well as for some secondary parts, such as the introduction (*exordium*), appeal for goodwill (*captatio benevolentiae*), and conclusion; it also discussed prose style. *Ysagoge* (1204) provided systematic instruction on salutations, the parts of the letter, and introductions. *Rota veneris* (before 1215) was a collection of sample exchanges of love letters, i.e., letters for initiating, maintaining, and ending amorous relationships; it thus was part of a tradition of *ars amatoria* exemplified by Ovid and Andreas Capellanus. In *Rota veneris*, Buoncompagno in effect constructed satirical (epistolary) *novellae*, anticipating aspects of the narrative art of Giovanni Boccaccio.

Buoncompagno's interest in prose composition extended beyond letters to various types of legal documents; thus he included within *ars dictaminis* elements of *ars notaria*, which received particular attention in the legally-oriented professional climate of Bologna. He published brief works on the writing of privileges and confirmations (*Oliva*, 1199), statutes (*Cedrus*, 1201), and wills (*Mirra*, after 1201).

While Buoncompagno's work reflects a general shift toward written composition in medieval rhetorical studies, he did not entirely neglect

the traditional focus of the discipline: oratory. His historical work on the siege of Ancona (c. 1172), *Liber de obsidione Ancone* (written between 1198 and 1200), echoes the rhetorical traditions of classical historiography both in its emphasis on the moral lessons of history (in this case the encouragement of the heroic defense of Italian liberties against a foreign oppressor) and in its inclusion of several orations during the course of the narrative. Moreover, Buoncompagno's second major treatise, *Rhetorica novissima* (1235), was devoted to training advocates in rhetoric for their oral pleadings; it represented an attempt (unsuccessful) to replace classical works such as Cicero's *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which continued to be used for such instruction in the Middle Ages. *Rhetorica novissima* also includes brief remarks on the conduct of negotiations and popular assemblies.

Rivalry with Cicero is also a theme of Buoncompagno's two philosophical tracts: *Liber de amicitia* (*Book of Friendship*, c. 1204) and *Libellus de malo senectutis et senii* (*Little Book on the Evils of Old Age and Decline*, c. 1240). In *Liber de amicitia*, Buoncompagno distinguishes twenty-six types of friends; since many of them are less than admirable, he is here undercutting more uplifting works such as Cicero's *De amicitia*. *Libellus de malo senectutis et senii*, Buoncompagno's pessimistic last work, is based on his sad experience of his own decline; here, then, he is undermining Cicero's paean to the blessings of old age, *De senectute*.

Many of the characteristics of Buoncompagno's writing that make it interesting to the modern reader—such as his lively flights of narrative fancy, his pervasive sense of irony and satire, his fondness for quirky digressions into obscure erudition, and his quarrelsome insistence on his originality—allow a strong individuality to emerge from his work. However, these same traits limited its practical impact in his own time, compared with the more mundane efforts of his less colorful contemporaries. Nevertheless, Buoncompagno's advocacy of a more direct and less artificial style of letter writing, in contrast to the classicizing and ornate approach favored by the Orléans school of *dictamen*, ultimately carried the day.

See also *Ars Dictaminis*; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Guido Faba; Notaries; Ovid; Ovid in the Middle Ages

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Buonconte Da Montefeltro

See Montefeltro Family

Buondelmonti Family

The Buondelmonti, an ancient Florentine noble family, first appear in records of the mid-eleventh century. In 1135, the Florentines destroyed the Buondelmonti's castle of Montebuoni in the Valdigueve, which had dominated the route to Siena. The family relocated to the city (see Dante, *Paradiso*, 16.66, 133-135), establishing a stronghold in Borgo Santi Apostoli. Members of the family served the imperial government of Frederick I Barbarossa in Tuscany, two as viscounts.

In February 1216, Buondelmonte de' Buondelmonti was murdered by Schiatta Uberti and Oddo Arrighi, after an insult at a banquet and a subsequent breaking of a betrothal; this killing set off a full-scale feud between the Uberti and the Buondelmonti. The Uberti and their followers, who supported the empire, took the name Ghibellines; the Buondelmonti and their followers, who supported the papacy, took the name Guelfs. (According to a chronicler, this was "the first time the new names were heard.") The resulting family feud lasted well into the fourteenth century.

In 1247, the Buondelmonti led the Guelfs' resistance to the imposition of Frederick of Antioch as Tuscan vicar-general by his father Frederick II. Their effort failed, and, along with other Guelfs, they fled the city. The Scolari branch of the family remained loyal to the emperors and went into permanent exile after the battle of Benevento (1266). Other Buondelmonti established strong ties with the Angevin court of Naples; the Florentine merchant Manente, for instance, married the sister of the seneschal Niccolò Acciaiuoli and became a royal chamberlain. Though the family was banned from office by the Ordinances of Justice of 1293, many Buondelmonti served in office and on missions, including Benghi (d. 1381), who married the daughter of the Alberti count of Certaldo. Benghi held important military captaincies and was also the *podestà* (city magistrate) of Prato. He was exiled during the Ciompi tumult of 1378 as a member of the Guelf ruling oligarchy. At this time, other Buondelmonti changed their name to Montebuoni.

See also **Dante Alighieri; Florence; Ghibelline; Guelfs**

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Byzantine Empire

Byzantium is too readily dismissed as the "eastern empire" or even the "Greek empire"—something alien to Europe and the Christian Middle Ages. In fact, however, Byzantium was no more and no less than a direct and uninterrupted medieval continuation of the Roman empire. The capital of Byzantium was the great metropolis of Constantinople; and the Byzantine empire evolved with its focus on the eastern Mediterranean, following the loss of the western provinces to various Germanic regimes in the fifth century and the detachment of the southeastern lands by the Arab conquests of the seventh century. Its recovery, and its predominance, reached a pinnacle by the eleventh century; but soon thereafter Byzantium fell into internal decay, accelerated by pressures from the stirrings of western Europe (culminating in the disastrous Fourth Crusade) and the menace of new Turkish regimes (Seljuk and Ottoman). Nevertheless, Byzantium continued to survive, evolve, and flourish even as it declined, until the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

As the western Roman court crumbled during the fifth century, the government in Constantinople maintained an interest in Italy, sending what help or intervention it could. Emperor Zeno (r. 474-491) apparently encouraged the remarkable German ruler Theodoric the Ostrogoth to invade Italy and destroy the regime of Odovacar, but during Theodoric's later years his relations with Constantinople deteriorated. After Theodoric died, Emperor Justinian pursued the recovery of Italy in his own Gothic wars (535-553), at first with the brilliant general Belisarius as his commander. Imperial government had barely been restored, under Narses, when much of Italy was overrun by the Lombards. In the ensuing stalemate, imperial power was preserved

mainly in the south—in Campania, Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria. In the north, all that remained was the enclave around Ravenna, which became Italy's imperial capital, under the regime of the exarchate, and would remain the capital until the resurgent Lombards took it in 751. In 663, Emperor Constans II (r. 641-668) personally led campaigns against the Lombards; then, for the last years of his life, he established his residence and court at Syracuse in Sicily. By the end of the seventh century, the southern Italian regions were reorganized as *themes*, or military provinces.

By the eighth century, the religious policies of Iconoclasm promulgated by the sovereigns at Constantinople had alienated their Italian subjects; and in any case the Italians felt little loyalty toward overlords who expected obedience and revenues but were unable to provide any help against the Lombards. Emperor Leo III (r. 717–741) punished the Roman popes by transferring their jurisdiction over the territories of Sicily, southern Italy, and Illyricum in the Balkans to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Disillusioned with subjection to Constantinople, the popes of the latter eighth century placed themselves instead under the protection of the Franks. This epochal realignment of power in the west culminated in the powerfully symbolic coronation of Charlemagne as emperor of the Romans in 800—a title that the Byzantine court bitterly contested.

The ninth century brought a new blow to the tenuous Byzantine presence in Italy: the Arabs' seizure and conquest of Sicily, actually a process that went on throughout the century. From this new and independent corsair regime, the Arabs' raids gravely menaced not only Byzantine territories on the mainland but the survival of Christian rule in Italy; indeed, for a brief period an Arab emirate was established in Bari. Nevertheless, during the latter ninth century, especially under Basil I (r. 867-886) and his successors in the new Macedonian dynasty, the Byzantines improved their situation in Italy in a number of ways. The resourceful patriarch Photios brilliantly beat off the efforts of Pope Nicholas I to intervene in the Constantinopolitan church and reclaim the lost ecclesiastical provinces. Following Nicholas's failure, the papacy declined to its notorious era of degradation (the "black night"). Above all, new assertions of power in the Adriatic and in southern Italy restored Byzantine control in these areas, where the Greek culture and

population were already being reinforced by refugees from Iconoclasm and from Sicily. As a result, southern Italy was effectively reincorporated into the Byzantine world, and its administrative *themes* were eventually placed under a single commander (the *katepan*) whose headquarters were in Bari. Religious and cultural life in southern Italy became strongly oriented toward Constantinople, and Italian scholars, churchmen, and monks regularly journeyed to and from eastern Byzantine regions.

Byzantine control weakened once again during the tenth century, however. Remnants of old Lombard principalities, cities around Naples and beyond (under various princely or republican regimes), and regional grandees—many of them theoretically dependents of Byzantium—pursued their own independent, often conflicting and dissident, policies, although there were periodic alliances against the Arab menace, and some of these alliances included the papacy. That menace continued for some time, but by the early eleventh century the Arab regime had been weakened and was in retreat from the stirring Christian power in the western Mediterranean. A new era was promised by the stern military emperor Basil II (r. 976-1025), who brought Byzantium to its zenith as the preeminent power of the western world in general. After successes elsewhere, Basil II planned the reconquest of Sicily; in preparation for this, he sent the able commander Basil Boioannes to restore firm control on the mainland. Boioannes defeated the local rebel Melo, paving the way for the formidable emperor to reach his goal; but then Basil II died. Sicily remained in Arab hands, and Byzantine control again seemed about to unravel amid local revolts and dissent from indigenous groups who were not always assimilated into Greek culture.

During this unstable period, the first Normans began to trickle into the territory as mercenaries. From c. 1020 onward, as circumstances allowed, they served local regimes, dissidents, and even imperial commanders. After the death of Basil II, the court in Constantinople slipped into corruption and general incompetence, and the Italian policies of Byzantium became even more muddled. In 1038, an effort was made to renew the Sicilian reconquest that Basil II had been unable to complete; this project was entrusted to the brilliant general George Maniakes, whose forces included Byzantium's Varangian Guard.

(Among them was the formidable Norse warrior Harald Haardraade, who, however, fell out with the commander and left the campaign.) Maniakes made a good beginning, landing in Sicily and taking its eastern coast, including Messina and Syracuse. But intrigues against him at court resulted in his recall to Constantinople and his imprisonment there. He was given a second chance in 1042, when his target was the depredatory Normans. Once again, however, there were intrigues against Maniakes in the corrupt capital, and, exasperated, he proclaimed himself emperor, led his troops out of Italy, and took the road to Constantinople. Along the way, in 1043, he was killed in an unexpected battle.



Byzantium. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 62v.

Maniakes's death left a vacuum in southern Italy, but this was filled by rebels and by Norman freebooters, whose presence became increasingly disruptive. Melo's son, Argyrus, attempting a new

rebellion against the Byzantines, found his movement taken over by these ambitious warriors, and he fled to Constantinople. There he became an intermediary in negotiating an alliance of convenience between the Byzantine court and the new reformist pope, Leo IX. Though the two parties shared an opposition to the Normans, the alliance soon foundered over clashes of court and ecclesiastical interests; in 1053, all hope of halting the Normans' progress was dashed when the Normans defeated and captured the pope at Civitate. Reluctantly, the papacy condoned the Normans' conquest of Byzantine southern Italy and of Saracen Sicily, legalizing the invaders' status and in effect making them the awkward new champions of Roman Christianity against both Orthodox Christianity and Islam.

The ambitious Hautville chieftain Robert Guiscard, as duke of Apulia, assumed paramount leadership of the Normans against all opposition. He completed his triumph over Byzantium by taking the empire's last toehold, the port city of Bari, in 1071. Robert thereafter assisted his younger brother, Count Roger I, in a successful conquest of Arab Sicily (1060-1091). As a result of the creation of powerful new Norman regimes by the end of the eleventh century, southern Italy was no longer a Byzantine satellite but became a menace to the empire. Robert Guiscard, who craved control of both sides of the Adriatic, undertook a daring assault on the Byzantine Balkans in the last four years of his life; he nearly succeeded, but he was distracted by an obligation to recover Rome for Pope Gregory VII (1083), and then he died (1085). Robert's ambitions in the east were to be the heritage of his son Bohemond, who became a thorn in Byzantium's side: Bohemond was involved in the First Crusade, and then in a Norman attack of his own in the Balkans in 1107. The direct Norman menace abated under Robert Guiscard's heirs in Apulia, but it was redefined when Roger II melded his Sicilian realm with the Norman territories on the mainland, creating a formidable new kingdom by 1130. Roger's threat to the empire reached a height in 1147, when, taking advantage of the international confusion caused by the Second Crusade, he launched a devastating maritime raid on areas of Greece, carrying off to Sicily literally the entire Byzantine silk industry—workers, technology, tools, and all.

Byzantium meanwhile faced another threat in Italy, from the enterprising mercantile republics. Merchants of Bari and Amalfi were

subjects of the empire and had special trading opportunities within the tightly controlled Byzantine economy. But Venice, long prosperous as a Byzantine dependency, achieved considerable strength as the dominant naval power in the Adriatic, so much so that by the eleventh century—a pivotal period—it could deal with Byzantium as an ally of almost equal status. Emperor Alexius 1 Comnenus (Alexios I Komnenos, r. 1081-1118), fighting off Robert Guiscard's invasion, obtained the aid of the Venetian navy in exchange for granting Venice sweeping exemptions from Byzantine tariffs and trade control in the empire (1082). Alexius's successor, John II (r. 1118-1143), tried but failed to nullify these concessions; he then resorted to a policy of playing the Venetians off against their mercantile rivals from Genoa and Pisa. In the process, Byzantium's lucrative commerce was largely taken over by the Italian entrepreneurs.

Whether or not the Byzantine emperors after 1071 had any intention of recovering territory in Italy, such a policy was recklessly undertaken by the third Comnenian sovereign, Manuel I (r. 1143-1180), who was perhaps influenced by the memory of Justinian. Manuel professed to support the Italian cities and the pope against the German emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, and actually sent an expeditionary force in 1155. That force seized from the Norman realm the entire coast of Apulia from Taranto to Ancona; but in 1156 the Norman king William I (r. 1154-1166) recovered these territories, revealing the weakness of Byzantium's reach. Manuel attempted further intrusions into Italy, in the form of diplomatic schemes, but the upshot was his total humiliation, as all the other parties in Italy resolved their quarrels with no reference to him. Moreover, his dramatic expulsion of the Venetians from the empire in 1171 deepened the hostility of Venice toward Byzantium. The collapse of the Comnenian regime brought a massacre of other Italians in Constantinople by a Byzantine mob in 1183. Two years later, the massacre was used to justify a Balkan expedition of the Norman king William II (r. 1166-1189); William's force collapsed, but not before it had subjected Thessaloniki to a savage storming and a horrific occupation. The new regime of the Angelan dynasty was incompetent and corrupt; it cowered before the threats of the German emperors Frederick I and then Henry VI while internal decay mounted and Byzantium became more and more discredited and vulnerable

internationally. The climax came in 1203-1204, when a complex mixture of circumstances and personalities—above all, the formidable Venetian doge Enrico Dandolo—prompted the forces of the Fourth Crusade to intervene in an Angelan dynastic quarrel and then take Constantinople by storm. From its share of this conquest, Venice was able to build a vast new maritime empire that gave it a significant advantage in its commercial rivalries.

But Byzantine society and culture, far from being degenerate or moribund, proved resilient and survived the shattering blow of 1204, if tenaciously, in the form of several splinter states. The most effective of these states was based in Nicaea. One of its rulers, John III Vatatzes (1222-1254), cultivated a diplomatic friendship with the Hohenstaufen sovereign Frederick II and married one of Frederick's daughters. Eventually, in 1261, the Nicaean government was able to recover Constantinople from the decrepit Latin regime there. The emperor of the restoration, Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259-1282), faced the menace of Charles of Anjou, the powerful successor to the Hohenstaufen in the Norman realm. To obtain support against Charles, Michael pursued a disastrous policy of promising the popes to unite the Byzantine church with that of Rome. Michael played one last Byzantine game of grand diplomacy by throwing his influence, and his gold, into an alliance with Aragon that brought about the smashing of Charles's power in an episode called the Sicilian Vespers (1282).

Byzantine's restored empire lasted 170 years more, during which its culture and art thrived and were a powerful influence. But these years saw the empire itself reduced to a pathetic regional power. Italian and other princes with hereditary claims to Byzantine lands had to be bought off in various ways, while the spiraling rivalry between Venice and Genoa diverted virtually all Byzantine commercial traffic and left Constantinople continually caught in the middle of their recurrent wars. Two reigning emperors (John V in 1360-1370, and his son Manuel II in 1400-1402) included Italy when they visited western regions to seek aid against the Turkish threat. It was, however, the birth of humanism in the mid-fourteenth century that opened the way for a final connection between Byzantium and Italy. From the late fourteenth century onward, emigré Byzantine scholars brought their learning and resources to Italian intellectual centers, making classical Greece—its

language, authors, texts, and philological traditions—once again accessible in the west, and a major contribution to the Renaissance.

See also Amalfi; Bari; Belisarius; Bohemond of Taranto; Charlemagne; Charles I of Atijou; Constans II; Dandolo Family; Exarchate of Ravenna; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Genoa; Gothic Wars; Gregory VII, Pope; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Humanism and Protohumanism; Justinian I; Leo IX, Pope; Lombards; Narses; Nicholas I, Pope; Normans; Odovacar; Pisa; Ravenna; Roger II; Sicilian Vespers; Sicily; Theodoric; William I; William II; Zeno, Emperor

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C

Caccia

The *caccia* is a poetic form with no fixed meter or structure. It is perhaps better known as a musical form that originated in thirteenth-century France and spread to Italy in the first half of the *Trecento*. Because the poetic *caccia* uses a wide variety of meters, lively dialogue, and onomatopoeia, some scholars have associated it with the *frottola*, which was also often set to music.

Traditionally, the term *caccia* has two meanings, indicating distinct theories of its origin. According to musicologists, *caccia* was synonymous with "canon," the staggered iteration of voices which could be described as a polyphonic "chase." According to this definition, the *caccia* is primarily a musical form. There are only twenty-six Italian *cacce* in existence—very few, in comparison with other poetic and musical forms. This small number of extant *cacce* might be attributable to the difficulty of composing and performing in the canon form.

In contrast to the musicologists, the nineteenth-century poet and scholar Giosuè Carducci believed that the origins of the *caccia* were primarily literary. He attributed the term to the prominence of venery as subject matter in *cacce*, which treated the theme of amorous pursuit metaphorically. Indeed, the fourteenth-century Italian *caccia* vividly depicts either a "hunt" or a busding social scene; for example, in the *cacce* of Franco Sacchetti women pick flowers in a meadow (*Passando con pensierper un boschetto*) and bathe in a river (*State su, donne*), and gregarious men are about to engage in chivalric sport (*A prender la battaglia giuso al piano*). Carducci also believed that the Florentine Niccolò Soldanieri had probably been the first Italian to compose poetic *cacce* (*A poste messe, Chi caccia e chi è cacciato, Per un boschetto fra pungenti spine*), one of which (*A poste messe*) was set to music by Niccolò del Proposto. Carducci's conclusions were based on stylistic aspects of these three *cacce* and on the fact that Soldanieri represented

exclusively hunting scenes.

The musicologists, William T. Marrocco and Nino Pirrotta, however, rejected Carducci's philological argument for the *caccia's* literary origin. Marrocco dismissed the issue of subject matter, saying that "a poem ... is a *caccia* only when it is set to the musical device of canon. Contrarily, a hunting episode does not necessarily imply a musical setting in canon form" (1961, xi). Pirrotta observed that the fundamental attributes of the poetic form were determined almost entirely by the polyphonic compositions to which the poems were set (1946, 308). Still, neither Marrocco nor Pirrotta excluded the possibility that the *caccia* was an autonomous poetic form. In this regard, Brasolin (1985) made a taxonomical study of the poetic *caccia*. She found a correlation between the grouping of verses in two or more stanzas and the length of verses. Today, musicologists and philologists emphasize the relation between the canon form and the poetic features of the *caccia*, viewing the *caccia* as an instance of *poesia per musica*.

Whatever its origin and development, the *caccia* gained great favor among the virtuoso composers and performers of *ars nova*. We can perhaps attribute the popularity of the poetic *caccia* among musicians and the public during the *Trecento* to its fluid, adaptable rhythm and to its mimetic representation of joyous social interaction, which accorded with the conviviality of aristocratic-minded audiences.

See also **Ars Nova; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Sacchetti, Franco; Soldanieri, Niccolò**

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Caetani Family

The first record of the Caetani in Rome is found toward the end of the eleventh century, but at that time the family played a more important role in the small city of Anagni in southern Latium. The house of the Caetani owed its rise among the baronial nobility of Rome to its first cardinal, Benedetto (d. 1303), who became Pope Boniface VIII in 1294. He and his family immediately exploited his new office and used political marriages to enlarge their territories and interests in areas south of Rome and in southern Tuscany (Campagna, Marittima). Through their systematic purchases of castles, the Caetani soon became the most powerful lords in these areas. The centers of their control were Anagni and Sermoneta. Pope Boniface also induced the king of Naples to transfer fortresses and earldoms in his kingdom in fief to the pope's great-nephews. Moreover, members of the Caetani family were made cardinals and were given important posts in the state administration of the church. The expansion of the Caetani in Latium came primarily at the expense of the local and Roman nobility.

The bitterest enemies of the pope's relatives were the Colonna, against whom Boniface VIII began a remorseless campaign in 1297. The Colonna, driven into exile, conspired with King Philip IV of France (Philip the Fair), who had himself been provoked to oppose the pope because of Boniface's abuses of power. With the support of Sciarra Colonna and other local nobles, the French emissary Guillaume de Nogaret arrested the pope in Anagni (Boniface's native city) on 7 September 1303 and held him for three days; this episode is known as the "humiliation of Anagni." Although the pope was soon released, the incident left him a broken man, and he died on 11 October. After

Boniface's death, the Caetani had to defend themselves against their enemies in several armed encounters; and not until King Robert of Naples offered mediation in 1329 could their hostilities with the Colonna be settled.

In the following decades, however, it was internal conflict that weakened the Caetani family, which was now divided into four main lines. During the second half of the fourteenth century, a prominent member of the family was the earl of Fondi, Onorato I (d. 1400). Onorato had been a foe of the Avignonese popes, but he then became a friend first of Gregory IX and then of Clement VII (who had been elected in Fondi), in opposition to Urban VI. As a partisan of the antipope, Onorato became one of the chief instigators of the Great Schism of the west. Without him, Clement VII would have lost southern Latium—the vantage point from which Clement his followers were always able to threaten Rome. Only shortly before his death did Onorato once again become obedient to Rome. Antonio (d. 1412), the son of Onorato's brother and heir, Giacomo (died c. 1423), was made a cardinal by Boniface IX.

See also Avignonese Papacy; Boniface VIII, Pope; Colonna Family; Rome

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Translated by Z. Philip Ambrose

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Caffaro Family

The Caffaro, a family of viscounts, took their name from their region of feudal possession in Val Polcevera, a mountain valley northwest of Genoa, dotted with small parish churches, protective castles, farms, villas, groves, and vineyards. The Caffaro family was prominent in the early Genoese republic; its members included elected consuls, merchants, feudal lords, ambassadors, and military captains, and they participated in commercial conquests of the Saracens and Pisans in the Mediterranean and in crusades to the Holy Land.

The most famous member of the family was Andrea Caffaro (Caffaro di Caschifellone, c. 1080 or 1081-1166), the son of Rustico di Caschifellone (Castrofino). Andrea began a long, illustrious line of secular chroniclers who wrote in Genoese Latin and then in the vernacular; these were the first official Italian chroniclers, recording (and thus helping to define) major public entities in the early communes. The late medieval chronicle tradition marked the beginning of early modern civic life, anticipating the civic humanist traditions of written communal history in the Renaissance.

A distinction is sometimes drawn between chronicles and histories, but Andrea's annals might be called "chronicle history" because of their thematic focus on the crusades and related public events shaping the civic experience in the late Middle Ages, Andrea proceeds in chronicle form, year by year (though with many gaps), beginning with the First Crusade to Jerusalem and Caesarea in 1099-1101 and ending in 1163, shortly before his own death. Whether the chronicle was dictated or actually written by Andrea, its narrative voice suggests a remembrance of things past, and some events are recounted in vivid detail, indicating that the author was a direct participant rather than a passive observer. Thus, the life of this civic chronicler is closely interwoven with his narrative.

At age twenty, Andrea embarked with other Genoese on the First Crusade; this was a defining moment for his career and his annals. He probably witnessed the crowning of Baldwin I as king of Jerusalem and took part in the Christian crusaders' worship of the relics at the Holy Sepulchre—a touchstone for the competing European kingdoms, the

Italian commercial city-states, and their Mediterranean empires. Andrea fought under the command of Guglielmo Embriaco in the successful siege of Caesarea by the Genoese in 1101, a campaign that began a long process—recorded meticulously in his annals—of carving out trade colonies and taking sacred and temporal spoils from the Byzantine empire and the Islamic kingdoms. Genoa vied fiercely with Pisa and Venice for the lucrative silk and spice trade routes connecting medieval Europe to the advanced global economies of China, southeast Asia, and central Asia. This youthful experience was significant for Andrea, serving as the inspiration for his chronicle and the first event recorded in it. Furthermore, the First Crusade began a tradition of private communal contracts (*compagna communis*) between territorial family trading associations in Genoa, a fact that underscores the fourfold purpose of Andrea's account; patriotic, sacred,, commercial, and communal.

During the next two decades, Andrea pursued his education, and his fortune as a merchant in the Mediterranean trade, before beginning his political career as ambassador to the papal court of Calixtus II in Rome in 1121 and 1123. At the papal court he argued for—and won, partly through bribery—Genoa's elevation to an archbishopric, in rivalry with Pisa for supremacy over Corsica. Andrea pursued this alliance between the church and the early commune as *console del comune e dei placid* (consul of the commune and neighborhoods of Genoa) in 1122. That office was the first of his eight consulships (the others were in 1125, 1127, 1130, 1141, 1144, 1146, and 1149) and is an indication of his political stature. During this period he also held naval commands and had ambassadorial duties and financial responsibilities, participating in fighting the Saracens and Pisans in the Tyrrhenian Sea and forging critical alliances with the courts of Castile, Aragon, and Rome.

Andrew wrote two minor works in the 1150s: one was a retrospective account of Genoa's role in the First Crusade (by then half a century in the past); the other was on the recent capture of Aleria and Tortosa from the Muslims in Spain. He was sent on two final embassies to Frederick I Barbarossa, in 1154 and 1158, shortly before he retired from public life. He presented his *Annali* to the Grand Council of the Republic in 1163. Ironically, this first major chronicle history, celebrating the formation of public life in the consular republic, ended

at a point of political crisis and family factionalism. No other member of the Caffaro family ever achieved the prominence of Genoa's first historian.

See also **Chronicles; Crusades; Genoa**

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Calimala Guild

See **Guilds**

Calixtus II, Pope

Pope Calixtus II (Guido di Borgogne, d. 1124, r. 1119-1124) was a

powerful member of the high aristocracy and distantly related to the Salian house, a German royal dynasty. His brother, Hugh III, was archbishop of Besançon. Their father, Count William of Burgundy, was a faithful vassal of Emperor Henry IV. Even after Henry was excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII in 1076 and was being widely shunned, William received and entertained the king over the Christmas holidays, providing him with servants for his winter journey across the Alps.

Guido was elected to the archbishopric of Vienne in 1088. He did not hesitate to resort to forged documents in order to obtain primacy for Vienne in its rivalry with the see of Arles. He also had dynastic ambitions in Burgundy, on behalf of his family; these ambitions were at least partly responsible for his clashes with Emperor Henry V, and indirectly with Pope Paschal II (1099-1118), after the turn of the twelfth century (Stroll 1980). As papal legate Guido conducted a synod at Vienne in 1112 that protested against the lay "investiture privilege" of April 1111, extorted by Henry V from the imprisoned Paschal II, and excommunicated Henry. In a letter informing Paschal II of the synod's decisions, Guido threatened the secession of the French church unless Paschal accepted those decisions as binding and confirmed them explicitly. After the death of Pope Gelasius II (1118-1119) at the abbey of Cluny, the cardinals present elected Guido as his successor, and Guido took Calixtus (or Callistus) II as his papal name.

As pope, Calixtus changed his policy toward the emperor. He sought contacts with Henry; but the negotiations over investiture at Mouzon in 1119 collapsed, primarily because of semantic problems and mistrust between the parties, leading to another excommunication of Henry by the synod of Reims (October 1119). Calixtus gained entry into Rome in 1120 and defeated the antipope Gregory VIII a year later. Renewed attempts to mend the schism created by the struggle over investiture ended successfully with agreements exchanged between Henry V and the papal legates at Worms on 23 September 1122. The Concordat of Worms, as the agreements later came to be known, was reluctantly ratified by the Lateran Council of 1123. These agreements were brief charters embodying concessions and assurances by each party to the other. Henry renounced the investiture of bishops with ring and crozier, thus permitting canonical election and consecration. The pope, in turn,

conceded to German bishoprics and abbeys elections in the presence of the king or his representatives. Moreover, the king was to have the right to intervene in disputed elections, and—most important—he could invest candidates for German sees before consecration with the *regalia* (a term that was left undefined but generally meant secular rights and properties), using the scepter instead of the ring and crosier. In Burgundy, which was at least nominally under imperial suzerainty, and in imperial Italy, *regalia* were to be transferred to the prelates after consecration. In Germany, therefore, Henry certainly retained some rights regarding elections. The Concordat of Worms was very close to the conditions of agreements made with England and France during the pontificate of Paschal II, and it agreed even more precisely with the better-documented negotiations between Henry V and Paschal II in the winter and early spring of 1111. As pope, therefore, Calixtus II continued the policies of Paschal II. It had become evident that the Roman church could no longer revoke the recognition, given at Sutri in February 1111, of royal rights to the *regalia*, even when those were in the hands of the church as ecclesiastical temporalities.

See also Gregory VII, Pope; Henry IV, Emperor; Henry V, Emperor; Investiture Controversy; Paschal II, Pope

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Caltabellotta, Treaty of

The treaty of Caltabellotta of 29 August 1302 was negotiated in Sicily by Charles of Valois between Frederick of Aragon, the ruler of Sicily, and Robert of Anjou, the vicar (later king) of the Regno. It established peace between Charles II of Naples, Pope Boniface VIII in his capacity as overlord of the Regno, and Frederick of Aragon. Frederick was recognized as "king of the island of Sicily" for life, but on his death the island was to revert to the Angevins and Frederick's descendants were to be compensated with the kingdoms of Sardinia and Cyprus. In addition, Frederick was to marry Charles's daughter Eleanor. Boniface, who had subsidized the Angevins against the Aragonese, disliked the treaty—he saw it as dismembering the Regno—but in 1303 his problems with the king of France forced him to ratify it, with the modification that Frederick was to be known as "king of Trinacria" while Charles II retained the title "king of Sicily."

After the peace of Anagni of 1295, which ended the involvement of France and Aragon in the war, James II of Aragon had taken the Angevin side against Frederick. James now ratified the peace, and his son Sancio married Charles II's daughter while his daughter married Charles II's son Robert.

Although the treaty concluded at Caltabellotta would be broken when Frederick died in 1312, it briefly established a much needed peace in the south, and its provisions were not substantially altered by subsequent fighting until the fifteenth century.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Charles II of Anjou; Charles of Valois; Frederick III, King of Sicily; James II, King of Aragon; Robert of Anjou; Sicily

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Camaldoli

Camaldoli is a hermitage established in the early eleventh century by Saint Romuald (Romualdo, c. 950-1027); it is situated approximately 50 miles (80 kilometers) east of Florence, and high in the remote Tuscan Apennines in the Casentino national forest. Camaldoli became the original house of the Camoldolese Benedictines, an ascetic order.

Romualdo's biographer, Peter Damian (1007-1072), one of the later abbots of the hermitage, chronicled the saint's words and actions rather than merely cataloging his miracles. According to Damian, Romualdo was converted to a hermit's life when his father was involved in a bloody duel and Romualdo retired to a monastery to do penance for his father's sin.

The early history of Camaldoli is inextricably linked to the monastic reform radiating from Cluny and to a shift in emphasis, both within and outside the Benedictine movement, away from the fully communal monastic life and toward a more individualized monastic piety. The architecture of the hermitage, which originally consisted of five separate cells and a church, reflects the tension inherent in this newer monastic ideal. The new concept—whose most eloquent spokesman was Peter Damian—involved not only a more individualized monasticism but also a strict emphasis on poverty; accordingly, the founders were determined to refuse the customary gifts and benefactions. The first rules of the order, drawn up in 1080 by the hermitage's fourth prior,

Rodolfo, emphasized contemplative solitude as the individual's path to God but also portrayed the solitary life as a necessary preparation for life in a monastic community. Thus not only did Camaldolese hermitages represent the origins of medieval monastic individualism, but in initially refusing gifts and benefactions they also reflected power struggles on a larger institutional and geographic scale: i.e., a conflict between lay patronage and ecclesiastical independence. In 1113, the papal bull that established the congregation noted the existence of three hermitages and twenty-five other monastic institutions, including a convent for nuns near Florence. In the mid-twelfth century, severe conflict broke out—internally, over the relative importance of eremitic (individual) and cenobitic (communal) monasticism; and externally, over the issue of the hermitage's independence from both secular and ecclesiastical potentates.

By c. 1250, Camaldoli had more than 300 monks and administrators. As the power of the Guidi counts fragmented and declined, the monastery reclaimed much of the land that it had lost in earlier political struggles. Although the activities of the monastery are somewhat sparsely documented, it had an extensive reach in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a landholding institution, and this has provided valuable evidence about landholding patterns and relationships between monastic landlords and their rural tenants in the later Middle Ages. From the early fourteenth century to 1500, the number of farms administered by the monastery more than tripled. Moreover, these farms covered such a wide area that the monastery had to employ several middlemen, or factors, to oversee the buying and selling of grain, wine, and wood. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, sheep herding and cattle raising were typical activities of the monastery in the Casentino during the summer, and during the winter the cattle were brought to pastures in the Maremma on Tuscany's coast, a hundred miles to the west, to escape the snow.

Among the more notable monks of Camaldoli were the canonist Gratian (fl. 1140), the painter Lorenzo Monaco (1375-1420), and the humanist Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439). Fittingly, Cristoforo Landino's dialogue *Disputationes Camaldulensis* (late fifteenth century), modeled after Cicero's *Tusculan disputations* on the active and contemplative life, conveyed both the setting and the name of an

institution that for nearly half a millenium had fused radical individualism, voluntary poverty, active life within a community, and the contemplative ideal of the desire for God.

Camaldoli was also the name Florentines gave to districts of silk and wool workers near the parishes of San Frediano and the Carmine on the south bank of the Arno. In the fifteenth century small clusters of immigrant workers, especially from German-speaking areas, lived there and worked in the cloth industry.

See also Casentino; Dami an, Peter; Florence; Gratian; Guilds; Monasticism; Romuald of Ravenna, Saint

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Cambio

See Banks and Banking

Camerino, Duchy of

The ancient city of Camerinum (in the modern region of the Marches) became allied with Rome in 310 B.C. and was an important center in Roman Umbria. According to tradition, it was besieged by Alaric in a.d. 409. After the period of Ostrogothic rule, it became part of the exarchate of Ravenna in 553. It was seized by the Lombards in 592 and became the seat of a duchy. Under Charlemagne it was a regional capital of the March of Camerino. By the time of Innocent III it became subject to the Roman church but retained its autonomy. A commune developed in this period and had its own coinage. Camerino, which was strongly Guelr, resisted attacks by Frederick II and King Enzo, but in 1259 Manfred ordered its destruction. The city was reconstituted and rebuilt by Gentile da Varano, who was acclaimed as its founder and recognized as its lord by Pope Alexander IV. Gentile initiated the *signoria* of the da Varano family, which lasted for almost three centuries, with only a short interruption by the Sforza family (1434-1444), until 1545, when Camerino definitively became a part of papal territory. There were extensive construction projects during the regime of the da Varano family, but very little of these projects survives. The church of Saint Francis, built in the thirteenth century, was substantially altered in subsequent periods.

See also Alexander IV, Pope; Frederick II Hohenstauren; Innocent III, Pope; Lombards; Manfred; Ostrogoths

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Campaldino, Battle of

On 11 June 1289, a Florentine Guelf army defeated a Ghibelline force from Arezzo on the plain of Campaldino near Poppi in the Casentino. Aiding the Florentines were other Guelf communes, including Bologna, Siena, and Pistoia. The battle was an important episode in a series of wars fought sporadically from 1288 to 1292 between Florence and its Ghibelline rivals, Pisa and Arezzo. The Florentines' victory at Campaldino was the dramatic end of a short war against Arezzo. It helped consolidate the Guelf regime in Florence, protected vital commercial and military arteries to the Romagna and the lower Arno valley, and edged Florence closer to regional hegemony in Tuscany. The war was unpopular among many Florentines. Indeed, in 1293, its memory helped generate a political backlash against the nobles (or magnates) who were leaders in the war against Arezzo.

In 1287, Ghibellines in Arezzo expelled the Guelts, who quickly found sympathy from their counterparts in Florence. In 1288 an Aretine force, allied with Florentine Ghibelline exiles and encouraged by the imperial vicar at San Miniato al Tedesco, apparently began to raid Florentine territory along the Arno. The decision to make war against Arezzo was not unanimous, especially among lesser guildsmen. Nevertheless, encouraged by the Parte Guelfa (the Guelf party organization), the commune decided to send an army of about 10,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry through the Consuma Pass in the Apennines to attack Arezzo from the north. Both Villani (c. 1275-1348) and Compagni (c. 1255-1324) offered accounts of the ensuing battle.

The Florentines were victorious for several reasons: their numerical superiority, their ability to choose favorable terrain, and their superior strategy. A Pistoiese reserve force attacked the Aretines from the flank to end the battle. The commander of that reserve was the fiery Florentine Corso Donati, the future leader of the Florentine Black Guefs. Scholars disagree about whether Dante Alighieri was present at Campaldino; however, there is a specific reference to the battle in *Purgatorio* 5 (91-93).

See also Donati Family; Florence

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Campione, Bonino Da

The sculptors of Lombardy from the *Duecento* through the *Trecento*, who are often referred to as the *Carnpionesi*, worked primarily in stone, in a style generally characterized by compactness, simplicity of form, and directness of expression, sometimes enlivened by a narrative richness. Only one member of the group, Bonino da Campione (d. 1397), has an identifiable artistic personality; but this is based less on two signed works—the tomb (of rather mediocre carving) of Folchino degli Schizzi (d. 1357) in Cremona and the monument of Cansignorio della Scala (d. 1375) in Verona—than on a series of anonymous works that are idiosyncratic yet appealing. In 1388 Bonino was consulted regarding work on the *duomo* of Milan, and he apparently died in March 1397. Given these few facts, many carvings and at least one other major sepulchre, the monument of Bernabò Visconti (d. 1385), have been attributed to Bonino. There have been tortuous attempts to encompass within a single artistic personality the vastly different stylistic characteristics of these works: the rigid equestrian figures of Bernabò and Cansignorio; the ostentatious richness of the architecture of Cansignorio's monument; and the serene, amiable sculptures of the Madonna and Child, with their emphasis on simple masses.

The anonymous works attributed to Bonino include the tombs of Valentina and Stefano Visconti in Milan, the sarcophagus of Lambertino Balduino in Brescia, another sarcophagus relief in Sant' Agostino in Cremona, and a Madonna and Child (now in Detroit). As a group these suggest a distinct and even superior artistic personality,

reminiscent of but not identical with the creator of the Schizzi tomb. Characteristic of the group are reliefs with figures set against a flat background and placed within a shallow boxlike framed space; the Madonna sits in a *contrapposto* pose with lower body and upper torso and head turned in opposite directions; heads are formed of broad ovals, and a genial smile illuminates the faces of the mother and child. Also attributable to Bonino is a moving relief of the Crucifixion in San Nazaro, Milan, whose expressive language of gesture and emotion, like that of the Madonnas, was new to Lombardy and distinguishes Bonino, or whoever executed this relief, from the earlier Campione carvers.

Cansignorio's monument has nothing in common with the Schizzi tomb. The sarcophagus reliefs do belong to the Campionesse tradition (although they are hardly attributable to Bonino himself), but the design of the reliquary-like monument of dissolved surfaces cannot be placed securely within the master's oeuvre. Thus the monument, though signed, provides little help in establishing Bonino's artistic personality.

The tomb of Bernabò Visconti (Castello Sforzesco, Milan), with its life-size equestrian figure (completed by 1363) and sarcophagus on columns (added after the ruler's death in 1385), is conventionally ascribed to Bonino, but the attribution is debatable. While the sarcophagus reliefs are genial if formulaic interpretations of the aforementioned Madonna figures, the rider—rigid and frontal without the slightest enlivening movement—presents a stark image of political power, military invincibility, and ruthlessness. If the work is by Bonino, then the sculptor was extraordinarily adept at meeting the needs of his diverse patrons. Those of lower rank than the Visconti rulers may have preferred works displaying an intimacy and accessibility that suggests a response to Tuscan currents, whereas his seignorial patrons demanded ostentatious display and a projection of intimidating power. Clearly, Bonino da Campione represents one of the most intriguing challenges of *Trecento* connoisseurship.

See also Delia Scala Family; Milan; Visconti Family

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Campione, Matteo Da

The northern Italian sculptor and architect Matteo da Campione (d. 24 May 1396) is best remembered for his activity at the *duomo* of Monza. He is also known to have been invited, in 1390, to direct work on the cathedral of Milan, a position he probably turned down. He is generally considered to have been the last of the "Campionesi"—a term that gained currency in the nineteenth century to denote a group of itinerant craftsmen from Campione di Lugano. By the late *Trecento*, when Matteo was active, the distinctive style of the Campionesi of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries had blended with the many local artistic trends of northern Italy.

A funerary inscription on the exterior wall of the chapel of the Madonna del Rosario at Monza, where Matteo da Campione was buried, celebrates the fact that he was responsible for the design of the facade of the *duomo* of Monza, the pulpit, and the (now destroyed) baptistry. Capitalizing on Monza's illustrious history as a coronation church, the Visconti family of Milan had, throughout the fourteenth century, encouraged the redevelopment of the *duomo* as a means of asserting their own dynastic claims on northern Italy. During the second half of the century, Matteo da Campione extended the cruciform early *Trecento* cathedral; by the 1390s, chapels had been built around

the existing aisles and transepts, and the facade had been heightened and widened from three to five bays to accommodate these changes. The bichromatic marble banding, a very characteristic feature of the earlier facade, was retained in Campione's extension and overall remodeling, which (despite the heavy restoration carried out from 1892 to 1908) is remarkable for its decorative exuberance. The central rose window, for example, rests within a complex register of rhythmic moldings that are adorned with leaf, rosette, and dentiled motifs. All this is framed by a series of richly carved panels filled with white marble flowers, stars, and masks that emerge from a dark marble background. In the upper half of the facade there are four rows of equally sumptuous coffering surmounted by nine blind niches.

The pulpit, which was reassembled in the early eighteenth century to form a choir gallery, is, like the facade, characterized by a profusion of ornately carved motifs. Apostles and other saints occupy a series of niches around the casket, but the details of these squat, emotionally detached figures are lost within the general decorative abundance of the pulpit. Of greater interest, however, is the marble relief, once part of the scheme but now detached from it in the north transept, depicting the coronation of an emperor. With its crisply carved details and carefully balanced composition, the work vividly evokes the glorious traditions of the *duomo*, where the kings of Lombardy and later the Holy Roman emperors received the Iron Crown,

See also Campione, Bonino da; Milan

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Cancellieri Family

The merchant banker Cancelliere di Sinibaldo (fl. after 1210) founded one of the leading families of medieval Pistoia. His three sons, Amadore, Ranieri, and Sinibaldo, established three powerful and prolific branches of the Cancellieri family. Ranieri alone had nine sons, including Cialdo (d. after 1291) and Dego (d. 1293), both of whom were very active in Pistoia as professional podestas and as politicians. Other members of the family were important in banking and commerce. Rivalries were common within this large clan (e.g., Ranieri financed the city's *pedites* and Amadore financed the knights), and in 1286 true factions emerged. Ghibellines and magnates gathered around the Ranieri branch, the "Whites"; the "Black" Amadori branch attracted Guelf *popobni* and "new men." The city and *contado* (the surrounding countryside) were polarized, and violent feuding erupted.

In 1306, however, with the conquest of Pistoia by "Black" Florence and Lucca, the reunited Cancellieri ended their feud, and they headed Pistoia's pro-Florentine Blacks and Guelfs. The defeated Whites and Ghibellines rallied around an old noble family of international bankers, the Panciatichi, who opposed Florentine rule. This factional rivalry, supported by broad networks throughout Tuscany, lasted through the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth. Ironically, by 1400 the Panciatichi were pro-Florence, while the Cancellieri faction, led by Ricciardo Cancellieri, mounted a bloody and destructive revolt against Florentine domination (1401-1403) that did not end until the death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, on whose support Ricciardo had counted.

See also **Ghibelline; Guelfs; Pistoia**

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Cangrande Della Scala

Cangrande I della Scala (Canfrancesco, 1291-1329) was the third son of Alberto I della Scala, lord of Verona. He was probably born on 8 or 9 May 1291 and was christened Canfrancesco, but from his childhood he was called Canis Magnus, or Cangrande (also Can Grande, "great dog"). Little is known of his youth. In 1294, at the age of three, he was made a knight during a courtly celebration of his father's victory over the d'Este family. Upon his father's death in 1301, he was entrusted to the care of his elder brother Bartolomeo.

In 1306, Cangrande was invested with a fief by the bishop of Vicenza and began to take part in his brother Alboino's military campaigns. The brothers collaborated as rulers of Verona from 1308 on, and in 1308 Cangrande was married to Giovanna of Svevia, daughter of Conrad of Antioch. Both Alboino and Cangrande were made imperial *vicarii* of the city in 1311, during the Italian expedition of Emperor Henry VII. When Alboino died later that year, Cangrande became the sole ruler of Verona.



Statue of Cangrande della Scala, Verona. Photograph courtesy of Teresa Gualtieri Clarke.

Cangrande was clearly the most militarily gifted of the Scaliger lords (Scaliger was a name adopted by descendants of the della Scala). He expanded his rule over the entire mark of Verona-Treviso. He was granted the imperial vicariate of Vicenza early in 1312 and quickly established himself as personal ruler of the city. After Emperor Henry VII died in 1313, Cangrande remained loyal to the imperial party. He did homage to Frederick of Austria in 1317 and received a confirmation of his vicariate of Verona; when he refused to renounce the imperial

vicariate, Pope John XXII excommunicated him the following year. Allied with Duke Henry of Gorizia and Henry of Carinthia, Cangrande conquered much of the countryside south of Padua in the winter of 1317-1318, and most of the castles in the territory of Treviso the following September. His participation in the siege of Genoa (in the autumn of 1318) increased his stature among other Ghibelline leaders, but Cangrande's ambitions were focused on the Veneto. In 1319 he laid siege to Padua, but a defeat in August 1320 led to the lifting of the blockade. The following year, however, he conquered Feltre (June 1321) and then Belluno (October 1322). After a brief flirtation with the papal party in the early 1320s (he was negotiating with the curia to rescind his excommunication), Cangrande reaffirmed his Ghibelline connection and helped to lift the siege of Milan in 1323. He entered a league with Mantua, Ferrara, and the emperor in 1324-1325 and brought his forces to various sieges in the countryside around Modena. In 1327, Cangrande finally gained control of Padua with the help of exiled malcontents, entering the city on 11 September. Early in July 1329 he began a war against Treviso, conquering the city on 17 September. Cangrande fell ill after entering Treviso and died there on 22 July 1329. He left no legitimate heir.

While he is chiefly known for his military exploits, Cangrande also sheltered the poet Dante during Dante's long exile (1312-1318). Dante eulogized him in *Paradiso* 17 (76-93), describing him as so magnificent "that his enemies will not repress/ Their tongues from telling what things he hath done" (*Le sue magnificenze conosciute/saranno ancora, sí che'suoi nemici/non nepotran tener le lingue mute*).

The essential work on Cangrande is still Spangenberg (1892-1895), a detailed narrative political biography organized chronologically; the author's annotations are an invaluable guide to primary sources, and the work includes a few key documents (2:151-163). None of the sources for Cangrande's career, however, is available in translation. The sources most central to an analysis of his rule are *Antiche cronache Veronesi* and *Statuti di Verona del 1327*.

See also Dante Alighieri; Delia Scala Family; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Padua; Verona

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Canon Law Collections and Ordinary Glosses

The *Decretum* or *Concordia discordantium canonum* (*Harmonization of Discordant Canons*) was compiled and annotated by Gratian c. 1141; the ordinary gloss by Johannes Teutonicus was published c. 1215 and revised by Bernardo da Brescia c. 1245 (for manuscripts, see Kuttner 1937, 95-118). The *Decretum* contained almost 4,000 canons or chapters culled by Gratian from scriptural, patristic, conciliar, and decretal sources, together with his own comments or observations (*dicta*) regarding the canons or legal issues under scrutiny. In this work Gratian's discussion is framed in dialectical terms, that is, as a harmonization of juxtaposed arguments. The sheer breadth of the source material, combined with the scholastic method, created a new science of canonical jurisprudence. The *Decretum* was soon revised by the law teachers who first used it; they introduced a system of subdividing portions of Gratian's text, and they appended additional material drawn from both ecclesiastical and Roman legal sources. Some early editions are Paris (1500, 1503, 1547), Lyon (1554, 1559), and Antwerp (1570). Several popes of the late sixteenth century ordered the preparation of an edition of the *Decretum* and of some subsequent canonistic collections that would be authoritative in the schools and courts. This *Editio Romana* was published in Rome in 1582 at the command of Pope Gregory XIII; further editions of the *Decretum* were based on it: Turin (1670), Lyon (1671), and Paris (1687). Various subsequent critical editions attempted to present a text closer to Gratian's archetype: Halle (1747, ed. I. H. Böhmer), Leipzig (1839, ed. Emil L. Richter), and Leipzig (1879, ed. Emil Friedberg, the most useful modern edition). At the time of the present writing, scholars agreed that a new critical edition was needed.

The explosive growth of law made by the popes during the period after the publication of the *Decretum* found expression in decretals, i.e., papal letters of legal import, avidly collected by canonists. Many private decretal collections circulated during the late twelfth century, and this tradition of compilation culminated in five systematically organized collections, the *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, which were

treated by canonists as supplemental to Gratian's *Decretum*.

The first of these compilations, the *Breviarium extravagantium* or *Compilatio prima*, was collected by Bernardo da Pavia (also known as Bernardo Balbi) c. 1191; the ordinary gloss by Tancredi da Bologna appeared in two recensions c. 1210-1215 and c. 1220, Bernardo's division of 912 decretals, conciliar canons, and other texts into five topical books became standard for later decretal collections: (1) ecclesiastical jurisdiction, (2) civil procedure, (3) clergy and ecclesiastical property, (4) marriage and related matters, and (5) criminal procedure and punishment. The books are subdivided into 152 titles; Pope Alexander III's decretals figure most prominently, together with those of other popes, e.g., Gregory I, Lucius III, and Urban III. (For manuscripts of the compilation and ordinary gloss, see Kuttner 1937, 329-344.)

The *Compilatio secunaa* (the second compilation) was put together by John of Wales between 1210-1215- It contained 331 texts, almost exclusively decretals from popes of the late twelfth century {Alexander III, Lucius III, Urban III, Gregory VIII, Clement III, Celestine III, Innocent III}. These were grouped in five books and 106 titles. The ordinary gloss by Tancredi da Bologna appeared in two recensions c. 1215 and c. 1220. (For manuscripts of the compilation and ordinary gloss, see Kuttner 1937, 345-354.)

The *Compilatio tertia* (third compilation) was the work of Pietro da Benevento (also known as Pietro Collivaccino) and was promulgated (albeit probably not commissioned initially) by Innocent III in 1210 as the first officially sanctioned collection of canon law. It contained 489 decretals from the first twelve years of Innocent III's pontificate, grouped in five books and 122 titles. The ordinary gloss by Tancredi da Bologna appeared c. 1216-1220. (For manuscripts of the compilation and ordinary gloss, see Kuttner 1937, 359-368.)

The *Compilatio quarta* (fourth compilation) was collected by Johannes Teutonicus c. 1216-1217 and contained 189 texts: decretals of Innocent III from the final six years of his pontificate, and canons of the Fourth Lateran Council. These were grouped in five books and sixty-nine titles. Johannes attempted to secure the pope's official approval, but Innocent III refused. Johannes published the ordinary gloss at roughly the same time. (For manuscripts of the compilation and ordinary gloss, see Kuttner 1937, 375-381.)

The *Compilatio quinta* (fifth compilation) was put together by Tancredi da Bologna directly from the papal registers and was promulgated by Pope Honorius III in 1226. It contained 223 texts: Honorius's decretals and an imperial constitution of Frederick II (divided into nine parts). The texts were grouped in five books and ninety-four titles. The ordinary gloss by Jacopo d'Albegna was published c. 1226. (For manuscripts of the compilation and ordinary gloss, see Kuttner 1937, 383-385.)

The first four compilations were printed in an edition by Antonio Agustín, *Antiquae collectiones decretalium* (Lerida, 1576). Agustín also included Johannes Teutonicus's ordinary gloss on *Compilatio quarta*. A partial edition of *Compilatio prima* was begun by Joseph Anton Riegger (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1779). Two editions of *Compilatio quinta* alone were printed: Toulouse (1645, ed. I. Ciron) and Vienna (1761, ed. Joseph Anton Riegger). All five of the *compilationes antiquae* were only partly edited by Friedberg (Leipzig, 1882) in a form intended to be supplemented by his edition of *Liber extra*. These compilations were an object of general canonical study and practice until 1234.

The *Liber extra* (also known as *Decretales Gregorii IX*) was compiled by Raimundo de Penyafort between 1230 and 1234, and promulgated by Gregory IX in 1234. Raimundo selected 1971 decretals, almost 90 percent of them from the five compilations described above, with decretals of Gregory IX supplying most of the remainder. These were grouped in five books and 185 titles. The ordinary gloss by Bernardo da Parma appeared in at least four recensions between 1241 and 1263. Editions, some with gloss: Mainz (1473), Antwerp (1570), Rome (1582, *Editio Romano*), Turin (1670), Lyon (1671), Paris (1687), Halle (1747), and Leipzig (1839). The modern critical edition is by Friedberg (Leipzig, 1881).

The *Liber sextus* (*Sixth Book*) was compiled at the command of Pope Boniface VIII by Guillaume Mandagout, Berenger Fredol, and Riccardo Petronio, and promulgated by the pope in 1298. It contained 359 chapters organized in five books and seventy-six titles; a final section contained eighty-eight legal maxims (*regulae iuris*). The chapters consisted of canons from the first and second general councils of Lyon, and decretals of nine thirteenth-century popes (Gregory IX, Innocent IV, Alexander IV, Urban IV, Clement IV, Gregory X, Nicholas III, Martin

IV, and Boniface VIII). Early editions: Mainz (1465), Paris (1535; reprint, Aalen, 1968), Rome (1582, *Editio Romano*), and Venice (1585, 1602). The modern critical edition is by Friedberg (Leipzig, 1881). The ordinary gloss by Giovanni d'Andrea was published c. 1301 and is found in some of the printed editions listed above.

The *Constitutiones Clementinae* or *Constitutiones Clementis V* was compiled at the order of Pope Clement V and promulgated by Pope John XXII in 1317. This work contained 106 decretals grouped in five books and fifty-two titles. Two decretals of Urban IV and Boniface VIII appeared; Clement was the author of the remaining texts, including canons of the general council of Vienne. The *Clementinae* represents the last official collection of the Middle Ages—i.e., the last one promulgated by a pope. Editions: Mainz (1460), Strasbourg (1471), Venice (1479, 1482, 1484, 1485, 1490, 1491), and Rome (1472, 1473, c. 1478, and 1582, *Editio Romano*). The modern critical edition is by Friedberg (Leipzig, 1881). The ordinary gloss by Giovanni d'Andrea was published c. 1322 and is found in some of the foregoing printed editions.

The *Extravagantes Johannis XXII* was compiled as a private collection, probably by Jesselin de Cassagnes between 1325 and 1327; it contains twenty of John's decretals. Early editions were published in Rome (c. 1478) and in Cologne (1483, 1488, 1493, 1494, 1495). Jean Chappuis grouped the chronologically arranged material into fourteen topical titles and published it in 1500 in Paris as part of a new edition of canon law; this edition was essentially reproduced in Rome (1582, *Editio Romano*). One modern edition is by Friedberg (Leipzig, 1881). The definitive critical edition is by Tarrant (Vatican City, 1983). The only significant gloss was written by Jesselin between c. 1322 and 1327.

The *Extravagantes communes* was compiled by Jean Chappuis in Paris in 1500 and 1503; it contains, respectively, seventy and seventy-four "commonly circulating" decretals from the late thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The authors of these decretals were popes Boniface VIII, Benedict XI, Clement V, John XXII, Benedict XII, Clement VI, Urban V, Martin V, Eugene IV, Calixtus III, Paul II, and Sixtus IV. Chappuis grouped the texts in four books and thirty-five titles. The modern critical edition was published by Friedberg (Leipzig, 1881).

See also Alexander III, Pope; Bernardo da Pavia; Boniface VIII, Pope; Clement V, Pope; Gratian; Gregory IX, Pope; Honorius III, Pope; Innocent III, Pope; John XXII, Pope; Law: Canon; Tancredi da Bologna; Urban IV, Pope

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Canonization

Canonization is the official procedure adopted by the Christian church to declare one or more of its faithful, after their death, worthy of public recognition as saints. Once sainthood has been declared, the new saint is assigned a date on the calendar, entered in the canon (the list of official saints), and venerated as a model. The process of canonization was less structured in medieval times than it is at present.

Martyrs were the first faithful to be venerated as saints. Subsequently, other types of exemplary faithfulness and devotion to Christ were considered worthy of public veneration. In the first centuries of church history, martyrdom was singled out as an admirable and imitable form of witnessing for Christian belief. During the great Roman persecutions, martyrs were acknowledged as worthy of public remembrance, their date of death and place of execution were regarded as sacred, and their burial site was often chosen as a place of worship. They had offered their lives to Christ and had become united with Christ in their excruciating suffering and violent death. Not only were martyrs an example of faith to imitate; they were invoked to intercede with God for the oppressed and persecuted church on earth. Toward the end of the Roman persecutions, in the fourth century, there were fewer martyrs and more confessors: people who upheld orthodoxy and suffered strenuously to defend the faith against heresy and misbelief. The concept of sainthood was broadened further to include those faithful who excelled in doctrine, the doctors of the church; those who distinguished themselves for their works in the role of bishop, missionary, virgin, priest, deacon, abbot, abbess, monk, nun, or hermit; and in general all those who led an outstanding life of faith.

During the early stages of Christianity, sainthood was simply proclaimed by public fame. Later, a declaration of sainthood became the responsibility of the bishop in whose diocese the saint-to-be had lived and witnessed for his or her faith. The bishop continued to base the judgment of sainthood on public fame, and on a biography of the person being presented for sanctity. If the petition received approval, the body was exhumed and moved to an altar, and a particular calendar day was assigned for celebration of the saint's feast. The bishop ascertained that the saint's tomb was an object of veneration and that the saint was invoked for healing and for intercession.

Subsequently, in the course of the Middle Ages, canonization was transferred from the bishop to papal authority. This formalization of the procedure was a very long process, which took place over the entire first millennium of church history. Initially, papal canonization was simply a formal consent to transfer the saint's body to an altar, but gradually it became the only form of elevation to sanctity. The first documented papal canonization was that of Saint Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg, who died in 973 and was canonized in 993 by Pope John XV. Canonization became the sole prerogative of the papacy under Pope Alexander III in the second half of the twelfth century. In 1234 Pope Gregory IX sanctioned papal inquiry as the only legitimate process for ascertaining sainthood.

See also Church Organization and Functions; Saints Lives: Italian Hagiography in the Vernacular

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Canosa Di Puglia

According to tradition, Canusium, in the modern region of Puglia (Apulia), was founded by Diomedes. It flourished in antiquity as a Greek city famous for the manufacture of silk garments and ceramics, as well as for its commercial activity. In 318 B.C. it became an ally of Rome, and its commercial prosperity continued through the Roman era.

Canosa was the most ancient diocese (a.d. 343) in the region of Puglia, but it declined sharply in the face of the barbarians' devastation. It came under Lombard rule; then, during the Byzantine reassertion in southern Italy, it was elevated to archepiscopal status (835). Renewed destruction was brought by the Saracens' attacks (840-870). The city revived yet again under the Ottonian emperors; during this period, nevertheless, its ecclesiastical authority was joined to that of Bari, which was expanded significantly by Pope John XIX (c. 1025). After the conquest by the Normans, the center of ecclesiastical power was definitively shifted to Bari; Canosa's urban status was significantly reduced and its economic importance as a port city diminished.

Among the medieval monuments in Canosa is the Romanesque cathedral, dedicated to San Sabino and begun c. 1080. This church is especially noteworthy for its pulpit and episcopal throne, carved by Romualdo for Bishop Ursone (1079-1089). Beside the southern portal of

the cathedral stands the unusual tomb of the great Norman warrior Bohemond (d. 1111), son of Robert Guiscard. The tomb was commissioned by Bohemond's mother, Alberada. Its design perhaps reflects experiments in crusader architecture; though its interior is austere, its exterior is handsomely sheathed in marble, and its magnificent bronze door (c. 1120) carries a fulsome inscription in silver letters extolling Bohemond.

See also **Bari; Bohemond of Taranto; Lombards; Otto I; Otto II; Otto III**

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Canossa

Canossa was the site of a castle (destroyed in 1255) in the Italian province of Emilia, 12 miles (about 20 kilometers) southwest of Reggio Emilia. On 28 January 1077 it was the scene of one of the most celebrated, and enigmatic, episodes in the investiture conflict.

The journey to Canossa had begun a year earlier, at the synod of Worms (24 January 1076). This synod of German bishops, meeting under the protection of King Henry IV of Germany, declared that no one could any longer accept Gregory VII as the true pope. By virtue of his presumptive claim to the title "patrician of the Romans," Henry issued a letter in which he formally assented to the bishops' decree and commanded Gregory to renounce the papacy.

The circumstances that led to this extreme measure are not completely known, but in any case Henry and his clergy left no alternative to open conflict, especially after their decrees were seconded by a synod of Italian bishops at Piacenza. Gregory retaliated almost immediately (perhaps on 14 February) by declaring Henry excommunicate, deposed, and anathematized. He absolved the king's subjects of their oaths of allegiance to Henry and forbade them to serve Henry as king.

At this time Henry was struggling to suppress rebellious princes in

Saxony, and the news of the pope's decree gave new life to the rebellion, which was strengthened by alliances in southern Germany. In October 1076, Henry arranged a humiliating truce with his enemies. He promised to return to obedience to Gregory and agreed that if the pope had not absolved him of his excommunication within one year, the bishops and secular princes could legitimately proceed to the election of a new king. On disbanding, the rebels invited Gregory to a conference in Augsburg the next February to resolve the conflict.

Henry's great objective then became loosening the ties between the pope and the rebels. Clearly, if he were to accomplish this end, he must intercept Gregory before the pope crossed the Alps into territories hostile to the king. Therefore, with a small entourage, including the queen and some other court ladies (who were taken over the ice and snow in horse-drawn oxhides), Henry undertook a hazardous journey into Italy, finding what security he could in the territories of his mother-in-law, Countess Adelheid of Turin. The pope, upon hearing that his declared enemy was nearby, withdrew to Canossa, a castle belonging to Countess Matilda of Tuscany, together with Adelheid, Matilda, and Henry's godfather, Abbot Hugh of Cluny. The king followed him there,

At first, Gregory refused to see Henry, regarding him as excommunicate and his case as pending adjudication, perhaps at Augsburg. But after Henry, dressed in the flimsy robe of a penitent, had stood outside the castle for three days in the bitter cold, the pope was persuaded to grant him an audience (28 January 1077).

Documents issuing from that interview survive, but the intended and the actual results of the meeting remain elusive. It is clear that Henry signed an oath promising to see that justice was done according to Gregory's judgment, and granting Gregory, his entourage, and emissaries from and to him safe conduct if he should wish to go over into Germany as planned. For his part, Gregory released Henry from excommunication, administering the eucharist to him. It cannot be conclusively determined whether Gregory also reinstated Henry as king. Much later, during another crisis (in 1080), Gregory stated that he had not restored Henry to kingship; but in the meantime he had certainly referred to Henry, and dealt with him, as king. It would appear, not least from Henry's oath, that after their audience Gregory

still planned to cross over into Germany and to confer there with the king and the king's enemies.

However, the reconciliation at Canossa persuaded the rebel princes that the pope had withdrawn from their cause. The princes did not send the escort that they had promised to attend Gregory on his journey, and the pope turned back. In March 1077, the rebels elected an antiking, Rudolf of Rheinfelden. Still hoping that the entente at Canossa would lead to a satisfactory outcome, Gregory refrained from recognizing Rudolf as legitimate king until 1080, when he renewed his excommunication, deposition, and curse against Henry, just before Rudolf was killed by Henry's forces in the battle of the Elster—an event that for some people cast Gregory's character as vicar of God into doubt.

Canossa became a powerful, almost mythical, symbol in literature about the conflict between church and state, but what happened there and its actual consequences remain difficult to establish.

See also Gregory VII, Pope; Henry IV, Emperor; Matilda, Countess of Tuscany

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Cantare

Cantare, an Italian narrative genre in verse, emerged in the late medieval period, flowered from the mid-fourteenth century through the fifteenth, and faded during the course of the sixteenth century. The term *cantare*, from the verb "to sing," refers to an individual poem as well as to one of its internal divisions. The latter meaning was in use by

1307, as substantiated by a Bolognese document. The earliest extant manuscripts date from the 1340s. As the name of the genre implies, the works were often sung, to the accompaniment of an instrument such as the viol, although later examples seem to have been destined for individual reading. The recitation of poetry with musical accompaniment is as old as antiquity, and various meters have been used, but in Italy the *cantare* was typified by an eight-line stanza (*ottava rima*) called an octave. Overall length varied from extremely short (*Cantare del padiglione*, or *Cantare of the Pavilion*, has twenty-two octaves) to epic proportions (*Orlando* has sixty divisions of thirty-four to forty-eight octaves each). The optimum length for the inner divisions in a *cantare* seems to have been forty to fifty octaves. This was probably dictated by the exigencies of live performance: both the singer and the audience would have required intermissions. The longer examples were most likely recited in serial form over a period of several days. The interruption of the narrative at suspenseful moments would have virtually guaranteed an audience for the subsequent installment.

The professional entertainers who composed and recited *cantari* are variously known as *canterini*, *cantimbanchi*, or *cantastorie*. They were probably of middle-class or lower-class origin, with adequate histrionic and musical abilities, and of modest learning—and not necessarily illiterate, since some apparently wrote out their poems. They performed wherever they could draw a crowd: in public squares; at markets and festivals; and, as legal documents show, even in churches. The most renowned performers were sometimes hired by wealthy families for private celebrations. While many extant *cantari* are anonymous, the names of several of the minor poets who wrote *cantari* have survived: they include Fra Felice Tancredi da Massa; the Sienese poets Neri Pagliaresi, Niccolò Cicerchia, and Pier da Siena; Niccolò da Arezzo, who was blind; Guidaloste da Pistoia; Lorenzo Obbizzi, who was born in Prato but lived in Lucca; and the Florentines Antonio Pucci, Antonio di Goro dall'Ancisa (who, after the Ciompi revolt, worked in Lucca), and Antonio di Guido.

The preponderance of manuscript evidence suggests that Tuscany was the birthplace of this genre. It seems to have prospered especially in Florence: one document notes that in the 1470s the commune of Perugia, in need of such entertainers, sent away to acquire the services

of skilled Florentines. Other centers of *cantari* were Siena, Pisa, and Lucca. To judge from contemporary testimony, such as the so-called *Cantare det Cantari*, there was a vast production, and individual *canterini* may have committed enormous repertoires to memory; however, the evidence is incomplete, owing to the loss of written copies and to the improvisational nature of the performances themselves.

Cantari demonstrate certain standardized structural features, such as a brief religious invocation contained in the first octave. This was often followed by an appeal to a patron or to the listeners (or reader). Next came a summary of events narrated in the preceding *cantare*. A section frequently ended with a "preview of coming attractions," a remark by the *canterino* on the need for a pause, and a reminder to the audience that the narration would continue at a later time. Inner divisions as well as entire poems generally concluded with sacred *congedi* (leave-takings), which were at times as short as a single line of verse.

Subject matter was drawn from a wide range of sources, both oral and written. Thus, rather than being considered a purely popular tradition, *cantari* are more properly called semipopular or semilearned. Numerous *cantari* reflect earlier narrative models: the "Carolingian material" (*Orlando, Spagna*), the Breton cycle (*Fiorio e Biancifiore*), and French *lais* (*Bel Gherardino*). Another group of *cantari* which emerged in the fifteenth century had classical subjects such as the Trojan war (*Eneas*), the deeds of Roman heroes (*I fatti di Cesare*), or the amorous stories of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*Orfeo, Piramo e Tisbe*). Some *cantari* included scabrous, novella-like tales such as those found in the *Decameron* (*Storia del calonaco di Siena*), while others had a devotional function and were based on the Bible or hagiographic legends (*Passione di Cristo, Cantare delgiudizio*). Still others chronicled current sociopolitical events, thereby revealing a commemorative or encomiastic purpose (*Cantare dellaguerra degli Otto santi*).

Thus *cantari* may be viewed as commercial products, created primarily to delight an audience. With the diffusion of printing in the late fifteenth century, this trait became even more evident: *cantari* continued to be produced, and many were apparently aimed at the newly created mass audience. In later *cantari*, for example, authorial addresses to listeners (*voi*) have been replaced by addresses to a single reader (*tu*).

See also Antonio Pucci; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Carolingian Material in Italy; Giullari; Italian Prosody; Ottava Rima

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Canzone

Before the appearance of the sonnet and the *ballata*, the *canzone* was the most important vernacular lyric form in Italy. Of unspecified length and with no strict metrical form, it displays great variety in its stanzaic structure and rhyme schemes, often freely intermingling line lengths; usually hendecasyllables are mixed with heptameters or sometimes pentameters. Special terms are used to describe the internal components of a stanza: the *fronte* (opening or head), composed of two *piedi* ("feet") of equal length, and a *sirma* or *cauda* ("tail") of unequal length. Tuscan examples tend to close with an envoi. Stanzas can have from seven to twenty lines, and the envoi from three to ten. Thematically, the *canzone* was originally a love lyric, but it could also be political, religious, or even didactic. Other themes were nature and high human concepts such as nobility and courtesy.

Canzoni were first produced in the thirteenth century by poets at the Sicilian court of Emperor Frederick II, which was frequented by troubadours and minnesingers. The Provençal *canso* in the style of Giraut de Borneil was a primary influence on the formal development of the Italian *canzone*. A secondary strain of influence from the German *Minnesong* is observed in the Sicilians' use of a *piede* of three or more lines, rather than the generally shorter Provençal *pedes*.

Poets of the Sicilian school who wrote *canzoni* include Emperor Frederick himself (*S'eo trovasse Pietanza*), King Enzo, Pier della Vigna (*Arnore, in cui disio ed ho speranza*), and—chief among these—Giacomo da Lentini (*Amor non vole ch'io clami, Meravigliosamente*). Later in the thirteenth century, the genre was adopted by poets from various

regions, and especially by the Tuscan *stilnovisti* (poets writing in a "sweet new style"). Important examples are those by Giacomino Pugliese (*Morte, perché m'hai fatta sì gran guerra*), Rinaldo d'Aquino (*Per fin'amore vao sì allegramente*), Bonagiunta Orbicciani da Lucca (*Avegna chepartensa*), and the Florentines Guido Guinizzelli (*Al cor gentile*), Guido Cavalcanti (*Donna meprega*), Monte Andrea (*Donna di voi si rancurd*), and Chiaro Davanzati (*Abi dolze e gaia terra fiorentina*). Chiaro produced some sixty extant *canzoni*. Guittone d'Arezzo, who wrote *canzoni* with religious and political themes as well as the conventional themes of love, is credited with reintroducing the Provençal *tornada* (called in Tuscan *commiato* or *congedo*), a leave-taking that concludes the poem. Dante, in his treatise *De vulgari ehquentia*, praised the *canzone* as the highest vernacular lyric form, and the most difficult to write. He himself rose to the challenge and included *canzoni* such as *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore* and *Amor, che movi* in his *Vita nuova* and *Convivio*.

By the mid-fourteenth century, the *canzone* became very elegant, with an impressive match of content and form. Many of Petrarch's *canzoni* (e.g., *Chiare, fresche, e do lei acque*-, *Nel dolce tempo de la prima etade*) demonstrate not only high technical achievement but refined literary strictures. Petrarch's *canzoni* typically have five or six stanzas with an envoi. In *Prose della volgar lingua*, Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) praised Petrarch's achievement, thus helping to bring the *canzone* into prominence in the sixteenth century. By this time it had further evolved into a musical incarnation known as the *madrigal* (a single stanza with short and long lines mixed freely). Later writers of *canzoni* include Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1543), Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530), and Torquato Tasso (1544-1595).

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Chiaro Davanzati; Dante Alighieri; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Giacomino Pugliese; Giacomo da Lentini; Guinizzelli, Guido; Guittone d'Arezzo; Italian Poetry: Lyric? Italian Prosody; Petrarca, Francesco

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Cappella Palatina

See *Palatine Chapel*

Capua

The populous Roman city of Capua, in Campania, was founded, according to tradition, in 598 B.C. It was dominated by the Etruscans and then, beginning in the third quarter of the fifth century B.C., by the Samnites, whose dominance lasted until Capua became an ally of Rome c. 340. Capua eventually rebelled against Rome, and with the help of the Carthaginians remained independent of Rome until it was forced to capitulate in 211 B.C. The population was dispersed, and the city lost its status until 61 B.C., when Julius Caesar established a new colony there. It was then restored as the capital of Campania and enjoyed the patronage of Augustus and Nero. It continued to prosper during the imperial period, while other cities declined. According to Ausonius (c. 310-c. 395), Capua was the third city in Italy after Rome and Milan, and eighth among all the cities in the Empire.

Despite being devastated by Gaiseric in a.d. 456, Capua remained one

of the principal cities of Campania, but Saracens destroyed the city c. 842. By this period, Capua was becoming an important dependency of the Lombard principality of Benevento. Landolfo established his rule in Capua in 847 and managed to resist the domination of the principality of Salerno. In the late ninth century Landone, the son of Landolfo, refounded Capua on a new site on the Volturno River near the Casilino Bridge, and this would become the modern city of Capua. Atenolfo, nephew of Landone and count of Capua, also became prince of Benevento (900-910), and on his death the two cities were apportioned to his sons: Landolfo I received Benevento and Atenolfo II received Capua. The complex interactions of their descendants once again intertwined the destinies of these two cities. The Ottonian ambitions in Italy in the tenth century drew Capua into a shifting relationship which, after the intervention and death of Otto III, resulted in the reconstitution of the principality of Capua and the establishment of a new ruling line from the reigning family in Benevento (1001).

In the early eleventh century, Capua was caught between the German emperor Henry II and the Byzantines of southern Italy, who were contending for ascendancy in the region. Pandolfo IV and his brother, the abbot of Monte Cassino, supported the Byzantines in this conflict and were victorious: they succeeded in reclaiming Capua and in establishing their own ascendancy in Naples. Also, Capua's control over the abbey of Monte Cassino was established. Pandolfo became allied with one of the first important Norman warlords, Count Rainulf, who had been granted the city of Aversa by the duke of Naples; and on behalf of Emperor Conrad II, Pandolfo was driven out of Capua. However, after a brief period of exile in Constantinople he returned to Italy and succeeded in recovering Capua and its territories. His status was confirmed by Emperor Henry III in 1047, and he and his descendants resumed their rule. The Norman lord Richard Drengot, count of Aversa, was granted papal investment in Capua in 1059, and in 1062 he seized the city, ending its Lombard regime. Richard I, prince of Capua (1062-1078), established Norman feudalism in the Lombard Campania, and until his death Capua was the regional center of power. Richard's descendants, originally subjects of Robert Guiscard, transferred their allegiance to the counts of Sicily, the second of whom, Roger II, compelled the surrender of Capua in 1134. Thereafter, Capua's

history was part of that of the Norman regime of southern Italy and its continuations.

There are considerable archaeological remains from the Roman period in Capua. Little remains from the Lombard period, and only fragments of Norman buildings, incorporated into later structures, have survived. Fortifications from the period of Frederick II are still present, as well as some fourteenth century palace and church constructions. In the fifteenth century, elements of Aragonese and Catalan styles were introduced into new constructions and into earlier constructions that were still going on.

See also **Benevento; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gaiseric the Vandal; Lombards; Monte Cassino, Monastery; Normans; Otto III; Robert Guiscard; Roger II**

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Carnino Ghiberti

The thirteenth-century merchant and poet Carnino Ghiberti belonged

to one of the main Florentine Guelf families of the second half of the *Duecento*. He is remembered for his four *canzoni* in MS Vatican Latino 3793 (two are anonymous in Florentine MS Banco Rari 217). In their array of motifs and their formal technique, Carnino's compositions defy stagnant categories of stylistic alignment (e.g., "Guittonean"). Carnino draws from lyric tendencies as diverse as the salamander as a paradoxical symbol of the lover's condition (in the courtly *Disioso*) and the sarcastic practical politics of wealth in the *mondo comunale*, reminiscent of his contemporary Monte Andrea and an apparent counterpart of twentieth-century realpolitik (in *Pot ch'è*). His amplification of the courtly locus of the faithful assassin in *Luntan* anticipates Dante's *Inferno* (19.50-51). With regard to prosody, Carnino uses combinations of oral-based *capfi nidas* to link stanzas, experimental rhyme schemes, and studied lexicon.

See also Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody

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Carolingian Dynasty

See Frankish Kingdom

Carolingian Material in Italy

Carolingian stories—as distinct from the Breton cycle ("matter of Britain") or the classical cycle ("matter of Rome")—were an important source of subject matter for medieval narratives. The Carolingian stories were based on the legendary exploits of Charlemagne (Carlo Magno in Italian) and his faithful knights. There are documents describing the deeds of the historical emperor (742-814), but the legends create for him a fictional persona: the defender of Christendom against Islam. Although the origins of this material are problematic, it seems clear that the legends, written in Latin and in various vernaculars, developed quickly and spread throughout western Europe. The most important epic was the *Chanson de Roland* (composed by the late eleventh century), which was inspired by the historical defeat of the French army near Roncesvalles (Roncevaux), in the Pyrenees, on 15 August 778. According to this poem, the emperor's treacherous relative Ganelon ("Gano") provokes the Saracens into ambushing the Christian rear guard, led by Roland ("Orlando"). Charlemagne subjugates Spain in revenge, and converts its people to Christianity. Although the traitor Gano is executed, enmity persists between his kin the Mayence ("Maganza") and those of Orlando, the Clermont ("Chiaramontese"). This feud was developed in other epics, such as *Doon de Mayence* and *Quatre fils Aimon*. Another related cycle features the exploits of William of Orange and his relatives.

Carolingian stories were most likely imported into Italy in the thirteenth century by minstrels, pilgrims, and merchants. Since the typical heroes were Christians slain—in effect, martyred—while defending their faith, the material was legitimized and won even the approval of the church. From iconographic evidence that predates the surviving literary texts, one may surmise the great cultural importance of this material: there are sculptures of Carolingian knights on the portals of the twelfth-century cathedrals at Verona, Modena, and Fidenza; and a mosaic at Brindisi depicts the tragic defeat at "Roncisvalle." Saint Francis compared his followers to the paladins Orlando and Olivieri. The names of Carolingian heroes were in common use, as is shown by thirteenth-century documents, and Dante included several in his *Commedia*.

The production of this material in Italy lasted for centuries, and its various phases are characterized by medium (oral or written, prose or

verse) and by the degree to which innovations appear. At first the "matter of France" served as a narrative mainstay of the *canterini*, who, in the tradition of minstrels, entertained their audiences with epic poetry set to musical accompaniment. Although the early audiences were probably illiterate commoners, handwritten and printed copies of Carolingian narratives appear in the library inventories of aristocrats of the later fifteenth century.



Anonymous, *Death of Roland*. Italian manuscript, fourteenth century. Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. Photo: © Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.

The rich Carolingian narrative tradition of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is attested to by many surviving manuscripts from the Veneto and Tuscany. Examples of epic poems in verse in the hybrid Franco-Venetian language include *Entrée d'Espagne*, *Prise de Pampelune*, *Huon d'Auvergne*, *Aquilon de Bavière*, and *La geste francor*, a cyclic compilation. During this period prose and verse versions existed side by side, and texts were composed in various regional dialects. In fourteenth-century Tuscany, the eight-line stanza (*ottava rima*) emerged as the preferred meter for narratives in this vein (*cantari*), a practice which continued through the sixteenth century. Popular legends such as *Aspramonte*, *La Spagna*, and *Rinaldo da Montalbano* were produced in verse and prose.

With the diffusion of printing beginning in the late fifteenth century, one finds an explosion of "battle books" written in *ottava rima*. To meet an increased commercial demand, many new legends were created,

based on the exploits of the sons of the original heroes (e.g., Rinaldo da Montalbano, Guidon Selvaggio). Long *ottava rima* epics reflected the individualistic voices of great poets; these epics included Pulci's *Morgante* (a humorous reworking of the fourteenth-century *cantare Orlando*), Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (an idealization of the traditional heroes and conventions), and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (an ironic treatment). In the mid-sixteenth century several women, such as Tullia d'Aragona and Laura Terracina, also composed works in this genre.

In Italy the material became an object of pleasure and delight for the listener or reader, marking a significant shift from the solemnity of the French epic. The ever-evolving nature of the material in Italy ensured its survival. Changes varied according to century, region, individual author, and audiences' demands. The Italian versions were not so much direct translations as free reworkings of French models. One notes, for example, a gradual change of tone or emphasis from religion and nationalism to individual conflicts and adventures. Amorous and fantastic elements usually associated with the Breton cycle were introduced to varying degrees. Roland (Orlando) is given an Italian origin (in accordance with ethnocentrism). Charlemagne or Carlo Magno becomes old and decrepit; and set against his loss of authority and dignity there is a corresponding rise in the power of the traitorous Maganzesi. Other Italian modifications to the French originals include the creation of new characters, especially legitimate or illegitimate offspring of conventional heroes, and innovations such as the woman warrior (Meridiana or Antea in *Orlando*; Galiziella in *Aspramonte*). Italian authors combined related tales into cycles, reordered events, and constructed complex genealogies for their heroes. These processes call to mind the special contribution of the Florentine Andrea da Barberino (c. 1371-c. 1431) to the development of Carolingian material in Italy. Andrea's vast prose output, realistic representations, pseudo-chronicle style, and psychological nuances met the needs of a largely bourgeois audience. In his *Aspramonte*, *Ugo d'Avernia*, and *Le storie Nerbonesi* he did not merely follow the earlier *chansons de geste*; his extensive familiarity with their narrative conventions enabled him to create a virtual Italian folk hero, Guerrino il Meschino. With Andrea, the long process of transformation of the Old French material is complete.

See also Andrea da Barberino; Cantare; Franco-Italian: Literature; Giullari; Ottava Rima

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Carroccio

The *carroccio* was the standard-bearing cart, usually drawn by oxen, of the northern Italian cities. It served as a symbolic focus of patriotism and a rallying point in battle. These carts were meant to unite the divergent social groups within the emerging city-states of Lombardy and Tuscany. Their use (at least as early as 1039) paralleled and coincided with the adoption of civic patron saints and the development of the commune and an independent *popolo* in many cities. The main purposes of the carts were to accompany a city's troops on campaigns, to serve as a platform for patriotic or pious harangues and for celebrations of the mass before battle, and to provide a highly visible point of reference for troops during battle. To lose a cart to an enemy was shameful, and captured carts were often treated brutally.

The earliest known Milanese cart was that of Archbishop Aribert (1039). It consisted of "a high wooden pole like the mast of a ship which

was fixed to a strong wagon; at the top was a gilded apple and from this descended two ribbons of dazzlingly white cloth, and in the center a holy cross was painted with our Savior portrayed, his arms extended," In the later twelfth century Saint Ambrose (the patron saint of Milan) replaced the crucifix, and later still the cloth was scarlet and a gold cross replaced the apple. Three pairs of oxen drew this *carroccio*, which clearly embodied both ecclesiastical and civic symbolic elements. Soldiers of Cremona and Parma captured the Milanese wagon in 1149, and in 1160 imperial troops killed the oxen, captured the banner, and overturned the cart. When Frederick I Barbarossa captured Milan the next year, he seized the *carroccio* and ninety-four civic banners as booty. At Legnano in 1176, however, Milanese troops rallied around the *carroccio*, warding off defeat at Frederick's hands. When the Milanese invaded the area of Cremona in 1213, they lost both an important battle and their *carroccio*; and in 1237, at Cortenuova, the Milanese *carroccio*, after being stripped of its ornaments and reluctantly abandoned by the Milanese army, was taken by Frederick II and sent to Cremona and then Rome, where it was displayed in the Campidoglio.

The *carrocci* of other cities differed in ornamental detail, but all served the same functions. The wagons, masts, and banners were carefully tended in peacetime and were ritually blessed before use. Peacemaking between rivals within a single city often occurred around the *carroccio*, and *carrocci* were exchanged when Parma and Cremona ended their hostilities in 1281. In the 1230s Fra Giovanni preached civic peace and reconciliation from the *carrocci* of Padua, Brescia, Mantua, and Vicenza, and from that of Verona he declared himself *podesta* and duke of Verona. Often, legitimate *podesta* took their oaths of office from the city's *carroccio*, and captured cities swore submission from the *carroccio* of the victor.

Despite their importance in peacetime, *carrocci* were above all meant to bring together for battle the often fractious elements of the city-state. Both nobles and commoners guarded the *carroccio* on campaigns, and both were expected to fight to the death to protect it in battle.

By the early fourteenth century, with the advent of professional armies and leaders, the *carroccio* fell into disuse, so that the historian Giovanni Villani (1275-1348) felt it necessary to describe in detail the Florentine cart which had been captured and burned by the Sienese at

Montaperti eighty years before.

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Casentino

The Casentino is a mountainous geographic region east of Florence and north of Arezzo. Although the region has no official status, it is generally considered to be bounded on the west by the Arno valley (the source of the Arno River is in the region, on the slopes of Monte Falterona) and on the north and east by the borders of Tuscany with the Romagna and the Tiber valley. In literature, the Casentino features prominently in the torment of the counterfeiter Master Adamo in Canto 30 of Dante's *Infemo*, as the limpid, rushing waters of the Arno descending from "the green hills of the Casentino" remain just beyond the thirsty man's reach. Dante's description is apt: the terrain of the Casentino is predominantly mountainous, dotted with small villages interspersed with considerable forests, although in 1427 a less poetic document—a tax return—described the Casentino as "harsh and wild." Partly for this reason it was home to many small religious communities and hermitages, such as Camaldoli, Prataglia, and Vallombrosa. Although the Casentino is now one of the least populous regions of Tuscany, that was not the case during the Middle Ages, especially before the fourteenth century, when it was controlled by the Guidi

counts.

Fortified strategic centers of power in the Casentino were crucial to the extension of the power of the Guidi counts over northern and eastern Tuscany in general. The Guidi, unlike many other Tuscan feudal and noble families, practiced partible inheritance rather than primogeniture. By the fourteenth century, therefore, the patrimony of the Guidi began to become fragmented; and with that fragmentation the unified power of the family's various branches also began to break up. Although the Guidi counts were officially overlords of the Casentino until 1440, many of the region's major towns, including Stia, Pratovecchio, and Bibbiena, had already acceded to domination by Florence and had been folded into the rapidly expanding Florentine territorial state.

Although the Casentino has been associated with a pastoral economy since the late Middle Ages, the surviving evidence indicates that sheep and cattle did not become a prominent feature of the local economy until the thirteenth century. The earliest documentation concerning the Casentino region comes from the eleventh century, and it shows that even at this relatively early date transactions involving land were fairly frequent. In the valley areas of the Casentino, grain, wine, and chestnuts were the most important products of agrarian activity, which was supported by a large number of mills, most of which had disappeared by the early fourteenth century. Although the pastoral economy of the Casentino in the late medieval period may have been a continuation of what had existed all along, there was certainly an important relationship between the growth of that economy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the developing cloth industry in Florence, coinciding with the increase in Florentine domination of the countryside.

During the late Middle Ages the mountainous terrain of the Casentino and its cooler summer climate (as was also true in a neighboring area, the Mugello) favored another "growth" industry: the wet-nursing of babies and the foster care of children from the foundling homes of Florence. The women who nursed other women's children made up their own corporate group, with their own popular carnival songs. The archives of urban charitable institutions provide rich documentation for their economic life. Salaries for wet nurses were so

low (although higher than the salaries of foster parents) that peasant families clearly considered wet-nursing a supplemental rather than a basic income. The majority of wet nurses appear in the records of institutions only once, in many cases with instructions that the institution pay a third party directly to settle an obligation. This microeconomy of wet-nursing has implications beyond the preoccupations of social historians, since, along with the "pastoralization" of the region in the late Middle Ages, the Casentino would make an excellent test case for the extent to which medieval cities relied on exploitation of the countryside to fuel their booming commercial enterprises.

However, there is not much evidence to support the centrality of the Casentino region in debates over other aspects of the economy and social structure. In the Casentino—unlike medieval Latium and southern Italy—the *castelli* do not appear to have altered the relationship between landowners and peasants in any significant way. The *castelli* of the Casentino seem instead to have functioned more as symbols of power and status than as a network of aristocratic power, at least in the early Middle Ages.

Some rural dwellers moved to the towns of the Casentino in search of opportunity. One powerful local family of Poppi, for example, had moved there from a small village and had initially become blacksmiths. The last count of Poppi rewarded his family's wet nurse with a grant of land, a house in Poppi, and stables. Townspeople in the Casentino, like their counterparts elsewhere in Tuscany, balanced urban real estate with holdings in the country, and not until the sixteenth century did they begin to focus predominantly on the acquisition of landed property.



Palazzo Pretorio, Poppi, Casentino. Photograph courtesy of Christopher KJeinhenz.

As the seats of power of the Guidi counts, such towns as Poppi and Bibbiena became small commercial centers in their own right and centers of provincial administration later on under Florentine rule. The Florentines were oriented at first more toward Arezzo, especially toward the bishops of Arezzo and their ecclesiastical holdings, but the strategic importance of the Casentino was not lost on them. The Casentino became one of the most important symbols of the

Florentines' self-adulation when, in the summer of 1440, the Milanese hoped to capitalize on chronic local discontent with Florentine rule by inciting rebellions and thus making Florence's capitulation to the Milanese forces a foregone conclusion. Indeed, the Milanese apparently entertained the notion of using the humanist Leonard Bruni, who was an Aretine by birth and a former chancellor of Florence, as the focus of a conspiracy. The battle of Anghiari, which was fought in the Casentino by mercenaries (and in which the only death during the first day came when one combatant was trampled by a horse), resulted in a victory for the Florentine side and the formal demise of the power of the Guidi counts as an administrative presence in the Casentino. The battle sealed the reality of Florence as a presence in the Casentino, and the importance of the area to the Florentines can be inferred from their two heroic but doomed attempts to commemorate it in 1503: Leonardo's experimental painting on the walls of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence fell apart, and Michelangelo's attempt was interrupted by his summons to Rome by Pope Julius II. The Florentine representation survived only in the preparatory drawings of the two artists and in Vasari's completion of the project under the patronage of Grand Duke Cosimo I (r. 1537-1574). The history of the Casentino ceased to be its own as its provincial elite became the earnest servants of Florence's grand dukes.

See also Arezzo; Camaldoli; Dante Alighieri; Florence

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Cassiodorus

Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator (c. 490-c. 583 or 585), a statesman, ecclesiastical writer, and educator, was born to a senatorial family from southern Italy. His life can be divided into a political period from 507 to c. 540 and a scholarly and monastic period from 540 to his death.

Cassiodorus served the Ostrogothic rulers in various positions: he was quaestor in 507, ordinary counsel in 514, master of offices from 523

to 527, and praetorian prefect from 533 to 537. He also applied his literary talents to glorify the Ostrogoth regime. During his political career, he produced *Chronica*, a chronological account of the Italian rulers up to 519; *Historia Gothorum*, a history of the Goths (now lost); and *Variae*, a collection of state papers and diplomatic correspondence that became popular for its artful rhetoric.

Cassiodorus retired from public service c. 540 and moved to Constantinople, where he devoted himself to ecclesiastical writing. He added to *Variae* a philosophical thirteenth book on the nature of the soul, *De anima*; and he embarked on *Expositio Psalmarum*, a complete commentary on the Psalms that was to occupy him until 548. In *Expositio Psalmarum* he attempts to rework Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmorum* into a more accessible form; Cassiodorus's orderly method, didactic approach, and reliance on allegorical and numerical symbolism provided a model for medieval scriptural exegesis.

Probably sometime before he moved to Constantinople, Cassiodorus founded the monastery of Vivarium on his family's property in Squillace, on the southern coast of Italy. In 554, he himself settled at the monastery. He was a strong believer in institutionalized classical and Christian education, and he fashioned Vivarium as a theological school and scriptorium. Cassiodorus believed that the monastic ideal should emphasize study above all. To that end, he arranged for the extensive recopying of manuscripts, commissioned the translation of theological writings from Greek into Latin, and produced his most important later work, *Institutiones divinarum et saecularum litterarum* (*Institutes Concerning Divine and Human Readings*, c. 562).

Institutiones provides a manual for monastic scholars and copyists and explains the motivations behind Cassiodorus's library and school. In the first book Cassiodorus describes the manuscript collection at Vivarium, indicates the methods copyists should adopt, instructs his readers in the study of scripture, and identifies heretical works to be avoided. In the second book, Cassiodorus sets forth his views on the seven liberal arts, which he deemed necessary for the proper education of Christian students. *Institutiones* included a detailed bibliography on theology and the liberal arts that would benefit manuscript collectors for years to come; and Cassiodorus's concise examination of the liberal arts influenced writers such as Isidore of Seville (Saint Isidore, c. 560—

636) and Rabanus Maurus (Hrabanus, Rhabanus; c. 780-856).

Late in his life, Cassiodorus composed *De orthographia*, a spelling handbook to be used as a reference by manuscript copyists.

With Cassiodorus's death came the demise of the monastery at Vivarium, but the manuscripts his scriptorium had produced circulated for years throughout medieval Europe. His legacy, moreover, reaches beyond these manuscripts. By founding his school within the monastery itself, Cassiodorus helped to shape monasticism as an educational movement. Monasteries like the one at Vivarium became indispensable agents of the transmission of classical and Christian thought in early Christian Europe.

See also **Bookmaking and Book Production; Monasticism; Palaeography**

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Cassoni

Cassoni are chests produced in medieval Italy, usually as pairs and usually in connection with weddings. More often than not, these bridal chests received painted or molded decoration, including coats of arms, figures, and scenes. Although few *cassoni* made before 1375 have survived, we learn much about them from other sources of information: documents such as family records, descriptions of wedding rituals, payments to craftsmen, and sumptuary laws; fourteenth-century paintings that show *cassoni*; and works of fiction, such as Boccaccio's tales, in which *cassoni* figure.

The term *cassoni* (singular, *cassone*) did not exist before the sixteenth century. Medieval Italians called a bridal chest a *forziere*, meaning a strongbox locked with a key.

Forzieri or *cassoni* resemble other chests and trunks of the late Middle Ages, and yet they are different. A *cassone* produced in Tuscany shortly after 1300 and now in London exemplifies the particular forms

the bridal chests took. This *cassone* is a rectangular box about 3 feet (somewhat less than 1 meter) high and nearly 5 feet (about 1.5 meters) long, topped with a curving lid. Unlike other chests of its period, it bears decoration: molded gesso figures distributed across its front and sides. *Cassoni*, then, offered surfaces for figural imagery, like other but much smaller objects made in Europe throughout the medieval period, such as coffers, portable altars, and reliquaries. *Cassoni* are also analogous to the long base panel, or *predella*, which first appeared in Tuscan altarpieces shortly after 1300. By the end of the fourteenth century in Florence, the decoration of *cassoni* became a subspecialty of the craft of painting. A painter who adorned only *cassoni* was called not a *dipintore* but a *forzerinaio*, from the contemporary term for a bridal chest.

Cassoni served as bedroom furniture. Inventories and other evidence indicate that, in the home, they were usually placed in what we would now call the master bedroom, the private chamber where the man and woman who headed a household slept. Like other chests, *cassoni* were containers, but they were containers of a special kind. They held precious possessions such as fine textiles (brocades and silks), splendid gowns, jewelry, and silverware. *Cassoni* typically held the trousseau that a patrician bride of the later Middle Ages brought to her new home. Loosely, a *cassone* can be seen as a counterpart of the modern hope chest; however, the hope chest, at least until recently, held wedding and marital finery accumulated by a single woman in anticipation of marriage, whereas *cassoni* represented a marriage already negotiated and, often, consummated.

In Italy during the late medieval period, *cassoni* were bound up with the rites, economics, and ideology of marriage. According to many accounts, mostly Tuscan, marriage was then a thoroughly secularized institution, whose essential element was the common and public consent of both bride and bridegroom to their union. After long negotiations between heads of families to arrange an alliance by marriage, the future spouses met in public to pledge their troth—an act that corresponds to the vow "I will" in a modern wedding ceremony. Often, there was an interval of months between a betrothal and the actual wedding. The wedding itself was marked by further public ceremonies, including a great banquet and finally a procession through

the streets that marked the removal of the wife by her husband from her father's house to her new home. *Cassoni* appeared at an early stage of these ceremonies. They were usually commissioned after the two families had agreed to the terms of the marriage, including the dowry, but before the betrothal. Usually the father of the bride engaged carpenters and painters to fashion a pair of bridal chests, which were to be ready for the conclusion of the nuptials. Sometimes, though rarely, the bridegroom's family commissioned *cassoni*. *Cassoni*, then, began to take shape after the marriage negotiations and at the request of the bride's father; and these chests were to contain the bride's dowry.

Cassoni also played a public role in the concluding rites of the marriage. During the procession when the bride was taken to her new home, porters carried her *cassoni* on their shoulders through the public streets. In this case the *cassoni* functioned as an outward and visible sign of the dowry, of which they were a part. They can also be seen as akin to trophies or spoils of war like those borne in triumph by victorious generals returning to ancient Rome. Still another way they can be regarded is as a sign of transfer, or of a new matrimonial alliance and union.

In the nuptial chamber, according to some inventories, the *cassoni* flanked the bed. Since they always appeared in pairs, *cassoni* were an image of the components of the marriage—the bride and bridegroom. *Cassoni* painted later, during the Renaissance, make this idea explicit: their inner lids represent couples, a man for one chest, a woman for the other; sometimes these figures are generalized, but sometimes they are famous personages such as Paris and Helen.

The decorations on one fourteenth-century *cassone*—the chest in London mentioned above—indicate its ceremonial and ideological connotations. It has three repeated scenes: a man with a hawk rides a horse; a woman on horseback holds a whip; and these figures are also shown standing beneath a tree, like Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden. These simple reliefs embody a complex symbolic code that—in the fashion of late medieval imagery—speaks of courtship, love, and union.



Giovanni di Francesco Toscani, *Scene in a Court of Love* c. 1425. Tempera and gold on wood panel. Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 61.4.3.

As noted above, the fourteenth-century sources concerning *cassoni* include not only private accounts of weddings, payments, and family chronicles but also sumptuary laws. The most notable of these laws is a Florentine statute of 1356; its provisions included regulations for *forzieri* commissioned for weddings. This statute restricted the price of a *cassone* and its contents to fifty florins, but in 1356 that was a very substantial sum. Thus the statute indicates that *cassoni* had become a luxury to be commissioned and displayed by a patrician elite.

There are also visual representations to complement the documentary record. For example, c. 1300 Giotto painted an Annunciation to Saint Anne (in the Arena Chapel, Padua), in which Anne (the mother of the Virgin) kneels in her chamber, just beside a *cassone* set against the wall. Another Florentine painter, Giovanni Toscani, c. 1425, showed a porter bearing on his shoulders a *cassone* that he is delivering to a lady's chamber. This scene forms part of a larger pictorial narrative that was itself originally the front panel of a *cassone* (it is now in Edinburgh).

Such depictions by Giotto and other masters, including Pietro Lorenzetti (Birth of the Virgin, 1342, Siena), indicate that there were two types of bedroom chests in the fourteenth century. One was tall and relatively narrow, much like the *cassone* in London; the other was much lower and longer and appears at the side of a bed, serving as a step. Some paintings show *cassoni* that are relatively plain. In such works the individual artist's sense of color and design may have determined the depiction—that is, the artist may have felt that a richly figured *cassone* would detract from effect of the composition as a

whole. However, the fact that plain *cassoni* appear in paintings may also suggest that *cassoni* were more varied than the surviving examples indicate: they may have ranged from unadorned to ornate, and from inexpensive to costly, reflecting the social divisions of medieval Italy.

Toscani's painting shows the opening episode of a tale from Boccaccio's *Decameron* (2.9), and so it represents another source of information; fiction. A *cassone* also figures in a second story from the *Decameron* (8.8). In both stories, the chest, which Boccaccio calls a *cassa*, has a comic function. In the first, a villain smuggles himself into the heroine's bedchamber concealed within a chest. In the second, a *cassone* becomes a makeshift bed where a man makes love to his neighbor's wife (it must therefore have had a flat lid). Thus the *cassoni* in these tales become staging areas for attacks on matrimony—a use that was never intended by their makers. Boccaccio's effect depended on his audience's recognition of the accustomed societal functions of *cassoni*, as well as their deeper symbolic value, their evocation of matrimony, chastity, fidelity, and wifely subservience. His use of *cassoni* in the *Decameron* subverts those values.

Verbal testimony, visual evidence, and a few objects surviving from the fourteenth century establish practical and cultural roles for *cassoni* in the late Middle Ages. As bridal chests, they were associated with the prolonged rites of weddings and with the bride's dowry. Writers like Boccaccio and painters like Giotto underline the connection between *cassoni*, bedchambers, and women who are wives and matrons. One or two actual *cassoni* present amatory imagery—such imagery was commonplace throughout Europe in the late medieval period and also suggests a range of subjects congruent with the role of *cassoni*. During the fourteenth century in Italy *cassoni* become part of a "feminine" sphere of influence and action. That situation would change during the fifteenth century, with the advent of Renaissance.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Family Structure

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Castelseprio

Castelseprio, in the district of Varese, dates from the Iron Age, although no indication of Roman habitation has been found. A castle was built there in the fifth or sixth century, of river boulders and granite with Roman *spolia* from the region; it originally included walls, towers, canons' dwellings, several churches, and a baptistry with two fonts. This castle was largely dismantled in the twelfth century.

The most significant existing structure on the site is the small church of Santa Maria foris Portas. This church has a single nave that expands into three apses, each one slightly more than a semicircle and accessed by a wide archway. Preceded by a low narthex, the building is roofed entirely in timber, with a flat roof over each apse. The dating of Santa Maria is disputed, but a period by which it must already have been built is provided by graffiti that mention a contemporary archbishop in Milan, Ardericus (936-948). A date in the seventh or eighth century has been postulated because of the architectural plan, which is rather eastern in style and may have been influenced by various popes from eastern provinces who were then on the throne. Paleographic

comparisons have also been used to support this early dating. However, some scholars date the building slightly later, on the basis of technical evidence that would put the structure itself close in time to the paintings inside.

These paintings—frescoes discovered in the eastern apse in 1944—are beautiful but even more controversial than the date of the church. They are the only remains of what some scholars assume to have been a program of wall paintings throughout the building. They are poorly preserved, but despite their fragmentary condition they are of very high quality and have therefore merited much study. Dates from the seventh through the tenth centuries have been proposed, and the arguments continue to this time. The iconography of the existing paintings relates to cycles on the infancy of Christ, but relatively recent studies have emphasized that the program, as preserved, has a Marian slant. The scenes include the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Trial by Bitter Waters, the Dream of Joseph, the Journey to Bethlehem, an expanded Nativity, and the Presentation in the Temple. In addition, there are three almost obliterated scenes; it has been proposed (again, rather recently—and convincingly) that these scenes represent Joachim's offerings rejected, the birth of the Virgin, and Mary fed by the angel. There are also remnants of two prepared thrones, an image of Christ Pantocrator, and socle decoration.

The classicizing style of the frescoes—with their swiftly moving figures and sharp-edged drapery folds set in convincing, impressionistic landscapes—shows the influence of Byzantine painting. Some details, such as Christ's nimbus with its cross of nails, have been traced to Carolingian influences. It is possible that a Byzantine painter fleeing Islam or Iconoclasm painted these lovely frescoes for a Carolingian client sometime in the late eighth century or the early ninth century, after the Frankish conquest in 774. Alternatively, the artist might have been schooled in a Byzantine style in an atelier in Italy or elsewhere before he did his work here. This proposed dating is supported by parallels to paintings in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome and San Vincenzo al Volturno, and by historical conditions in the region of Castelseprio.



Church of Santa Maria foris Portas, Castelseprio. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

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Castruccio Castracani

Castruccio Castracani degli Antelminelli (29 March 1281-3 September 1328) was born into a Lucchese family notable for its nobility and its commercial prowess. He began his career as a merchant and ended it as lord of much of Tuscany, and as a model for Machiavelli's prince.

Shortly after his family, which was Ghibelline, was exiled from Lucca and his father died in 1301, Castruccio traveled to England as a merchant. After killing a fellow Tuscan, he fled to Flanders, where he learned the soldier's art in the service of Philip the Fair. He returned to Italy by 1304, and for the next decade he fought in northern Italy as captain of a twenty-six-horse mercenary company serving, among others, Venice and Emperor Henry VII. By 1311, Castruccio had married Pina Stregghi, with whom he had nine children. Castruccio returned to Lucca after Henry reopened the city to its exiles, but in June 1314 he aided Uguccione della Faggiuola, whose Ghibelline Pisan army and its allies sacked the betrayed city. Castruccio's seizure of papal treasure led to his excommunication (1324).

Castruccio went from being a military captain to being a warlord-protector by acquiring the titles of viscount of Luni (July 1314), vicar-general of Saranza (December 1314), and imperial vicar over these territories (August 1315). He overstepped his authority, however, when he executed thirty men at Massa (Lunigiana), and he was imprisoned by Uguccione in April 1316. A popular uprising soon forced his release, and he was named co-commander—and in November sole commander—of Luc-ca's army. He was closely connected to the controlling oligarchy; thus in 1317 he became captain-general for ten years, and in April 1320 he was elected (or named) *dominus generalis* for life. Meanwhile, he developed bridges with other communes by supporting victorious Ghibelline factions and then usurping their power as their ostensible protector. Fearing eventual trouble in Lucca, he walled off nearly a quarter of the city to create Augusta, a citadel symbolizing his lordship. Though Castruccio was generally popular at home, his real base of power was his mercenary companies, for whose support he regularly spent over half the public income. In 1325 he arranged the succession of his son to his titles, in the hope of establishing a dynasty.

Between 1320 and his death, Castruccio dueled very skillfully with powerful Guelf Florence, and at times with Ghibelline Pisa. After three years of intrigue and intermittent warfare, he gained control of Pistoia and its *contado* (countryside) in May 1325. This led directly to his stunning victory over Florence at Altopascio in September 1325, and his subsequent devastation of the Florentine *contado*. It also led to Florence's submission to Charles of Calabria as protector in early 1326. Late in 1326, Florentine campaigns to regain Pistoia revealed the ineffectiveness of its larger army, and—again—the brilliance of Castruccio's generalship. The presence of the emperor-elect Lewis IV (Louis, Ludwig) of Bavaria in northern Italy spurred Florence on once more in the summer of 1327, but Lewis's arrival in Lucca cowed the Florentines. Castruccio's loyalty resulted in his appointment as imperial vicar of troublesome Pisa and as duke of Pistoia, Lucca, Luni, and Volterra (although he did not control Volterra). Castruccio followed Lewis IV to Rome and participated in Lewis's coronation there on January 17. For this, Castruccio was excommunicated a second time; moreover, while he was away Florence seized Pistoia. Castruccio responded swiftly and effectively, however, regaining the city on August 3.

Castruccio died of an illness at the height of his power and was buried in Franciscan robes in the church of San Francesco in Lucca. Almost immediately his Tuscan duchy disintegrated, and *fortuna* defeated *virtù*.

See also Condottieri; Florence; Lewis of Bavaria; Lucca; Pisa; Uguccione della Faggiuola

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Catacombs

The catacombs of Rome are named genetically for the location of the cemetery of San Sebastiano "in the hollow"—*ad cata- cumba*—along the Appian Way. They served as places of burial for Christians and other Romans between the late second century and the early sixth century.

The long subterranean galleries of the forty-four known Christian catacombs, sometimes several levels deep and penetrated by airshafts and stairways, extend a total of nearly 100 miles (160 kilometers) beneath Rome's suburbs, respecting the ancient ban on burials within the city limits.

Perhaps as many as 750,000 Romans were buried in the simple *loculi* and more ornate *arcosolia* carved into the soft tufa walls of the tunnels by semiclerical *fossore*s and sealed with tiles and mortar. *Loculi* were marked with inscriptions or common objects embedded in the mortar; *arcosolia* might be decorated with frescoes. Some galleries open into *cubicula*, small rooms that served as crypts for wealthy families. These, too, might be painted with scenes from the Old and New Testaments, usually iconographically connected to themes of salvation (Jonah, Noah, the raising of Lazarus). It is certain that families gathered here for private memorials, but there is no evidence that the catacombs served as a refuge or sites of regular community rituals during persecutions. The catacombs were not used for such rituals until after the persecutions ended under Constantine I (r. 306-337); and catacomb burials apparently increased after Constantine's reign, waning only after the mid-fifth century.

There is a clear connection between the catacombs and early Christian popes and martyrs. The cult of martyrs that developed after the legalization of Christianity in the early fourth century provided the catacombs with a steady stream of pilgrims and devotees of the saints buried there. This led to the building of basilicas at the entrances to major catacombs beginning c. 340. By the late fifth century, however, burial within the Aurelian circuit of walls became common; this is an indication of local disruptions that peaked with the sieges by the Ostrogoths and Lombards. According to *Liber Pontificalis*, "both the churches and the tombs of the martyrs were destroyed by the Goths" during the siege of 536-537. *Liber Pontificalis* and a few inscriptions testify to restorations made during the period that followed, under popes Vigilius (537-555) and John III (561-574), but Romans would never again bury their dead in the catacombs outside the walls.

Pope John's zeal for the tombs of the martyrs led him to reside in or at the catacomb of Praetextatus on the Appian Way. Later popes who shared his zeal constructed additional basilicas, such as those over the

graves of saints Lawrence (c. 585) and Agnes (c. 630). *Liber Pontificalis* also attests to the continuation of liturgical life in these new and restored churches. However, the relics of the entombed saints were a magnet for devoted local Christians and pilgrims alike, and so the practice of "translation" arose—that is, removing the bones to other churches in Rome, and later to churches beyond the Alps. Eventually, the practice led to the abandonment of these sites.

Although translation was prohibited by Emperor Theodosius and denounced by Pope Gregory I, large-scale transfers of the remains of popes and martyrs began under Pope Paul I (757-767), ostensibly because many catacombs had become dilapidated. An influx of Christian clergy from the eastern Mediterranean at this time seems to have led Rome to relax its attitude toward translation; and translation was given an impetus by the Lombard siege of 756, because the Lombards were said to have destroyed churches and cemeteries (an assertion that is, however, unconfirmed by archaeological evidence). Nonetheless, under popes Hadrian I (772-795) and Leo III (795-816) many catacombs and their churches were repaired and maintained, and most of the graves probably remained intact. But translation, both to Roman churches and to northern European monasteries, flourished under Pope Paschal I (817-824); Paschal's church of Santa Prassede contains an inscription (817) commemorating the translation of 2,300 saints, many of whose names and clerical ranks are listed. Such activities continued until the mid-ninth century, when the popes' attention was diverted by Muslim invasions.

Relative peace in the tenth century brought some restoration of several catacombs—or at least of basilicas or monasteries atop them—and probably further translations thereafter, until few human bones, let alone bones of identifiable saints, remained. Interest in the sites continued, however, and the catacombs appear in the surviving pilgrims' guides and in actual itineraries of visitors to Rome from the late tenth century on. For example, the *Mirabilia* of the mid-twelfth century lists twenty *cimiteria* by name, and a fourteenth-century redaction adds three, remarking that these are subterranean burial areas. Whether a pilgrim could actually descend into the cool darkness of any of them remains uncertain.

Osborne (1985) argues cogently that only with the removal of the

papacy to Avignon, and the resulting dearth of clergy to serve the suburban sites, did the catacombs fall into obscurity. Thereafter, they would remain shrouded in obscurity until the Renaissance, when humanist antiquarians and looters of the Roman Academy led the way to the systematic explorations and restorations in the nineteenth century under G. Marchi and G. B. de Rossi.

See also Gregory I, Pope; Hadrian I, Pope; Leo III, Pope; *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*; Paschal I, Pope; Reliquaries; Rome; Rome: Guidebooks; Vigilius, Pope

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Catania

By the end of the Middle Ages Catania, situated at the southern edge of Mount Etna in Sicily, was the second largest and second most important Sicilian city, and its surrounding plain was one of the most fertile and productive grain-growing areas of the island. But little is known about its commercial role before the end of the Middle Ages, which is less well documented than that of Palermo.

Catania was the setting for the struggle between Belisarius and Totila in 550, and subsequently the area remained mainly in Byzantine hands until the Arab conquest in the ninth century. Ibn ath-Thumnah, the ruler of eastern Sicily, welcomed the Normans to the region in the 1060s, and for a time he was allowed a degree of autonomy under their overlordship; but by 1090 the Normans had firmly established their rule. The cathedral of Catania was founded in 1090 by the great Norman count Roger I. In 1126 the relics of Saint Agatha were brought back to the city from Constantinople, where the Greek general George Maniakes had taken them a century earlier. Catania was generally loyal to the Normans and so earned the hostility of the German conqueror Henry VI, who ordered a sack of the city in 1194. Frederick II built the massive Castello Ursino to consolidate his hold over Catania; apparently, his rule had been shaken by trouble in the city in 1232. However, Catania was loyal to the Hohenstaufen in their struggle with the Angevins, and to the Aragonese after the revolt called the Sicilian Vespers in 1282. In 1296, a parliament at Catania elected Frederick of Aragon king of Sicily. Catania remained loyal to the Aragonese in 1354, when much of the island had been invaded by the expeditionary force of Nicola Acciaiuoli, grand seneschal of the Angevin rulers of Naples. The city was also the scene of dramatic events in 1379, when Artale d'Aragona, a great power in Sicily, held the heiress Maria of Aragon captive in the castle, from which she was spirited away by his rival Raimondo di Moncada. Maria eventually returned victoriously with Martin of Aragon (Martin I of Sicily, r. 1392-1409), whom she had subsequently married. This alliance led to the incorporation of Sicily in the lands ruled by the kings of Aragon from Spain; King Martin then summoned a parliament at Catania to recover the lost rights of the

crown.

In the fifteenth century, Catania was the seat of parliaments under the auspices of Alfonso V of Aragon (d. 1458). During this period it was also the seat of a university and had a significant Jewish community. Its rivalry with Palermo became bitter, and Catania was also a focus of social unrest, especially between 1435 and 1451, when popular factions secured representation on the city council.

Little of medieval Catania survives, because of an eruption of Mount Etna in 1669 and an earthquake in 1693. Parts of the cathedral are a reminder of the city's medieval past, but the rest of the town is mainly eighteenth-century and later.

See also **Belisarius; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Maniakes, George; Normans; Roger I; Totila**

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Catasto

The Greek *katastichon* ("list") is the root of the Italian term *catasto* (also *cadasto*, *catastro*, *catastico*), which refers to a type of tax based on inventories of personal and real wealth. Originally, *castato* referred to the list of taxable goods and property, but then it became the name of the tax.

The *castato* was used in ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome and was revived in Italian communes during the twelfth century, a period when civic needs and private wealth were both increasing. In 1162, Pisa initiated the earliest known medieval Italian *catasto*. The communal consuls named five men from each quarter of the city and gave them a month in which to list all the inhabitants. Each family then had three months in which to submit a list of all taxable property, real and movable. The five then evaluated each family's wealth and calculated the family's share of the quarter's tax burden. Similar procedures developed in Siena between 1168 and 1175, Lucca in 1182, Florence in 1202, Genoa c. 1214, and Volterra in 1217. The Lombard communes lagged somewhat behind Tuscany; Milan adopted legislation in 1211 but did not establish the process until 1240 and did not begin collecting data until 1243. Perugia used the similar *libra* in 1260 and 1285. In Florence, the *estimo*, a tax on real property alone, was replaced in 1427 with a fuller *catasto* for the city and all its territory. Today, these *catasto* lists are rich sources for economic and social historians of the Italian cities and countryside.

See also **Revenues**

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Cathars

The Cathars were a heretical sect, professing neo-Manichaean dualism, that flourished in northern Italy, southern France, and the Rhine region during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The name Cathar is derived from the Greek *katharos*, "pure." It was applied to the group from at least the 1160s. Other names for them include Bogres, Gazari, Bulgari, and Albigenses. Cathar belief is traced to the Bogomils of the Balkans, who held a moderate dualism emphasizing the total incompatibility of body and soul, matter and spirit. God, the principle of good, had created the spiritual world; Satan, a rebellious angel, had created the

world of matter. Satan's power was inferior to that of God, but Satan had imprisoned many angels in matter, thus creating the world's living creatures, including human beings. The trapped angels could free themselves from their corporeal cages only through ascetic practices that would render them perfect and thus incapable of transmigration to still another body after death. The Bogomils rejected the church, its sacraments, and the legitimacy of its priesthood. They considered Jesus neither God nor a savior, but merely a human being. They accepted the authority of the New Testament but interpreted it in a highly symbolic way, and they rejected the Old Testament entirely.

Bogomil missionaries may have had some success in Italy and France as early as the first decades of the eleventh century. As Bogomil doctrines spread, they were altered, and by the late 1100s—about the time when the Bogomils' converts were being called Cathars—a type of dualism emerged in southern France that ascribed to Satan power equal to God's. This radical strain of Catharism became very popular in France, although it was resisted by Italian Cathars. Doctrinal disputes such as this led to many schisms among Cathars, especially in Italy. Nevertheless, a certain order was maintained by a kind of hierarchy roughly similar to that of the church. "Perfects," those who had undertaken a life of rigorous asceticism designed to free their souls from corporeal imprisonment, were given the authority of teachers and were able to create "bishops" and "deacons"; other Cathars were called "believers." The perfects emphasized obedience, administered a rite of initiation (*consolamentum*), and supervised a ceremony of public confession (*apparellamentum*).

By 1200, Cathars were widespread in northern Italy and southern France. Their centers of activity in Italy were Milan, Piacenza, Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Ferrara, Florence, Rimini, and Orvieto. In France, the Cathars were concentrated between Carcassonne and Toulouse. Attempts by the clerical authorities to suppress the sect had been sporadic and generally unsuccessful during the twelfth century, but this situation changed with the election of Innocent III to the papacy in 1198. Innocent put heavy pressure on lay and ecclesiastical authorities in both regions to take action. When he encountered resistance in the south of France, he sent his own preachers into the region, replaced recalcitrant clergy, and threatened

lay leaders with spiritual and temporal penalties. The assassination of a papal legate in 1208 prompted Innocent to call a crusade against the Cathars of southern France. The crusade was only partly successful: it unseated political leaders who were unwilling to prosecute heretics, but it also drove Catharism underground. To destroy the sect, Innocent's successors turned to the preaching of the mendicant orders and to the Inquisition, which Pope Gregory IX inaugurated in 1233. By 1250, the tribunals of the Inquisition, the preaching of Franciscans and Dominicans, and continuing religious warfare had considerably reduced the Cathar population of southern France.

Cathars flourished in Italy until late in the thirteenth century, primarily because the pope's inquisitors were kept out of cities dominated by the antipapal Ghibellines. But the fortunes of the Cathars declined with those of the Ghibellines. By the 1280s the Inquisition was permitted to operate in most cities; at about the same time, the Cathar hierarchy crumbled. The last Cathar bishop was captured at Milan in 1321. A few decades later Catharism was virtually extinct in western Europe.

See also Heresy and Religious Dissent; Innocent III, Pope; Inquisition in Italy

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Catherine of Siena, Saint

Saint Catherine of Siena (Caterina di Iacopo di Benincasa, 1347-1380) was a significant force in the Italian church and Italian society of the late fourteenth century. Catherine was the twenty-fourth of twenty-five children of a Sienese wool-dyer. She adopted a fierce asceticism in early childhood, determined never to marry so that she might belong entirely to God. In her late teens she was admitted into the lay third order of Saint Dominic, which until then had been composed only of widows. Thereafter she lived in almost total seclusion in her parents' home until, when she was about twenty years old, she experienced a dramatic conversion: her prayers led her to the realization that her love for God could no longer be detached from service of others.

Catherine then began to work with the poor and sick of Siena, but her influence soon extended to the civic and ecclesiastical spheres as her powerful personality and her gift for conciliation were recognized. She attracted disciples, many of whom were her seniors in age and her superiors in education and status. She found an ideal mentor—intellectually, spiritually, and politically—in the Dominican Raymond of Capua, who in 1374 was appointed by the Dominican order (an appointment later confirmed by the pope) to be her confessor and the director of her public activities. In partnership with Raymond, she

became deeply involved in attempts to mediate and resolve the growing tension and rifts between the republics of the Italian peninsula and the Avignonese papacy. This conflict was basically political, but because it threatened the unity of the church, it represented for Catherine a religious crisis in which she repeatedly felt compelled to intervene. Her efforts took her to Pisa, Lucca, and Florence and eventually to Avignon, where in 1376 she persuaded the hesitant Pope Gregory XI to return with his curia to Rome. However, her own political naivete, when Raymond was not actually at her side, often complicated matters, and her realization of this fact was a heavy psychological burden to her.

Catherine passionately promoted Gregory's projected crusade against the Turks, convinced that the venture would not only unite the rebellious republics with the pope in a common defense of Christian lands but would also bring converted Muslims into the church as a leaven of needed reform.



Saint Catherine of Siena. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle), Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 234v.



Sanctuary and house of Saint Catherine, Siena. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

After Gregory's death on 27 March 1378, a tumultuous election brought to the papal throne Urban VI. Urban's violent ways soon caused the majority of the cardinals to disavow him and elect an antipope, Clement VII, thus bringing about the Great Schism. Catherine, however, considered Urban the legitimate pope and supported him vehemently, even while urging him to moderation. At his invitation she moved with a number of her disciples to Rome in

November 1378, to support his cause. By this time, however, her health was failing as a result of her extreme asceticism. (Her early patterns of fasting had led to an inability to eat normally, which she regretted but was unable to reverse.) In addition, the apparent failure of her dearest causes became a crushing load that she actually felt as a physical weight. Still, she continued to preach, write, pray, and fast in defense of the church's unity until she became totally disabled early in 1380. She died on 29 April of that year.

Though unschooled, Catherine had learned to read during her years of solitude. At some later time, she probably learned to write, but she usually found dictation a more efficient vehicle for her prolific mind. Several of her disciples served as her secretaries, and to them we owe the preservation of her letters, a book, and a collection of her prayers.

From the early 1370s on, nearly until she died, Catherine wrote a vast number of letters to counsel others and to influence them in favor of her causes. To date, 382 of her letters have been discovered and published. They are addressed to a remarkably wide variety of her contemporaries: two popes, several cardinals and bishops, two kings, two queens, numerous lesser public officials, her religious and lay associates, her family and friends, her disciples, and an assortment of others, including allies and opponents, a mercenary captain, a prostitute, a homosexual, and the prisoners of Siena. Unfortunately, the early compilers of these letters were intent on edification and sometimes on maintaining confidentiality, and so they deleted much of the personal content. But even abridged, the letters provide a window onto Catherine's evolving thought and personality and onto the history and culture of her age. They are particularly interesting because her activities extended so far beyond the normal bounds for a woman of her time and of her status in church and society.

During an eleven-month period in 1377 and 1378, in addition to her missions of mediation, Catherine composed a book that came to be known as *The Dialogue* (*Il dialogo*) because she cast it as a conversation with God. Her purpose in writing it was to share with her disciples and others the insights into Christian life that she had gained from her own prayer and experience. Also, during the last few years of Catherine's life, her secretaries often recorded her words as she spoke aloud in ecstasy. Twenty-six such prayers have been preserved.

The volume by Dupré Theseider (1940) is the only truly critical edition of Catherine's letters. At the time of the present writing, his work was being continued by Antonio Volpato, but further volumes had not yet been published. Letters and fragments of letters discovered more recently can be found in Dupré Theseider (1931), Fawtier (1914), Gardner (1907), and Motzo (1911). Critical editions of Catherine's other works are those by Cavallini (1968, 1978).

Catherine's works were among the earliest disseminated (and printed) in the Italian vernacular, and she was the first woman to produce extensive work in that vernacular. Because she used the Sienese dialect, her writings became important (through the works of Girolamo Gigli) in the eighteenth century, when various Italian dialects were contending for supremacy.

Critics have offered varying assessments of Catherine's genius and her importance in the history of Italian literature. Most of their analyses have concentrated nearly exclusively on her letters in preference to her other works. Her style is oratorical but spontaneous and unstudied; probably, she never proofread most of her letters. Her thinking drew heavily on the Bible and on preaching, conversation, and her own reading. There are clear strains in her thought of the ideas of, among others, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Bernard de Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, and especially her near contemporary Domenico Cavalca. While she does not add any really new link to the content of theological tradition, she does bring a refreshing new synthesis that is markedly pastoral and strongly based on experience. For clarification, she resorts less often to conceptual argumentation than to everyday images, which, over the years, she develops individually and interweaves.

Catherine was canonized in 1461. In 1939 she was proclaimed patron of Italy, with Saint Francis of Assisi. In 1970 Pope Paul VI named her a doctor of the church, a title that she and Teresa of Avila are so far the only women to bear.

See also Cavalca, Domenico; Dominican Order; Gregory XI, Pope; Siena; Urban VI, Pope

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Cava Dei Tirreni

According to tradition, Cava was identified with the ancient Tyrrhenian city of Marcina, which was actually farther to the east and was the port of entry to the Gulf of Salerno; Marcina was destroyed in the fifth century by Genseric (Gaiseric, king of the Vandals). The

beginnings of Cava itself may be traced to 1111, when the fortress of Saint Adiutoris was feudally attached to the monastery of the Holy Trinity (Santa Trinità), which controlled the surrounding regions. Under the patronage of the monastery, the city grew as an important base for merchants active in Lucania. In the late fourteenth century it came briefly under the control of King Ladislaus of Naples, who was granted the title of abbot-bishop by Pope Boniface IX in 1394.

The abbey of Cava takes its name from its construction over a cave or crypt (*caved*) in the porous rock. According to a local source (*Chronicon vultumense*), the abbey was founded in 1011, on the site of an earlier holy place, by the hermit monk Alferio (d. 1050), around whose cell a cenobitic monastery was constructed. It is first referred to as Most Holy Trinity (Sanctissima Trinità) in a document of Guaimar III of Salerno (1025) addressed to Alferio as abbot.

The abbey received numerous donations and grants exercised in feudal terms and became one of the most powerful monasteries in southern Italy, even though the Byzantines were opposed to any grand expansion of monasticism. It accepted the reform movement of Cluny, and its third abbot, Peter I, numbered among his disciples Pope Urban II. Under subsequent Lombard, Norman, and papal patronage, it received still further donations and proprieties. Attempts by Frederick II to reduce the jurisdictional power of the abbey were continued under the Angevins; such efforts facilitated inroads on the abbey's holdings by its neighbors. As a result of increasing secularization, redefinition of the monastery as a bishopric (in 1394), and further disruptions of its institutions, the abbey became impoverished and virtually extinct by the fifteenth century.

Although little survives of the original edifice, the Baroque rebuilding is impressive, and the present abbey houses important collections of art objects, coins, manuscripts (eighth to nineteenth centuries), and incunabula.

See also Cluny and the Cluniac Order; Frederick II Hohen-staufen; Gaiseric the Vandal; Lombards; Normans; Urban II, Pope

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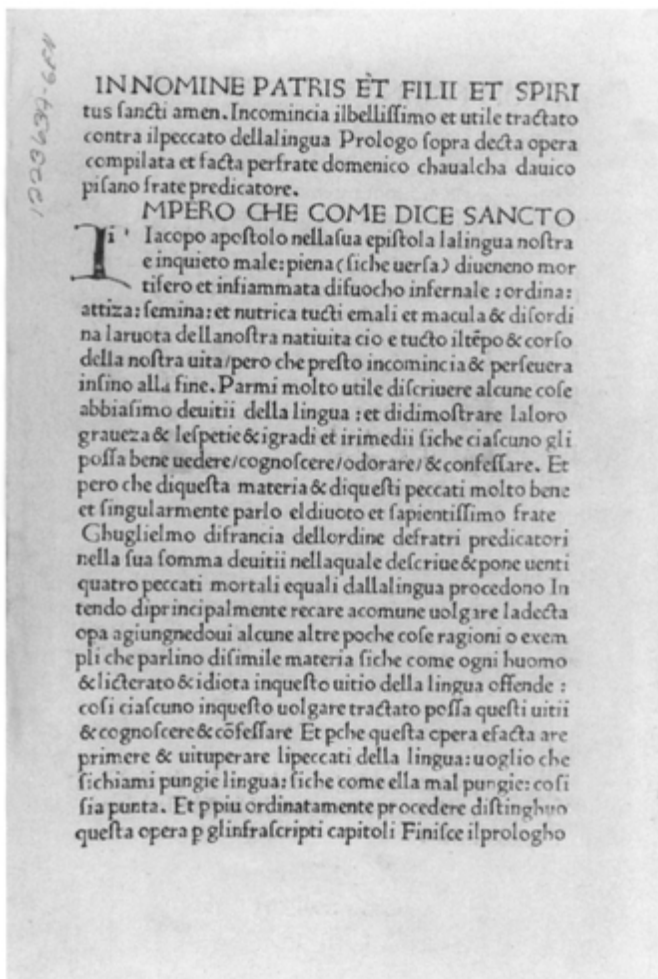
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Cavalca, Domenico

Domenico Cavalca (c. 1270-1342) was born at Vico Pisano. He became a Dominican and spent most of his life serving his order in Pisa, where he came to have a great reputation for saintliness and was also an active preacher and an administrator of religious houses. Shortly before his death, he founded a convent to shelter converted prostitutes.



Domenico Cavalca, *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti amen: Incomincia il bellissimo et utile tractato contra il peccato della lingua. (Pungilingua.)*

Florence: Nicolaus Laurentii, Alamanus 1476-1477. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Cavalca was a prolific and versatile writer. Although he left a body of vernacular poetry in several genres (sonnets, *laudi*, *sirventesi*), his major contribution as an author was to the development of vernacular prose, of which he is one of the earliest recognized masters. Much of his work consists of translations (*volgarizzamenti*) adapted from Latin

originals and intended for an audience that was literate only in the vernacular: these include versions of the *Dialogue* of Gregory the Great, the *Summa virtutum et vitiorum* (*Encyclopedia of Virtues and Vices*) of William of Auxerre, and the Acts of the Apostles, and a large hagiographic collection, *Vitae patrum* (*Lives of the Fathers*), which is often acclaimed as his masterpiece. Cavalca's original work in the vernacular, most if not all of which appears to date from after 1320, includes sermons and numerous treatises on moral, spiritual, and mystical themes. It includes *Specchio della croce* (*Mirror of the Cross*), *Specchio dei peccati* (*Mirror of Sins*), *Pungilingua* (*Stinging Tongue*), *Mondizia del cuore* (*Purity of Heart*), *Frutti della lingua* (*Fruits of the Tongue*), *Trattato delle trenta stultizie* (*Treatise of the Thirty Foolishnesses*), and *Disciplina degli spirituali* (*Discipline of the Spiritual*). In all his work, Cavalca handles the vernacular with dexterity and emotional force; and his narrative technique, especially in his elaboration of moral or spiritual *exempla*, stands up well to the inevitable comparison with his great secular near-contemporary, Boccaccio.

See also **Dominican Order; Hagiography; Italian Literature: Religious**

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Cavalcanti Family

The Cavalcanti were one of the leading noble families of Florence. They held the castles of Ostina and Luco in the upper Arno valley, Montecalvi in the Valdipesa, and Le Stinche (after which the famous Florentine prison was named) in the Valdigreve. Within Florence, their branches congregated in the *sesto* of San Piero Scheraggio near the Mercato Nuovo. As early as 1176, Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti served as a Florentine consul; his descendants became leaders in the Calimala guild and members of the guild of Por Santa Maria. As prominent merchants, and later bankers, the Cavalcanti married into Florence's elite families and created a broad social and political network.

As important Guelphs, the Cavalcanti were exiled in 1248 after the unsuccessful uprising that followed the imposition of Frederick of Antioch, and again in the wake of the Ghibelline victory at Montaperti (1260). When they returned in 1266, they found that much of their property had been destroyed. In the 1290s, the family feuded with the Buondelmonte clan; as a result, the Cavalcanti were excluded from Florentine government in 1293. Because of their hatred for the Donati family, many of the Cavalcanti joined the White party; this connection resulted in the loss of Le Stinche (1304) and the further destruction of much family property after the Blacks' victory. In 1312, after the murder of a rival Pazzi, houses and businesses of the Cavalcanti were wrecked, and much of the family went into exile. During their exile, they decided to support Emperor Henry VII in his Italian campaign. After a reconciliation in 1316, the Cavalcanti continued to play active roles in government, and they were associated with most of the important political events in Florence during the *Trecento*. In the later 1300s,

during the agitation against the magnates, many Florentine branches of the family changed their names and heraldry, and others established themselves in Naples. Nonetheless, in 1378 there were still thirty Cavalcanti households in Florence. Dante refers to his friend Guido Cavalcanti and to Cavalcante, who was Guido's father, in the *Commedia* (*Inferno*, 10.52-72).

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Dante Alighieri; Florence; Guelfs

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Cavalcanti, Guido

The significant events in the life of the poet Guido Cavalcanti (c. 1255-1300) were inextricably bound up with the political tumult in Florence. Cavalcanti was born into a Guelf family that had established itself as one of the wealthiest and most powerful clans in Florence. In 1267 he married a daughter of Farinata degli Uberti, head of the Florentine Ghibellines, a political arrangement intended to promote peace between Guelf and Ghibelline factions. A force in Florentine politics, Guido Cavalcanti served as a public guarantor for the Guelf party in a peace accord brokered in 1280, and as a member of the *consiglio generale* of Florence in 1284 and 1290. His political role in Florence ended abruptly in 1295, when the *ordinamento di giustizia*, an ordinance against magnates, was adopted. However, he remained engaged in the power struggle between factions of the Guelf party, and

he was held responsible for the assassination attempt of a rival, Corso Donati. In June 1300, Guido Cavalcanti was exiled from Florence for the sake of public tranquillity, but he was recalled shortly thereafter because of ill health, and he died in August of the same year.

During his lifetime, Cavalcanti was reputed to be a parsimonious, impetuous, and irascible; in the decades following his death, he became an icon of the aloof, intellectual urban aristocrat. Boccaccio, in the *Decameron* (6.9), describes Cavalcanti as one of the best logicians in the world and an outstanding natural philosopher, adding that Cavalcanti was a perfect nobleman: wealthy, eloquent, and accomplished. The *Decameron* introduced the notion that Cavalcanti was widely held to be an Epicurean who denied the immortality of the soul, although there is no historical evidence for this. Cavalcanti's interest in philosophy is borne out, however, in a philosophical tract dedicated to him in 1280 by Iacopo da Pistoia, a professor at the University of Bologna.

Cavalcanti was a pivotal figure in the development of thirteenth-century lyric poetry, and he is regarded by many modern readers as the finest lyric poet of the Italian *Duecento*. He firmly rejected, in terms more disdainful than Dante's, the heavily ornamented, conceptually curtailed poetry of Guittone d'Arezzo (c. 1235-1294). Cavalcanti's language combines intensity of expression with intellectual clarity, defining what Dante dubbed the *dolce stil nuovo*; his corpus of fifty-two poems is characterized by a highly subjective and intimate exploration of the experience of love. Cavalcanti's probing poetic voice became the inspiration for Dante's own youthful writing of love poetry in *Vita Nuova*, and in fact Dante dedicated this book to Cavalcanti. Later, though, there is ample evidence of rancor and ideological discord between the two poets.

The Bolognese Guido Guinizzelli (fl. mid-thirteenth century) influenced Cavalcanti's early sonnets written in praise of his lady. In the marvelous sonnet *Chi è questa che vèn ch'ogn' om la mira* ("Who is this who comes, upon whom every man gazes?"), Cavalcanti repeats the two rhyme words and four rhymes of Guinizzelli's *Io voglio del ver la mia donna laudare* ("I truly wish to praise my lady"). Yet even this early sonnet reveals significant deviations from its model. In the quatrains, Guinizzelli's poem describes a lady by using hyperbolic comparisons to natural beauty; in the tercets, her spiritually salutary effects on those in

her presence are recounted. Cavalcanti's poem turns on its own inadequacy: the impossibility of giving voice to the commotion he feels in the lady's presence, the ineffable quality of her beauty, and the incapacity of the mind to ascend to and comprehend the lady's splendor. The sonnet also differs from its model in the poet's detachment as he contemplates his lady, and in the universality of the effects ascribed to her beatitude. *Chi è questa che vèn* is characterized by many of the features that defined Cavalcanti's poetry throughout his career: a marriage of form and content; phonic lightness; rhythmic grace; supple syntax; subtle allusions to the Old and New Testaments (the opening line echoes the Song of Songs) and to other vernacular poets; and references to logic and science (the visible trembling of the air that creates a halo of light around the lady in line 2 is a phenomenon appropriated from the physics of sound). Personification, the most prominent characteristic of Cavalcanti's poetry, is present in the figure of Love, (Amor), who is charged with telling of the lady's gaze when the poet cannot. In other works, personification is accompanied by frequent apostrophes, as the poet appeals to his denatured heart or soul or spirits and begs that they, in turn, appeal to his lady.

Other poems develop the implications of Cavalcanti's paradoxical understanding of love poetry: since he is unable to sing of his lady, whom his mind cannot conceive or his words convey, his poems explore the fear, despair, anguish, and disorientation that result from the experience of love. Guittone d'Arezzo had equated love with a loss of reason and virtue, and even with death; Cavalcanti dramatizes the psychological disintegration and internal commotion caused by love, in sonnets like *Deb, spiriti miei, quando mi vedete* ("My spirits, when you see me"), *L'anima mia vilment' è sbigotita* ("My soul is so cruelly aggrieved"), and *Voi che per li occhi mi passaste 'l core* ("You who pass through my eyes to my heart"). In these poems the poet's heart, mind, eyes, sighs, soul, and spirits—vital vapors, according to the physiology of the time—are engaged in his plea for survival: some are sent to the lady to beg for mercy; others are described as helpless witnesses to the poet's crisis. *Noi sian le triste penne isbigotite* ("We are the sad and mournful pens") takes the process a step further: the languishing poet's writing tools are all that is left to plead to the lady.

Guido Cavalcanti sought to understand his experience of love in terms that transcended the literary and purely subjective. Gianni Alfani, his follower, jokingly refers to Cavalcanti as the only man who actually *sees* Love (*Ballatetta dolente*, 19), and lexical studies bear this out: *vedere* occurs fifty-five times in Cavalcanti's corpus; *guardare* fifteen times; *mirare* thirteen times; *sguardare* twice; *riguardare* once; *guatare* once; *occhi* thirty-one times; *sguardo* four times; *veduta* once, and *vista* once, according to Calenda (1976, 82-83). The eyes are, of course, the conduit for love; but perhaps more important for Cavalcanti was the fact that visibility represented the most concrete form of demonstration in Aristotelian natural philosophy. As the young Dante pursued the understanding and appropriation of the experience of love, he was profoundly influenced by Cavalcanti's poetic "research." In Chapter 26 of *Vita Nuova*, when Dante is finally able to define his poetry of praise as beatitude, and his *credo che* ("I believe that") becomes the more objective *pare che* ("it seems that," as in *Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare* and the surrounding prose), Dante borrows essential elements from two of Cavalcanti's ballatas: *Posso degli occhi miei novella dire* and *Veggio negli occhi de la donna mia* (De Robertis 1961, 142-145).

The *ballata* was Cavalcanti's preferred form, and eleven of his *ballate* are extant. In contrast to the Italian *canzone*, which in the course of the *Duecento* became the form of choice for doctrinal poetry, the *ballata* was associated with music, dance, and—given its codification at the court of Charles of Anjou (Asperti 1995, 107-112)—perhaps a certain spirit of aristocratic hedonism. Cavalcanti may have preferred the asymmetrical musicality of the *ballata* or, as Calenda has suggested (115-117), may have consciously refused to engage in writing *canzoni*, which were becoming, with Guido Guinizzelli and Dante, ideological "manifestos" for the emerging bourgeoisie. In one of most famous *ballate*, *Perch'io no spero di tornar giammai* ("Because I do not hope ever to return"), Cavalcanti expands the expressive potential of the recurring rhyme, engaging it in conversation with the stanzas, as the writer Ugo Foscolo (1778-1827) pointed out. This poem was long thought to be an autobiographical final appeal to his lady from afar, by a poet fearing his imminent death; but Calenda (33-52) has shown that the work actually represents a *summa* of the poet's themes and stylistic

elements.

An important achievement in Cavalcanti's hendecasyllabic *ballate* is his fluid, natural elaboration of ideas within the stanza. This presents a marked contrast to the more "scholastic" use of conjunctions of coordination and subordination to develop ideas, in *canzoni* like Guinizzelli's *Al cor gentil rempaira sempre amore* ("Love makes its home in the noble heart"). De Robertis points to this as a major accomplishment of the *dolce stil nuovo*, and an essential lesson that Dante learned from one of his first friends (134-135).

Of the two extant *canzoni* by Guido Cavalcanti, one, *Donna me prega*, is regarded as the most difficult in the Italian language. It has been interpreted from numerous perspectives, although a strictly neo-Aristotelian interpretation in line with contemporary teaching at the universities of Bologna and Paris now seems to prevail. *Donna me prega* represents a significant departure from the dramatic form of Cavalcanti's other poems. The work offers a philosophical and scientific presentation of the essence of love, how love manifests itself, and what its effects are; the questions are divided into eight topics, two of which are treated in each of the four remaining stanzas. The structure of the poem is tightly controlled, and internal rhymes enhance the rigor of the *canzone*.

See also Ballata; Canzone; Cavalcanti Family? Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Florence; Gianni Degli Alfani; Guinizzelli, Guido; Guittone d'Arezzo; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Sonnet

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Cavallini, Pietro

The painter and mosaicist, Pietro Cavallini (fl. c. 1270-c. 1330) is generally considered the most important Roman artist of his day and one of the protagonists in the revival of the visual arts in Italy during the late *Duecento*. His art, which is characterized by vivid naturalism, is a masterful synthesis of contemporary Byzantine and northern European styles and iconography with the artistic traditions of classical and early Christian Rome. Evidently much admired and sought after, Cavallini worked for most of his life in Rome. There, beginning with the papacy of Nicholas III (r. 1277-1280), the recently consolidated power base of the popes offered him significant opportunities for employment. He was also active in Naples, where he worked for the

Angevin king Charles II; and, as is sometimes argued, possibly in Assisi. Some scholars (though they are in the minority) maintain that Cavallini was the principal master of the fresco cycle *The Legend of Saint Francis*, traditionally attributed to Giotto, in Assisi. Whatever the truth may be regarding Cavallini's supposed links with Assisi, Giotto—who was younger than Cavallini and whose known career began when Cavallini had already reached artistic maturity—was probably inspired by and indebted to Cavallini's innovative work.

Cavallini's known career in Rome and Naples: c. 1273-1325. Cavallini's career is sparsely documented, but some details about his life and work were included in Lorenzo Ghiberti's *Commentarii* (mid-1400s) and Giorgio Vasari's *Vite* (1550, revised 1568). Cavallini was a member of the noble de' Cerroni family (if the notarial act of 1273 is in fact a reference to him). He is believed to have been active from the 1270s to the 1280s as a fresco painter in the venerated Roman basilica San Paolo fuori le Mura. This work, his earliest known commission, was destroyed in a fire in 1823. The general appearance of the paintings, however, can be seen in surviving copies, most notably in watercolors executed for Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1634. The subjects were episodes from the Old Testament (on the south wall of the nave); and scenes from the New Testament, with particular emphasis on Saint Paul, patron of the basilica (on the north wall). It would appear that Cavallini largely restored or at most reworked a vast fifth-century fresco cycle. This experience, however, would have given him a valuable opportunity to study early Christian iconographic traditions and principles of design, and possibly to study techniques of late antique painting as well.

Cavallini's skill as an artist is manifest in somewhat later fresco work that is extant: fragments in the Roman church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. This cycle was partially destroyed in the eighteenth century and rediscovered in the early twentieth century; it is generally dated to c. 1293, the year the Tuscan sculptor Arnolfo di Cambio signed and dated the *ciborium*, which apparently formed part of a wider scheme of redecoration in which Cavallini was intensely involved. According to Ghiberti, the frescoes once filled the whole interior. The surviving frescoes depict the Last Judgment on the entrance wall and episodes from the Old and New Testaments on the side walls. Cavallini's style,

especially evident in the solemnly enthroned apostles in the Last Judgment, is characterized by a remarkable sensitivity to the properties of light, which are fully exploited in order to define the volumetric forms of figures wrapped in weighty but soft expanses of fabric. Another aspect of this sensitivity is an expressive play of color, made possible by the artist's ability to create subtle transitions in tone; these transitions are particularly striking in the seraphim in the Last Judgment. The iconography of the frescoes in Santa Cecilia would have been considered innovative by Cavallini's contemporaries: these frescoes blend Byzantine iconographic traditions—highly structured and symmetrical Last Judgment schemes—with a recent French practice of depicting the apostles with the symbols of their martyrdom.

Cavallini's work in Santa Maria in Trastevere is also extant. Both Ghiberti and Vasari recorded Cavallini's activity in this church, where a mosaic cycle depicting six episodes from the life of the Virgin and a central donor panel survive. The work, generally dated to the 1290s, once bore the artist's signature in the dedicatory panel, which could still be read in the seventeenth century. Each framed scene carries Latin verses that were composed by Cardinal Giacomo Gaetano Stefaneschi, brother of Bertoldo Stefaneschi, the patron of the project. Although Cavallini was working in a different medium, he managed in these mosaics to evoke the refined effects in lighting that he had produced in the frescoes in Santa Cecilia. Furthermore, the design of each episode in the mosaics is informed by monumental clarity. In the Presentation in the Temple, for example, human figures that express great tactile power are rhythmically positioned in front of and around architectural features that define and create space.

According to Vasari, Cavallini's masterpiece in Rome was a fresco cycle in the apse of Santa Maria in Aracoeli (c. 1298). These frescoes were destroyed in the second half of the sixteenth century. However, Cavallini executed another fresco cycle for the same church; it included a Virgin and Child between Saints, surviving fragments of which were discovered in 2000 in the chapel of San Pasquale Baylon. The fragments are imbued with a classical monumentality and, through skillful handling of chiaroscuro, also convey a pronounced plasticity. Other Roman works convincingly attributed to Cavallini on the basis of style and technique include a fresco over the tomb of Cardinal Matteo

d'Acquasparta in Santa Maria Aracoeli (c. 1302) and a fresco in the apse of San Giorgio in Velabro (possibly late 1290s).

In 1308 Cavallini was lured to Naples by King Charles II, who offered him a yearly salary of thirty ounces of gold with a further two ounces to maintain a house. Fresco fragments associated with Cavallini, his workshop, or his immediate followers that survive there exhibit the monumental design principles and atmospheric subtlety of his Roman works. The frescoes in Santa Maria Donna Regina (c. 1320), for example, manifest a rigorous understanding of form, a profound characterization of the figures, and continued experimentation with lighting effects.

Critical reception and posthumous reputation. A marked decline in Cavallini's reputation began in the sixteenth century, when Vasari claimed that Cavallini had been a pupil of Giotto; this notion, reflecting the general line of argument in Vasari's *Vite*, supported the idea of the superiority of Tuscan art. The falling-off of Cavallini's stature was exacerbated by the gradual destruction of his work, especially in the wake of the Counter-Reformation, when many churches in Rome were remodeled or refurbished.

The discovery of the frescoes in Santa Cecilia in 1900 revived interest in Cavallini, since Vasari's chronology was no longer considered tenable. Through the twentieth century, scholars restored Cavallini's reputation and emphasized his role as a the pioneering figure in the history of early Italian art. The discovery of the frescoes in Santa Maria Aracoeli in 2000 brought about another new wave of interest in and debate about Cavallini, late *Duecento* Roman art, and the attribution of the frescoes in the upper church at Assisi.

***See also* Giotto di Bondone; Painting: Fresco; Torrid, Jacobus**



Pietro Cavallini (c. 1250-1330), *Presentation in the Temple*. Mosaic. Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

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Cecco Angiolieri

Cecco (c. 1260-1312) is the most prolific and best-known of the medieval comic poets. His father, Messer Angioliero, was the banker of Pope Gregory IX from 1230 to 1233, a member of the Frati Gaudenti, and a prominent Guelph who participated in the political life of Siena. Cecco belonged to the Arte del Cambio, i.e., the money changers' or money brokers' guild. He served as a soldier in the Sienese militia in 1281, in a siege of the castle of Turri in Maremma (during which he was fined for arbitrary absences while the fighting was going on); and in 1288, in a campaign against Arezzo (during which he was fined for violating a curfew). It appears that Cecco was plagued with financial problems throughout his lifetime. In 1302 he sold a vineyard. After his death, his five children were made to renounce their inheritance and to pay additional monies to the commune in order to satisfy his debts.

Cecco's *canzoniere* are the largest body of work by a thirteenth-century comic poet, consisting of 112 sonnets of undoubted authorship and fourteen sonnets whose attribution is dubious. Questions of authenticity of authorship preoccupied many scholars in the past,

especially because Cecco's style had set a tone for many subsequent comic poets. Until 1914, the entire corpus of poetry by Meo dei Tolomei (c. 1260—c. 1310) was attributed to Cecco, as were two sonnets by Nicola Muscia (late thirteenth century). Many of Cecco's poems are found in MS Chigiano L.VIII.305 of the Vatican Library; smaller groups are found in Escorialense e.III,23 and Vaticano Barberino Latino 3953. Many other codices contain one or two sonnets by Cecco, attesting to the widespread popularity of his poetry during his lifetime. However, the manuscript tradition also indicates that his popularity did not extend much beyond his own generation.

Cecco's best-known and most frequently anthologized sonnets— *Tre cose solamente mi so' in grado* and *S'i' fosse foco, ardere' il mondo*—are in the Goliardic tradition (the Goliards were wandering entertainers) of odes to wine, women, and gambling; however, these sonnets are not indicative of the bulk of his *canzoniere*. A significant number of Cecco's sonnets recount a stormy relationship with a woman named Becchina, characterized by some scholars as an "anti-Beatrice" because her earthy language and behavior contrast sharply with the type of idealized, angelicized woman portrayed by Dante and other poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*. Of particular interest are the sonnets in dialogue between the poet-lover and Becchina, such as "*Becchin'amor!*" "*Che vuo, falso tradito?*" and "*Becchina mia!*" "*Cecco, nol ti confesso.*" In these compositions Cecco raises the traditional *sonetto a dialogo* to a new level of artistry. By having both figures speak in each line, he accelerates the pace, thus heightening the theatrical and comic effect. Most of the love sonnets that revolve around Becchina have as their theme two moments in the relationship: the poet's initial frustration in getting her to accept him as a lover; and, after the relationship has ended, his despair at losing her.

One reason cited by the poet for his inability to win Becchina back is his constant lack of money. The cause of the poet's poverty is his avaricious father, the subject of many of Cecco's sonnets written in the vituperative tradition of medieval comic poetry. In *Sed i' credesse vivar un dì solo, I ho un padre sì compressionato, Sed i'avesse mille lingue in bocca*, and other sonnets, the poet describes his father's stinginess in hyperbolic terms and fears that the old man will live forever, thus preventing his son from ever inheriting his money.

The anti-paternal theme, unique to Cecco, gives rise to a series of sonnets about the power of money and the misery of the poor. According to sonnets such as *Così è l'uomo che non ha denari* and *Quando non ho denar, ogn'om mi schiva*, those who find themselves thrust into poverty discover that their friends desert them and that people point to them as objects of derision. Cecco's ingenious use of hyperbole results in a sonnet in which the poet is so poor that he has pawned his smiles (*Per sì gran somma ho 'impegnate le risa*).

From the sonnets on poverty it is a short jump to sonnets written in the gnomic-moralizing tradition, in which the values and institutions of society are viewed as corrupt. Typical of this group are *Senno non val a cui fortuna è cònta* and *Egli è sì poco di fede e d'amore*.

Although many scholars have interpreted Cecco's poetry as autobiographical, it is important to keep in mind that his themes are deeply rooted in medieval literary tradition, and that his style attests to a thorough knowledge of the medieval arts of composition, *artes dictandi*.

See also Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Italian Poetry: Comic; Meo dei Tolomei; Rustico Filippi

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Cecco D'ascoli

The physician, poet, and astrologer, Francesco Stabili, known as Cecco d'Ascoli (1269–1327), was born in Ancarani, near Ascoli Piceno in the Marches. At age fifteen he attended medical school in Salerno. He continued his training in Paris and later became a lecturer in medicine at the University of Bologna. In 1324, he was suspended from teaching after having been accused of heresy by the inquisitor Lamberto da Cingoli. In 1326, he was in Florence in the service of Charles, duke of Calabria, and became Charles's personal physician and astrologer. Cecco's troubles in Bologna, however, followed him to Florence, where he made some powerful enemies. Dino del Garbo, a renowned Florentine physician, conspired to ruin him. The pretext for Dino's animosity was Cecco's belief that the birth of Christ had been foreshadowed by the stars, but historians have speculated about the actual reasons for the conspiracy. Were the Florentine doctors envious of Cecco's professional success, or were they truly opposed to his scientific beliefs, which he promoted in his widely read commentaries on important astrological treatises? At the same time that Dino was

conspiring against him, Cecco fell out of favor with his patron, Charles; according to a contemporary, the Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani, Cecco had predicted that Charles's daughter Giovanna would lead a lascivious life. Undermined by envious intellectuals and doctors, abandoned by his protector, and faced with a prejudicial case against him, Cecco was convicted of heresy and sentenced to death; he was burned at the stake on 16 September 1327.

Cecco d'Ascoli was renowned for his Latin commentaries on John of Hollywood's *Spera mundi* and on the *De principiis astrologie* of the Arab astronomer Alcabizio, as well as for his tract *Prelectiones ordinarie astro logic habite Bononie*. Today, he is best remembered for his doctrinal or didactic poem *Acerba*, with its polemic against Dante. The title *Acerba* may be derived from *cerva* (a doe) and thus may be an allegorical allusion to love, in this case a love of science and knowledge. However, a more plausible etymology is that *Acerba* derives from the Latin *acervus*, meaning a compendium of various topics.

Acerba consists of five books, the last of which was left unfinished at the poet's death. Each book is divided into short chapters containing strophes of six hendecasyllables. The first book (9 chapters) is a disquisition on astronomy and cosmology. The second (19 chapters) deals with the relationship between ethics and astrology. Whereas Dante sees Fortune as an angelic intelligence who distributes her gifts unpredictably, Cecco believes that human beings can alter their own fate through the proper exercise of free will. In the third book (18 chapters), the poet describes his moral bestiary: each animal or gem corresponds to a spiritual inclination and a moral belief. In the fourth book (12 chapters), the author uses the dialogue form to underscore the relationship between the natural world and the moral life of human beings. In a famous passage (4.13, 1-6), Cecco criticizes Dante for having used fiction to speak about divine matters:

*Qui non si canta al modo delle rane
qui non si canta al modo del poeta
che finge imaginando cose vane',
ma qui resplende e luce onne natura
che a chi entende fa la menta leta.
Qui non si gira per la selva oscura.*

("Here one does not sing like the frogs, here one does not sing like the poet who imagines false things and sets them forth, but here all nature shines and sheds light such that the minds of those who hear are gladdened. Here one does not go through the dark wood.") At first glance, Cecco's position against fiction appears similar to that of orthodox clerics who opposed popular fictional representations of theological issues. In reality, Cecco argues with Dante from a completely different perspective. The mysteries of the universe can be explained by a profound understanding of nature. The moral life, moreover, does not require belief in a transcendental figure. Cecco denies neither the existence of God nor the importance of divinity in the universe. He simply asserts that knowledge about the world humans inhabit can help them lead an ethical life.

With the exception of few passages, *Acerba* is aesthetically uninspiring and prosaic. Scholars read it primarily as an example of *Trecento* didactic poetry and for the polemic concerning Dante. They would do better, however, to give greater consideration to this poet's life and work. For one thing, even his adversaries respected his intellectual courage and conviction. He was, moreover, an unorthodox and profound thinker whose secular views represent an important strand in the intellectual history of the early *Trecento*.

See also Dante Alighieri; Dino del Garbo; Heresy and Religious Dissent

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Cecco Nuccoli

Cecco Nuccoli (bom c. 1290, fl. c. 1320-1350) was a Perugian notary and lyric poet. He is the author of twenty-nine sonnets (including eighteen *sonetti caudatt*), several of them in *tenzoni* with Perugian contemporaries (among them Marino Ceccoli and Gilio Lelli). The texts are preserved in a single source, MS Vaticano Barberiniano 4036 (which dates from 1345-1353). Many are in the thematic and stylistic register of *poesia giocosa* (comic verse), dealing humorously with urban low life and amorous adventures in a vivid and obscurely allusive style; but perhaps more interesting, and certainly more substantial, is a group of thirteen love sonnets, wholly serious in tone and undeniably accomplished in execution, addressed to Nuccoli's fellow-poet Trebaldino Manfredini. Though dismissed by some authoritative critics as lubricious and trivial, these poems in fact exploit existing conventions with remarkable skill in their moving and authentic evocation of love between men.

See also Italian Poetry: Lyric; Perugia; Tenzzone



View of cathedral and Great Rock, Cefalù. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

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Cefalù

The name of the city of Cefalù, in Sicily, derives from the Roman Cephaloedum, referring to head-shaped rock on the northeastern coast around which the evolving town clustered. Scattered megaiithic remains testify to a prehistoric settlement on the site. In its Greek period, Cefalù was held at times by Syracuse, but in 211 it provided aid to the Romans in their siege of that city.

Only after long sieges in the ninth century did the city capitulate to the Arabs. In 1063 it was taken by the Normans under Count Roger. His son Roger II reestablished Cefalù as a seat of a bishopric and, it is said, vowed during a storm at sea to build a great cathedral there if he survived. This building, dominating the upper town at the base of the great rock, is the city's glory. It was begun in 1131 by Roger II, who apparently intended to make it his own and his dynasty's sepulchral church; he commissioned two porphyry sarcophagi for that purpose. However, this plan was altered by Frederick II, who transferred the sarcophagi to the cathedral in Palermo.

The cathedral of Cefalù was not completed until the following century; its facade, crowned by two towers, dates from 1240. Its atrium was built still later, in 1471. The exterior stonework of the cathedral is handsomely decorated in the characteristic Arab-Sicilian style. The nave and transepts, although they incorporate interesting Roman materials in their structure, preserve little decoration other than a few scant surviving frescoes. The presbytery, however, is a blaze of glorious Byzantine-Norman mosaic. The ensemble is dominated by an awesome portrayal of Christ Pantocrator, above images of an orant Virgin with four archangels, in turn surmounting a band showing the twelve Apostles. These mosaics, dating from 1148, are among the earliest and most splendid evidence of the transfer of Byzantine iconography and artistic techniques to Norman Sicily. Subordinate mosaic representations of patriarchs, prophets, saints, and angels date from somewhat later—they were created under William I (r. 1154-1166)—but are also fine.

Atop the rock that gave Cefalù its name are remains of a medieval castle, which was used at times as a prison. The present town preserves

its historic character and picturesque charm and is a popular tourist and resort center.

See also Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Roger I; Roger II; William I

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Celestine V, Pope

Pope Celestine V (Pietro da Morrone, c. 1209 or 1210-1296, r. 1294) was born in the region of Molise in central Italy; the precise place is probably Sant' Angelo Limosano, a small rural community. After being introduced to monastic life, Pietro (or Peter) became a hermit in the early 1230s, living in the Apennines of Abruzzo, notably on Mount Maiella and Mount Morrone. His fame as a miracle worker attracted a constant stream of visitors, and his holiness drew many followers to him. He needed to obtain ecclesiastical approbation for his community and followers, and this was granted in 1263 or 1264 by Pope Urban IV, who incorporated the Celestines into the order of Saint Benedict. To ensure the stability of the new congregation, Pietro went to Lyon and obtained a confirmation from Pope Gregory X in 1275.

By the 1290s, Pietro had founded or effectively controlled dozens of

monasteries, mainly in the central part of the Italian peninsula. In 1293 he established the seat of the order at the new abbey of Santo Spirito del Morrone, near Sulmona; he himself lived in a hermitage on a mountainside overlooking the monastery.

This move occurred during an interregnum following the death of Pope Nicholas IV (4 April 1292) when the cardinals, divided between the Orsini and Colonna factions, could not agree on a new pope. Charles II of Anjou and others exerted pressure to help break the impasse, and on 5 July 1294, in Perugia, Pietro—by then an octogenarian—was unexpectedly and unanimously elected pope. Although Pietro was known to some important clerics and secular leaders, he was probably selected not for his qualities or potential qualities as a leader but rather as a compromise candidate whose reign was not expected to be long.



Church of Santa Maria di Collemaggio (contains tomb of Pope Celestine V), L'Aquila. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Pietro was crowned Pope Celestine V in L'Aquila, the main city of Abruzzo, on 29 August 1294; he established an unusual indulgence that granted complete absolution to those who visited, under certain conditions, the church where he was crowned. Celestine appointed twelve new cardinals, gave the Franciscan Spirituals protection within the *Pauperes Eremitae Domini Celestini*, and granted many favors to his

monastic congregation; but it soon became apparent that he had little talent or inclination for his new tasks. When the Curia moved to Naples in November, Celestine considered renouncing the papacy and returning to his life as a hermit; he did so on 13 December 1294, after consultations with Cardinal Benedetto Caetani—who was elected Pope Boniface VIII eleven days later. Boniface, fearing that Pietro (as Celestine was now called again) might retract the abdication, sent emissaries to bring Pietro to him. Pietro was arrested trying to flee to Greece and was brought to Fumone, where he was confined until he died on 19 May 1296. Under pressure from the French king Philip the Fair, Pope Clement V canonized Pietro on 5 May 1313 in Avignon.

Celestine has been identified with Dante's *colui che fece per viltade il gran rifiuto*, "the one who made through cowardice the great refusal" (*Inferno* 3.59-60), but it is not certain that this was Dante's intention.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Clement V, Pope; Gregory X, Pope; Monasticism; Urban IV, Pope

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Cenne Da La Chitarra

Cenne (Bencivenne, d. by 1336) was a *giullare* (jongleur) from Arezzo known for his parody of *Corona dei mesi* (*Garland of the Months*), a cycle on the months of the year by his contemporary Folgòre da San Gimignano. Cenne was called *da la Chitarra* for his guitar, as was customary among other documented jongleurs who took the names of their instruments (Francesco degli Organi, Albertuccio della Viola). Nothing is known of his life except the year by which he was dead.

Cenne's cliirteen-sonnet parody is transmitted in two manuscripts: Vaticano Barberino Latino 3953 and Chigiano L.IV.131. There is no record of a fourteenth sonnet which would have corresponded to the concluding sonnet of Folgòre's cycle, *Sonetto mio, a Niccolò diNisi*. Otherwise, however, Cenne's parody follows the original sonnets image by image, using the same rhymes. The introductory sonnet, *A la brigata avara senza arnese*, notes the avariciousness of the people making up Cenne's *brigata* (brigade), in direct contrast to Folgòre's vision of an affluent courtly society marked by generosity of spirit and liberality in spending money. This concept is amplified in the concluding tercet of Cenne's *Di aprile vi do vita senza lagna*, in which people who brag about their generosity are despised by their neighbors for believing in an outdated courtly ideal. Furthermore, in the conclusion of *Di settembre vi do gioielli alquanti*, Cenne's brigade enters Siena yelling, "Death to those who want to defend courtliness" (*Mòia chi cortesia vuole defendere*). Whereas Folgore's courtly *brigata* enjoys life in every season, Cenne's *brigata* suffers from cold in the winter, heat in the summer, and mud in the spring and fall. Folgòre's sonnet cycle catalogs the great variety of rich food and drink consumed by his brigade; Cenne's sonnets speak of hunger, rancid wine, and cold roasts. Although Cenne's sonnets never rise above parody, they demonstrate how absurdly unreal and idealized the world described by Folgòre in *Corona dei mesi* may have seemed to contemporary readers.

See also Folgòre da San Gimignano; Italian Poetry: Comic

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Cento

The term *cento* is derived from the Latin noun for a patched or

patchwork quilt or cloak, and a cento (plural, centones) is a poetic work consisting of bits and pieces of poems by other authors. The form was prevalent in late antiquity. The composer of a cento extracts verses from a classical author and rearranges them to form a new work bearing little thematic relation to the original. A typical example is the popular *Virgilian Cento in Praise of Christ* (*Cento Virgilianus de laudibus Christi*) by the Roman poet Proba (fl. 354). In her cento, Proba combines lines from Virgil's *Aeneid* to narrate biblical stories; reordered and placed in a Christian context, Virgil's verses take on a significance not found in the *Aeneid* itself.

There are Greek and Latin centones predating the Christian era; in these, Homer and Virgil are frequent sources. Latin centones dating from the late second century after Christ use Virgilian verses to treat topics ranging from bread making to the judgment of Paris. In the fourth century, Ausonius produced his bawdy *Nuptial Cento* (*Cento nuptialis*) out of 131 lines from Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Georgics*, and *Eclogues*. In the preface to his work, Ausonius defines the cento, apologizes for "degrading" Virgil, and argues for his poem's unity, despite its disjointed origins.

Other centones from the fourth century reflect a Christian sensibility. In addition to Proba's work, we find the poems *On the Incarnation of the Word* (*De verbi incarnatione*), *On the Church* (*De ecclesia*), and *Verses to the Grace of Christ* (*Versus ad gratiam Domini*). By recontextualizing pagan verses, the Christian authors, or compilers, of these poems justified the study of pre-Christian material, endowing the classical work with a Christian significance.

The cento form can also be found in medieval music. Apparently, Pope Gregory compiled musical centones out of earlier sung portions of the mass; the concept of centonization applies to the formulaic composition of chants out of preexisting musical units.

See also **Latin Literature; Virgil; Virgil in the Middle Ages**

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Cerchi Family

The Cerchi migrated from Acone in the Val di Sieve to Florence in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. In the 1240s, the family built *apalazzo* outside the city walls near Sant' Ambrogio, but since the Cerchi were leading Guelfs, it was destroyed by the Ghibellines when the family was exiled in 1248. The Cerchi later purchased and occupied the Florentine *palazzi* of the noble Conti Guidi. The Cerchi were leading wool merchants as early as 1212, when the eponymous Cerchio was rector of the *lana* (wool) guild. His son Oliviero founded the family bank, which had branches in Florence and abroad and financed the efforts of King Edward I of England beginning in the 1280s. Under the

direction of Vieri, who was knighted for military valor in 1267, the enterprises of the Cerchi developed into the city's most prosperous, until their bank failed in 1310.

The extended family split into two factions—the Whites and Blacks—during the 1270s or 1280s. When these labels came to be more widely applied in Florence, however, the Black Cerchi became leaders of the White Guelfs. Because of their wealth, and despite the fact that they were not of noble origin, the Cerchi were declared magnates in 1293. During the 1290s they carried out a long feud—described by the historian Dino Compagni (c. 1255-1324)—with the noble Donati clan (Blacks); for this feud, the Cerchi were condemned in 1298. In 1299, when Corso Donati and many Blacks were exiled, the Cerchi became leaders of the disenfranchised magnates of the merchant class. The power of the Whites, and also that of the Cerchi, was violently overthrown in 1301; and in January 1302 a broad proscription forced many of the Cerchi into exile, especially in Arezzo. Thereafter, out of concern for their businesses, the Cerchi kept a low political profile.

An outstanding member of this merchant family was Blessed Umiliana (1219-1246), a daughter of Oliviero (she was one of at least eighteen siblings). Umiliana was the first third-order Franciscan nun in Florence.

See also **Florence; Guelfs**

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Certaldo

The town of Certaldo in Tuscany, in the Val d'Elsa between Poggibonsi and Empoli, is famous as the burial place (and possibly the birthplace) of Giovanni Boccaccio. From its low hilltop, Certaldo commands a broad agricultural area; in the Middle Ages the town served as the center for local exchange and protection.

Remains suggest that the hill may have supported a territorial center as early as the eighth century B.C. As trade and travel developed in the early Middle Ages, Certaldo became a center of minor importance along the Via Francigena, the main thoroughfare between France and Rome, as it passed through the Val d'Elsa. The earliest documentary evidence for Certaldo is in Frederick I Barbarossa's grants of the area to Count Alberto di Prato (1155 and 1164). In 1184, the victorious Florentines forced the Alberti to destroy and not rebuild their towers there. Florence and the counts would feud throughout the thirteenth century, though the town generally supported Florence. In 1198 Certaldo formally submitted to Florence, from which it received a governor.

In 1203 the nearby center of Semifonte was destroyed, and many refugees, including the duke, augmented Certaldo's population, which continued to grow during the thirteenth century. Also in the early 1200s, thanks to a split inheritance, Mainardo Alberti (the first to bear the name da Certaldo) attained the status of count and established the town as his seat. Despite its advantages, Certaldo never grew into a center for trade or industry; its economy remained strictly agricultural. Two factors hindering diversification were Certaldo's lack of direct contact with major roads (even the Francigena) or with the river (which was 2 kilometers, or well over a mile, away), and strong competition

from Empoli and Poggibonsi.

Certaldo's main road runs east-west, with houses, predominantly of brick, concentrated in an early settlement area known as the Borgo. The *rocca*, or castle, of the Alberti was originally constructed after 1150 and was torn down c. 1185. A new structure, today the Palazzo Pretorio, replaced it in the early 1200s. After Certaldo was subjugated by Florence, this building housed the local *vicari* (governors). In the course of the thirteenth century, walls were built around the town core, and by the early *Trecento* they circled most of the hill. Extramural settlements appeared by 1300.

Two churches of interest remain from the thirteenth century: Santi Tommaso e Prospero and Santi Michele e Iacopo, which was restored in the early 1900s. The anchorite Beata Giulia lived in Santa Maria for thirty years, sealed up in a room adjoining the sacristy. It is said that at her death in 1367, the bells of Certaldo tolled of their own accord

Before the black death, Certaldo housed about 1,200 people; but in 1357 Florence assessed the town as having only 167 hearths, a figure suggesting that Certaldo had probably lost 30 percent of its population during the plague. Because the economy of Certaldo and the opportunities it offered were so limited, many industrious Certaldesi, including the noted judge Iacopo da Certaldo and Boccaccio's father, emigrated to Florence. This emigration further reduced Certaldo's prospects for substantial growth.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Frederick I Barbarossa

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Cesena

Cesena has Etruscan origins. As Caesena, it achieved municipal status and importance and became a significant mercantile center when the Roman road, the Via Aemilia, was constructed. It was occupied by Odoacer and was besieged by Theodoric in 493. After the rule of the Ostrogoths, it became part of the exarchate of Ravenna and withstood several attacks before it passed into the hands of the Lombards. Berengar besieged it in 961, and it was restored to the archbishopric of Ravenna in 998. In the eleventh century it came under the government of the free commune, with Forlì, Cervia, and Rimini as its principal rivals. In *Inferno* (27.54), Dante describes the political situation of Cesena as being between tyranny and freedom (*tra tirannia si vive e stato franco*). The papacy, unable to dominate Cesena directly, created it as a vicariate of Francesco Ordelaffi, who had possessed it since 1333. In 1357, the city was taken by Cardinal Albornoz, but he faced resistance by Cia degli Ubaldini, the wife of Ordelaffi. For the rest of the fourteenth century, Cesena was contested by papal authorities and local factions. The upheavals included a brutal sack of the city in 1377 by forces under Robert of Geneva in the service of Gregory XI. In 1379, Galeotto Malatesta was made papal vicar by Urban VI, initiating a period of recovery.

See also Albornoz, Gil Álvarez Cabrillo de; Exarchate of Ravenna; Lombards; Ostrogoths; Theodoric; Urban VI, Pope

JOHN W. BARKER and CHRISTOPHER KLEINHENZ

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Charitable Institutions

Almsgiving and other forms of charity have played a central role in Muslim and Christian societies, especially in the Mediterranean world. Even in classical antiquity, Mediterranean societies emphasized the duties of hospitality as well as the prestige that wealthy patrons and benefactors of cities could enjoy. Roman emperors and private benefactors established foundations to aid poor families who had children, for example. In the classical world, however, hospitality remained largely a virtue of private households; in the public sphere, civic benefactors might indirectly benefit the poor, but there is little evidence of major programs to unite hospitality and patronage, despite direct welfare from the state as well as pagan temples that assisted the needy. The problems of abandoned children, for example, were more often solved by substitution, purchase, slavery, and prostitution than by imperial or charitable foundations, which in most cases required parents to enroll their children.

Indeed, one of the early markers of Christian identity was the explicit injunction among members of early Christian communities to provide alms for the poor, a function taken up in the third and fourth centuries by large urban basilicas. Even anti-Christian commentators noted that the acceptance of Christianity in the Roman empire was due in no small way to the replacement of the temple by the basilica as the source of almsgiving. These charitable functions multiplied during the urban economic crises of the fourth and fifth centuries. At least one historian credits the Byzantine empire with the "birth of the hospital," and many of the earliest exhortations for Christians to aid the poor in their midst came from Greek patristic authors such as John Chrysostom, who counseled Christians whose prayers had not been answered to consider how many times they had refused to hear a poor man's pleas. In the eastern empire, general hospitals for the poor and infirm as well as orphanages date from at least as early as the fifth

century after Christ, and at least one orphanage in Constantinople was renowned for its musical performances in the late fifth century.

In addition to charity provided by basilicas in the Latin west, the Benedictine rule provided a model for monastic charity from the sixth century on in Italy as well as in the rest of Europe, when it prescribed that monks greet weary pilgrims and other travelers, wash their feet, and take them in. Even so, medieval monasteries in Italy, as elsewhere in Europe, made clear that their primary duties involved prayer for the salvation of souls rather than nourishment of the bodies of strangers. Monastic charity was itself liturgical and ritualistic, often restricted to certain feast days with deliberate limits on the types and numbers of poor assisted. Even in Italy, parts of which remained somewhat urbanized throughout the early Middle Ages, poverty as a lack of wealth was a concept hardly intelligible to monks or other administrators: as a juridical category the poor were those without military power and arms. Becoming part of the "poor in spirit" by deliberately renouncing worldly wealth and military power was itself considered sufficient for salvation. Moreover, charitable institutions and gift economies do not easily coexist, since gift economies require material and symbolic reciprocity and the poor require liquidity. Even monasteries rich in lands were cash-poor and relied on their own products, especially grain, olive oil, and wine, as forms of direct assistance, and on their ability to provide temporary shelter.

Although one can argue that the practice of oblation, or the consignment of children (especially boys) at a very young age to the protection of a monastery, constituted an alternative to child abandonment, this hardly places monasteries in the category of charitable institutions. Not until the mid-tenth century did the office of almoner become important in monasteries, and even then monasteries organized poor relief around liturgical occasions celebrating the symbolic importance of the poor, rather than responding to individualized and discrete forms of poverty. For aristocratic givers as well, generosity tended to be an ostentatious affirmation of status, often unrelated to the plight of the truly poor.

The growth of charitable institutions in Italy is linked, then, to the urban revival of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which saw the creation of hospices for pilgrims. The tension created by the clash

between the reality of commercial activity and the severe counsels of Christian perfection generated and nourished new forms of spirituality. If during the early Middle Ages the aristocrat saw charity as penance, the urban merchant contended with the specter of avarice as an occupational hazard. Twelfth-century preachers emphasized how much easier was the monk's path to salvation, and how much more difficult and full of temptation was the same path for urban merchants. This distance between monastic perfection and urban guilt could be covered only by generous and effective almsgiving. The life and teachings of Saint Francis, his devotion and the devotion of his followers to "Lady Poverty," and his immense popularity in Italy during the Middle Ages all testify to deeper psychological tension in the urban economy. Few conflicts were as theologically troubling as the questions raised by the *fraticelli* who understood the abyss between the wealth of the medieval church and the example of apostolic poverty. Few scenes in early fourteenth-century Italian painting were more compelling than the drama of Francis renouncing his fine clothes and his mercantile career as his father sought to reclaim him.

Not until the subsistence crises of the early fourteenth century did most Italian municipal governments understand the urgency of actual poverty. The commune of Florence, for example, set aside only 2,000 lire per year as its entire subsidy to ecclesiastical institutions for the needs of the poor. Confraternities and other urban groups who aided the poor depended much more on voluntary contributions, bequests, and wealthy benefactors. Municipal governments did, nonetheless, enter into the business of poor relief in the sense that they attempted to keep grain supplies constant and to regulate prices. Legislation to protect the interests of minors constituted another form of intervention, and in Venice the procurators of San Marco may have reached a wider swath of the Venetian population than the Venetian confraternities known as the *scuole grandi*. Especially after the black death of 1348, many municipal governments acted to regulate private and corporate charity as well. Quite late in the medieval period, beginning in the early 1460s, municipal governments began to establish *monti di pieta*, whose purpose was to provide lending and pawnbroking services to poor clients at an affordable rate of interest. If, in retrospect, municipal governments seem to have been slow to recognize the realities of urban

poverty, Italian cities were nevertheless envied by observers from beyond the Alps.

This was also true with respect to the growth of hospices and hospitals. The earliest known Italian hospitals seem to have been founded toward the end of the twelfth century. In many cases, the documentary evidence is uncertain, and even more frequently it is obscured by institutions seeking to claim greater antiquity than their rivals through legend or forgery. Early foundations include the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena (which claims to date from the 1190s), the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia in Rome (which may date back to the pontificate of Innocent III in 1198-1215), and the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence (founded in 1286 by Folco Portinari, the father of Dante's Beatrice). By the mid-thirteenth century, documentation concerning the foundation of hospitals becomes generally more reliable; and hospitals and other charitable institutions began to proliferate in Italian cities and towns in the period from 1250 to 1400—dates that coincide exactly with the onset of serious urban economic and social crises which left the poor especially vulnerable. The greatest number of foundations can be seen in the periods of greatest social extremity: 1340 to 1440. Hospitals that already existed, even in much smaller urban centers, also benefited from this era of crisis. In 1427, the Ospedale del Ceppo in Pistoia (founded in 1277) had a larger budget than the bishop's.

The growth in the number of foundations of hospitals corresponded not only to issues of need but also to a decline in confraternities as charitable institutions, a shift that is clear at the end of the fourteenth century in Florence and about half a century later in such northern Italian cities as Bologna, Milan, and Venice. This was due in part to the important links that confraternities initially had with hospitals—in the case of Florence, the confraternity of the Bigallo supervised as many as ten hospitals before it was reorganized by the commune in the late fourteenth century. In all four cities, the growing concern of municipal governments to supervise the activities of confraternities also encouraged the sponsorship of large general hospitals and more specialized institutions as symbols of civic prestige. During the fifteenth century, following the example of Brunelleschi's design for the Ospedale degli Innocenti in 1419, both Bologna and Milan used

architectural grandeur to make their respective hospitals more worthy symbols of civic grandeur.

Despite overall trends suggesting a shift in emphasis from direct giving through confraternities to more indirect giving to hospitals and other charitable building programs in the fifteenth century, the development of charitable institutions was hardly uniform, even in northern Italy. Smaller urban centers such as Brescia and Bergamo moved, early in the fifteenth century, to consolidate their scattered hospitals under a single administrative unit; but larger urban centers such as Florence and Venice were slower to do this. Even in those cities that established general hospitals, specific social and medical pressures continued to encourage specialization in the care of abandoned children and, after the 1490s, in the care of patients afflicted with syphilis. Some Italian urban centers, such as Turin, were more successful at allowing competing claims of patronage from noble families to define charitable practice, a tendency noticeable to a lesser extent in Bologna. Whatever the mixture of motives for charitable giving to institutions, Italian institutions and the elites they served provided a model of relief for the poor that was widely admired and imitated by Europeans of various religious persuasions well after the close of our period.

See also **Benedictine Order; Confraternities; Francis of Assisi; Monasticism**

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Charlemagne

Charlemagne (742 or 747-814) was the most illustrious Carolingian ruler of the Frankish kingdom. He and his brother, Carloman, succeeded their father Pepin III as co-kings in 768. Upon Carloman's death in 771 Charlemagne assumed sole rule, and he soon launched a multifaceted program that enhanced the authority of the recently established dynasty and the position of the Frankish kingdom.

Military campaigns occupied much of Charlemagne's attention during the first three decades of his reign, resulting in tighter control over Aquitaine and Bavaria and the incorporation of previously independent peoples and extensive territories into the Frankish realm. Especially notable were the king's victories over the Saxons, the Frisians, and the Avars and his establishment of a Frankish enclave south of the Pyrenees at the expense of the Muslims. Conquest was followed by the conversion of these new subjects, often by forceful means. Active contacts with new peoples beyond the expanded frontiers—Slavs, Danes, the Christian kings of Asturia, the Muslim

princes in Spain, and the Anglo-Saxon kings of England—extended even further the Franks' sphere of influence as the dominant force in the west.

Charlemagne's expansionist policy inevitably drew him into Italy. In 773-774 he invaded the Lombard kingdom, prompted by the Lombards' threats to the papal state and by the pleas of Pope Hadrian II (772-795) for the protection Pepin III had promised. Victory in this campaign resulted in Charlemagne's assumption of the title king of the Lombards. While the war against the Lombards was in progress, Charlemagne visited Rome, where he renewed Pepin's promise of 754 to restore extensive territories to the papal state. During the rest of his reign Charlemagne devoted considerable attention to solidifying control over his Italian kingdom and defining its boundaries. In 781 he installed his son Pepin as king of Italy, thus establishing a subkingdom with limited autonomy but ultimately subject to Charlemagne. Charlemagne also asserted his authority through an ever increasing influx of Frankish nobles who filled key offices. Charlemagne and Pepin waged a long but eventually unsuccessful campaign to assert authority over the Lombard duchy of Benevento in southern Italy. The papacy constantly implored Charlemagne to honor his promise of 774, but with only minimal results. Although he generally respected papal sovereignty over the papal state and honored the successor of Saint Peter as the spiritual head of Christendom, the Frankish king increasingly intervened in internal affairs of the papal state. The Franks' involvement in Italy led to an increasingly hostile relationship with the Byzantine empire.

Charlemagne was concerned with more than military conquest. He acted in a variety of ways to expand and regularize royal administration in order to promote justice and concord among his subjects. He utilized royal authority and guidance from the papacy to intensify religious reform aimed at strengthening ecclesiastical organization, improving the quality of the clergy, standardizing religious practice, and guarding orthodoxy. To provide the human resources capable of guiding the renewal of political and religious life, he initiated educational reforms which led to a wide-ranging cultural "renaissance" focused on the recovery and intensive study of patristic and classical sources to help shape a Christian society.



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Charlemagne's success in renewing Christian society led to his elevation to the emperorship. The situation in Rome provided the immediate setting for this event. In 799, Pope Leo III (795-816), accused of misconduct and physically attacked by his Roman enemies, was forced to call on Charlemagne to save his position. In late 800, the king journeyed to Italy and presided over a legal process that cleared Leo. Then, when the king was attending Christmas mass, Leo placed a crown on his head while the "Roman people" acclaimed him "emperor of the Romans." Behind this dramatic event were complex forces involving, among other things, a growing perception in Frankish circles that their king deserved recognition as the God-ordained guarantor of the safety of Christendom, a deepening sense of the unsuitability of the Byzantine emperors for the highest office in the Christian world, and the confusion surrounding Charlemagne's legal position with respect to

the papal state.

What the new office meant to Charlemagne remains enigmatic. Some of his actions after 800, especially his successful campaign to force Byzantium to recognize his title, suggest that he considered the title important. Others, particularly the provisions he made in 806 to divide his realm among his three sons without reference to the imperial title, imply that he viewed the title as little more than a personal honor. The premature death of two of his sons negated the need for division, and in 813 Charlemagne personally crowned his surviving son Louis as emperor and heir to the united empire. Early in 814, the "great" king died after a career that had in many ways changed the course of European history.

See also **Byzantine Empire; Frankish Kingdom; Hadrian II, Pope; Leo III, Pope; Lombards; Louis I the Pious; Pepin, Pepin the Short**

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Charles I of Anjou

Charles I (Charles of Anjou, 1226 or 1227-1285) was the youngest son of Louis VIII of France. Charles married Beatrix, heiress of Provence, in January 1246 and became, in her right, count of Provence. He was created count of Anjou and Maine by Louis IX in May 1246. When Beatrix died in 1267, Charles, supported by Louis, secured the homage of Provence for himself, rather than for his eldest son, and retained it until his death. He thus incurred the hostility of Beatrix's elder sister Margaret, wife of Louis IX; and that of the overlord of Provence, James I of Aragon. Charles's next marriage, to Margaret, countess of Tonerre and Auxerre, was childless, and on her death he lost the lands that she had brought him.

Charles was first offered the throne of the kingdom of Sicily (the Regno) in 1253 by Pope Innocent IV, who regarded the kingdom as a papal fief and had confiscated it from the Hohenstaufen. However, Innocent's conditions were too hard, and Charles declined. After successive popes had failed to find an alternative, Urban IV resumed negotiations with Charles in 1263. Charles agreed to lead an expedition to the Regno, which Urban would designate a crusade. Shortly afterward, Charles was elected senator of Rome, somewhat to the dismay of Urban, who thought that Charles was accumulating too much power; but Urban died in 1264 and was succeeded by the more compliant Clement IV. Charles then headed southward and, after outmaneuvering the Hohenstauffen vicar in northern Italy through a system of alliances with the marquises of Este and Montferrat, came to Rome, where he established himself in June 1265 and was crowned king of Sicily.

The Regno by this time was governed by Manfred, bastard son of

Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. Manfred's daughter Constance was married to Peter, the crown prince of Aragon, who had been hostile to Charles since Charles's takeover of Provence. In early 1266, in a rapid campaign culminating in the battle of Benevento, Charles defeated and killed Manfred and seized the Regno. Two years later Charles defeated the last Hohenstaufen claimant, Conradin, at Tagliacozzo to become the unchallenged king.

Charles's administrative system was essentially that of Frederick II, but with some substantial modifications. Local government was in the hands of ten justiciars, one for each of the provinces into which the Regno was divided. These justiciars dealt with judicial, administrative, and financial matters. The great offices of state continued to function, but the treasury was developed and made more independent. This reflects Charles's concern with finances. He ran heavily into debt during the initial campaign of conquest, despite subsidies from his brothers and the pope, and he wanted money for further conquests. His taxation—the general subvention first introduced by Frederick II—based on an estimate of the number of hearths in each area, was much heavier and more frequent than previously, and his rapacity was the more unpopular because his government was repressive: he ceased to call parliaments as Frederick II had done, and he drastically reduced the independence of the communes. He continued to demand military service (or its cash equivalent) from the nobles, but he used them less in government, which he entrusted mostly to harshly efficient agents imported from France and Provence. Their records were well preserved in another innovation of Charles's reign, the great series of Angevin registers. These registers were a system of record-keeping in advance of that of any other European realm and, until their destruction in 1944, constituted a major source for the history of the Regno.

In addition to the Regno, Charles claimed, as Manfred's conqueror, certain territories which Manfred had acquired through his wife in Epirus, including Corfu. Charles received the submission of both Lombardy and (after a show of force) Tuscany. In 1266 he temporarily relinquished the office of Roman senator; but in 1268 Rome again elected him senator for ten years (in fact, he retained the office for life). In 1267, he made an agreement with the evicted Latin emperor of Constantinople whereby the emperor's son Philip would marry

Charles's daughter Beatrice and Charles would help them to recover Constantinople from the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus. In return, Charles would get the suzerainty of Achaea (roughly, southern Greece), most of the Aegean islands, and the reversion of the empire if Philip should die childless. Finally, in 1277 he bought the rights of Maria of Antioch in the kingdom of Jerusalem and, denouncing its holder as a usurper, claimed it for himself. In theory Charles was building up an excellent Mediterranean empire.

However, the realization of that empire was delayed: first by a disastrous crusade led by Louis IX in 1270, which Charles felt bound to join (though he deflected it to Tunis, where a victory would have served Sicilian interests well); next by various defections in northern Italy; and then by a treaty of union between the Greek and Latin churches, negotiated by Michael VIII at Lyon in 1274, which led Pope Gregory X to forbid Charles to pursue his claims in the Byzantine empire. Charles did establish his government in Achaea, but nothing more. By 1281, however, there was a French pope, Martin IV, in Rome and the treaty of union was clearly unenforceable; therefore, an expedition to Constantinople seemed practicable. It was forestalled, though, by a rising against Charles, known as the Sicilian Vespers. This rising was provoked by resentment of the oppressive foreign administration and was backed by the Aragonese king, Peter III, who now put forward his claim to the Regno in the right of his wife, Manfred's daughter Constance. Charles had to abandon his dream of a Mediterranean empire, and he spent the last three years of his life fighting to retain his throne.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Clement IV, Pope; Conradin; Innocent IV, Pope; Manfred; Peter III of Aragon; Sicilian Vespers; Tagliacozzo, Battle of; Urban IV, Pope

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Charles II of Anjou

Charles II of Anjou, "the Lame" (1254-1309), was the second son and heir of Charles I of Anjou and was prince of Salerno and vicar of the Regno (the kingdom of Sicily) for Charles I from 1283 until the latter's death in 1285. On the death of Charles I, Charles II inherited, in addition to the Regno, the counties of Provence, Anjou, and Maine. Charles II had directed the Angevin defense of Sicily in the war that broke out after the Sicilian Vespers, had been taken prisoner in June 1284, and when his father died was still being held by the Aragonese in Messina. He was released in 1288 by the treaty of Canfranc, negotiated by Edward I of England. This treaty obliged Charles to negotiate peace between Alfonso III of Aragon, the pope, his own kingdom of Naples, and Philip IV of France—whose father, Philip III, had been brought by Pope Martin IV into the war of the Sicilian Vespers on the side of the papacy and the Angevins. If he failed to do so within three years, he was to return to captivity; meanwhile, three of his sons were delivered to the Aragonese as hostages. Once liberated, Charles was crowned king of Naples and Sicily by Pope Nicholas IV at Rieti. He did fail to negotiate a peace within the stipulated time and duly surrendered himself at the Aragonese frontier; but Alfonso wisely ignored this gesture, since Charles's efforts to make peace were in fact progressing.

Part of the problem was that Martin IV had transferred the Aragonese throne to Charles of Valois, brother of Philip IV of France, declaring that Alfonso had forfeited it by his attack on Sicily. Charles II succeeded in buying Valois off by ceding to him the appanages of Anjou and Maine in exchange for two concessions: part of the territory of Avignon that had come to Valois through Philip III (Charles already held the rest as count of Provence) and Valois's renunciation of all claims to Aragon. This stratagem failed when Alfonso of Aragon died (in 1291) before ratifying the peace. Alfonso's brother and heir, James II, repudiated the peace negotiations, and not until 1295 was peace finally concluded at Anagni, under the auspices of Pope Boniface VIII, between James II of Aragon, Philip IV of France, Charles II, and the Holy See. Even the peace of Anagni did not end the war, which was continued between Charles II and James's younger brother Frederick,

regent and self-styled king of Sicily, until the peace of Caltabellotta in 1302, whereby Frederick kept Sicily and Charles held Naples and the mainland.

Charles's contemporaries considered that he lacked valor; but his search for peace may have reflected a religious sincerity which, as they acknowledged, was unusually strong. His achievements were not negligible. He preserved the southern Italian mainland for his dynasty. Partly through his agency, his grandson Charles-Robert (Carobert) was accepted as king of Hungary. Charles recovered extensive lordships in Piedmont and, as the preeminent member of the Guelf party, he dominated—arguably, even controlled—much of Italy. His government records show sincere efforts to stop corruption. He completed his father's administrative organization of the Regno and, less austere than Charles I, won support for his dynasty on the mainland— support without which he could not have resisted the Aragonese attack.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Boniface VIII, Pope; Caltabellotta, Treaty of; Charles I of Anjou; Charles of Valois; Guelfs; Martin IV, Pope; Nicholas IV, Pope; Sicilian Vespers

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Charles of Valois

Charles of Valois (1270-1325) was the third son of Philip III of France. In 1284 his father accepted for him an offer by Pope Martin IV of the throne of Aragon as a fief of the papacy, King Peter III having been deposed in retaliation for his attack on Sicily. The disastrous "crusade of Aragon" followed, in which Philip III died of fever. Shortly afterward, Peter III also died, leaving Aragon to his eldest son, Alfonso, and Sicily to a second son, James. Alfonso held Charles II of Anjou prisoner but released him on parole to negotiate a treaty with France and the papacy. The first step toward this treaty was an agreement with Valois. Valois would marry Charles II's daughter, Marguerite, who would receive as dowry the counties of Anjou and Maine; in return, Valois was to renounce his claim to Aragon. In fact, although Valois got the two counties immediately, he did not renounce his claim to Aragon until 1295, under the terms of the peace of Anagni; James II of Aragon (succeeded 1291) and Philip IV of France also agreed to that peace.

Thereafter, Valois became involved in the war between France and England which broke out in 1294. In 1298, however, Boniface VIII invited him to take the field in Sicily against the regent Frederick, who was keeping Sicily in defiance of the peace of Anagni; Boniface also offered to subsidize Valois's campaign. In 1299, on the death of Marguerite d'Anjou, Boniface offered Valois a further incentive—the promise of the hand of Catherine Courtenay, titular heiress of Constantinople; on condition that Valois expel Frederick before going on to win himself an eastern kingdom. Having arrived at Rome, Valois was diverted by Boniface to "pacify" Florence, which was then in the hands of the party of the Cerchi, or White Guelfs. Boniface VIII preferred the more anti-imperial Black Guelfs led by Corso Donati, largely because the Cerchi sympathized with his archenemies, the Colonna. Charles obtained entry into Florence (as nominal Guelfs, the Cerchi were reluctant to oppose a French prince) and—despite having taken an oath not to do so—facilitated the return of Donati, who instituted a reign of terror. (Donati's terror is best-known for the sufferings it caused Dante, who was persecuted as a White, and for the exile of Perarch's father.) Charles's rapacity in Tuscany became unrestrained; but in 1302 he left for Sicily, where, with an Angevin army led by the future Robert II, he embarked on an unsuccessful though devastating campaign. News of the disastrous defeat of Philip IV at Courtrai and worsening relations between France and Boniface VIII, however, drove him to abandon the war: in August 1302 he secretly negotiated the peace of Caltabellotta.

Back in France, Charles was involved in unsuccessful maneuvers to become Holy Roman emperor in 1307. He also tried to organize an expedition to recover his wife's empire of Constantinople, and, in 1323, he became active in promoting a new crusade to the Holy Land. But for the rest of his life he was too closely involved in French politics to leave France.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Charles II of Anjou; Dante Alighieri; Donati Family; Guelfs; Martin IV, Pope; Peter III of Aragon

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Charles the Bald, Emperor

Charles II the Bald (823-877), Carolingian king of the West Franks, owed his elevation to Holy Roman emperor to the initiative of Pope John VIII (872-882), who was eager to find a protector to replace Emperor Louis II (d. 875). The title served Charles's ambition to increase his status among rival Carolingian rulers. After his coronation in Rome in 875, the new emperor won tentative recognition in Italy and in his own kingdom, but not from his brother Louis, king of the East Franks. As emperor Charles led an army into Italy in 877 in response to appeals from the papacy for protection against Muslim attacks; but a revolt in his own realm led by opponents of his imperial venture forced him to retreat from Italy. During this retreat, he died. Charles's brief emperorship made clear that the imperial office had become an instrument of the papacy to serve Italian purposes but was of little importance to the rest of the Carolingian world.

See also **Frankish Kingdom**

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Chiaro Davanzati

The dates of the poet Chiaro Davanzati are uncertain. There was a Chiaro among the Guelfs at the battle of Montaperti (1260), probably identifiable as Clarus, son of Davanzati Banbakai of San Frediano, later capitano of Florence's Or San Michele in 1294. The birthdate of this Chiaro or Clarus can be conjectured as c. 1235, and he was dead by the spring of 1304. Another Chiaro, or Chiarus, from Florence's Santa Maria sopr' Arno, died before 1280, and so cannot be the Chiaro in *tenzone* with Dante da Mainao in 1283.

In any case, however, Chiaro was one of the principal poets of early Italian literature. He produced an extensive poetic correspondence in *tenzone* and prolific lyrics—second only to those of Guittone among the Tuscans before Dante in MS Vatican Latino 3793. The exact number of Chiaro's compositions is difficult to ascertain, though. There are at least sixty-one *canzoni* and perhaps 122 sonnets of relatively certain attribution. Moreover, his popularity in his own generation, his recognizable themes, and his easy style (*trobar leu*) led subsequent copyists of the *Duecento* and *Trecento* to ascribe to him similar but otherwise anonymous poems.

Foremost in Chiaro's work is his treatment of popular bestiary motifs, which are often transferred with perhaps too keen an eye to their usually Occitan sources—especially Rigaut de Barbezieux and intermediaries among the Sicilian poets (Giacomo da Lentini, Guido Delle Colonne, and Stefano Protonotaro). Chiaro's bestiary figures, even when they are used as extended similes to advance his narrative, often seem sterile, unspontaneous, and encyclopedic (recalling *Mare amoroso*). In his *canzone* *Quando lo mar*, Chiaro, immersed in a metaphor of the tempestuous sea, turns from the conventional wisdom

that every being draws joy from fulfilling its true nature (as in *L'autrier*, by the twelfth-century Gascon troubador Marcabru) to discuss his own experience. Yet Chiaro does not make much of this development; he calls on an already overworked motif of "fish in the sea" (*e come pesce per lo mare stava*). In the next stanza, the protagonist, removed from his natural environment, is more a dry metaphorical fish than a poet, and this image is reinforced by the simile [*come d*]onde lipesci, *ch'indi ban vita*.

Chiaro has been categorized as a *guittoniano*, but his links to Guittone's influence are much more limited than this description would suggest. His direct contact with Guittone appears incontestable in only one *canzone*, *Valer voria s'io mai fut validore*, and is no more than conjectural in *Sovente il mio cor*. Most of his Guittonean characteristics—his difficult formal devices and syntax—appear in lyrics he exchanged either with true *guittoniani*, such as Pallamidesse and Rinuccino, or with poets of an equally rhetorical bent in terms of their formalism but not their content, such as Monte Andrea (one of his chief correspondents) and Finfo del Buono. Guittone's *Ahi lasso, or è stagion* certainly served as the thematic and moral model for Chiaro's reprimand of the Florentines, *Ahi dolze e gaia terra fiorentina* (1267). And Guittone's difficult *De coralmente amar* was undoubtedly the template for Chiaro's sonnet *Chi 'ntende, intenda*. But even *Chi 'ntende*, which was probably part of a *tenzone* with Pallamidesse, assumes the stylistic manner of the addressee, who was a Guittonean. (Similar "Guittonean circumstances" are realized in the young Dante's correspondence with Dante da Maiano, who was then a more established personage.) That Chiaro was something of a stylistic chameleon is corroborated in his poem *Con adimanda*, in a long political *tenzone* of 1278. Responding to Monte's *S'e'ci avesse*, which is dazzlingly structured on ten rhyme forms of *campo* and six of *corso*, Chiaro, in a "Montean" way, constructs eight rhymes of the word *porta* and six on the monosyllabic *pò*, producing rare *endecasillabi tronchi* (truncated hendecasyllables). In the same poem, Chiaro's conventional bestiary is transformed into the emblematic synecdoche of *Vermiglio il campo, Vagulia i sù portal ad oro*. . . .

Nevertheless, Chiaro's preferred poetic manner can be characterized as an easy style, or *trobar leu*, reminiscent of Bonagiunta's syntax and

language but without Bonagiunta's lyricism. In the fourteenth century, Chiaro's popularity suffered a rapid decline, perhaps because his strategy of reelaborating lyrics seemed exhausted. Still, with his light style, Chiaro produced a few crystalline images, also borrowed from Occitan verse, of a child at a mirror (*Come 'l fantin ca ne lo specchio smira*), which—as is attested to by MS Parmense 1081 (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century)—survived into the Renaissance.

See also **Bestiaries; Bonagiunta Orbicciani degli Averardi; Guittone d'Arezzo; Italian Poetry; Lyric; Monte Andrea da Firenze; Tenzzone**

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Chronicles

The most significant Italian chronicle of the early medieval period can confidently be said to be *Historia Longobardorum* by the eighth-century Lombard monk Paul the Deacon, an account of his people's invasion of Italy and the establishment of their kingdom. Paul, who had been educated by the grammarian Flavianus, composed his work in a clear Latin narrative style. He noted not only political events but also droughts, floods, plagues, comets, and eclipses.

Paul had no immediate successors whose writing could equal his own in quality, although after his death the history of the Lombard states in Italy was recorded in various other chronicles. These included the chronicle of Erchemperto, covering the period 774-888; and *Chronicon Salernitanum*, which provided an account of developments, particularly in the Lombard duchy of Benevento, from 574 to 974.

During the late eleventh century, a school of historical writing began to flourish in southern Italy—where Erchemperto's work and *Chronicon Salernitanum* had both been produced. This school initially emerged as a result of the Norman conquest of Sicily, but subsequently it was also influenced by the growth of a rich monastic and curial culture. Three important chronicles—those of Amato di Montecassino, Goffredo Malaterra, and William of Apulia (Guglielmus Apuliensis)—described the exploits of Robert Guiscard and his followers, the founders of the Norman kingdom of Sicily. Amato's work, which goes to 1078, survives only in a later Old French translation. But the chronicle of Malaterra, a monk who moved from his native Normandy to serve in the court of King Roger of Sicily, and the verse history of William of Apulia can be read in their original Latin versions, Malaterra's chronicle ends in 1099 and therefore covers Roger's reign as well as the military campaigns of Guiscard; William's chronicle ends in 1085. Both were written in the closing years of the eleventh century.

Contemporary with these accounts of the knightly prowess and political achievements of the first Norman rulers of Sicily were the earliest parts of the most significant southern Italian monastic chronicles. The chronicle dealing with the famous Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino (*Chronica monasterii casi nensis*) was begun by Leone Marsicano in the late eleventh century and continued by Peter the Deacon in the early twelfth. Gregorio of Catino, a monk of the abbey of Farfa, started compiling his chronicle (which dealt with the history of his monastery from the ninth century on) probably between 1099 and 1119. Giovanni Monaco began his *Chronicon Volturnense* (a chronicle of the abbey of Volturmo) during roughly the same period. Both Gregorio di Catino and Giovanni Monaco included in their works collections of documentary materials relating to their monasteries and sometimes also to the broader political or ecclesiastic history of their time; as a result, even though they were primarily concerned with their

own abbeys, they recorded much information of more general interest.

Romualdo Guarna, known as Romualdo Salernitano—a physician, priest, and, from 1154 on, archbishop of Salerno—extended the range of the historical writing produced in southern Italy with his universal chronicle, which covered the period from the creation to 1178. He drew on the Bible, the church fathers, and Isidore of Seville, initiating a tradition of placing contemporary events in the context of a history of the world. Romualdo was actively involved in politics, and so, for the latter part of his work, he was also able to draw on his own recollections. His close links with the Norman monarchy led him to adopt a viewpoint different from that of Ugo Falcando, the other great historian of southern Italy in the late twelfth century, of whom Gibbon wrote, "His narrative is rapid and perspicacious, his style bold and elegant, his observation keen." Falcando was a cleric, but one with a solid knowledge of classical culture. In his work on the kingdom of Sicily, he tended to identify with the cause of its barons, probably because of his French origins and his association with the Siculo-Norman feudal aristocracy. He produced an account of developments between 1154 and 1169 that went beyond a bare recital of facts to a description of the institutions and political forces of his time.

The next two or three generations of southern Italian chroniclers recorded the dramatic events of the reigns of Henry VI and Frederick II and the subsequent conflict between the latter's heirs and Charles of Anjou. Peter of Eboli, in his poem *De rebus siculis* (*Sicilian Matters*), written for and in praise of Henry VI, dealt with the period 1130–1194 and celebrated the transfer of power from the Norman to the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Riccardo da San Germano provided a rather more objective narrative of events from 1189 to 1243. Nicola Jamsilla, an author more committed to the cause of Frederick II and Frederick's son Manfred (whom Nicola served as an official), gave an elegant account of developments between 1210 and 1258. Riccardo and Nicola were both notaries with experience in imperial administration. They were followed by Saba Malaspina, who was a cleric devoted to the propapacy party; and Bartolomeo da Neocastro, who was a jurist in the service of Peter of Aragon when Peter became king of Sicily and was an apologist for the revolt against Charles of Anjou known as the Sicilian Vespers. Saba Malaspina and Bartolomeo de Neocastro both dealt,

though from different points of view, with the period from the death of Frederick II in 1250 to the time in which they were writing—the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

From the Norman conquest to the establishment of the Angevin dynasty in Naples and the Aragonese dynasty in Palermo, southern Italy had been a fruitful source of historical writing because of the patronage provided by strong governments and the rich tradition of its old monastic institutions. During the same time span, however, chronicles had also been composed in the different environment of the city-states of the northern half of the peninsula, laying the foundations of a historiography which was eventually to become more distinguished than that of the south. In the late eleventh century, in Milan, a priest known as Landulph Senior had already written a history of his city in four books. Landulph Senior, an opponent of the Gregorian reforms, gave a lively and interesting description of the conflicts these reforms provoked in his local church and community. Another, later cleric, Landulph Junior (who was unrelated to Landulph Senior), was a supporter of the Hildebrandine cause and had studied in France; he gave a history of the same commune in the immediately ensuing period, between 1095 and 1137. At the same time, in the maritime republic of Genoa, Caffaro, one of its most distinguished citizens, initiated a chronicle that would be continued by others after his death. Caffaro himself dealt with the years 1099-1163, devoting his attention not merely to the domestic history of Genoa but also to its naval expeditions and to the crusades for which it provided ships. Bernardo Marangone, a Pisan jurist a generation younger than Caffaro, also recorded the exploits of his fellow citizens in his annals. The first part of Marangone's work, going back to the creation, was a compilation from other sources; but the second part, an account of the years 1136-1182, drew directly on his own recollections.

These civic chronicles of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries established a tradition that was to flourish in the thirteenth and fourteenth. Those who contributed to it were mainly notaries and merchants; but in the earlier part of this period they also included two friars; the Franciscan Salimbene de Adam of Parma and the Dominican Jacopo da Voragine of Genoa. Of the two, Salimbene was undoubtedly the more interesting and widerranging historian. He traveled

extensively and met many of the most important figures of his time. His chronicle is therefore concerned less with his own city than with developments in Italy as a whole and in other parts of Europe, and with the actions and intrigues of the members of his order. Like the English monk Matthew Paris, his contemporary, Salimbene was fascinated by the curious and the picturesque, loved gossip, and tended to interweave details of his personal experience with his account of events. He abandoned the convention that a chronicle should be a record of bare facts and made it instead a vehicle for conveying his impressions of what he had seen and heard. In contrast, Jacopo da Voragine confined himself to describing what had occurred in his own city and dealt with this more fully than the previous Genoese annals had.

The civic chronicle proper found its finest exponent in the thirteenth century in the Paduan notary Rolandino. After studying grammar and rhetoric in Bologna under the famous Buon compagno and then teaching those subjects in Padua, Rolandino produced his *Chronica in factis et circa facta Marchie Trivixane*, an accomplished account of the rise and fall of the tyrant Ezzelino da Romano, and of events in Padua between 1200 and 1262. Rolandino's style and his outlook as a defender of civic liberty were to serve as models for Albertino Mussato (1262-1329), who wrote two large-scale works on the history of his own time. One of these two works was on the descent into Italy of the emperor Henry VII; the other was on developments in Italy following Henry's death, and particularly on the unsuccessful struggle of Padua to preserve its independence and avoid conquest by Cangrande della Scala of Verona. Another chronicler, of lesser stature, was Ferreto dei Ferreti of Vicenza. Ferreto was also preoccupied with the loss of his city's freedom; however, the scope of his *Historia* extended beyond Vicenza, embracing developments in northern Italy generally from 1250 to 1318. The same is true of the mid-fourteenth-century chronicle by the Paduan jurist Guglielmo Cortusi, dealing with events "in Padua and Lombardy." Cortusi's concern with the history of the region beyond his city reflected a broadening of the field of political action in his time. His work is also to a large extent a study of the instability of governments in an age of territorial consolidation and frequent changes of rule—as is the anonymous *Chron icon Parmense*, which dealt with developments in and around Parma to 1337.

The rise of strong despotic states in northern Italy between the 1330s and the 1350s generated its own historiography. This had been foreshadowed, at the end of the previous century, by the Dominican Stefanardo da Vicomercato. Stefanardo had celebrated, in a verse history, the achievements of Ottone Visconti, the archbishop of Milan who was the first of his lineage to dominate that city. Galvano Fiamma (1283-1344), another friar from Stefanardo's convent, Sant' Eustorgio, was also a strong partisan of the Visconti. Galvano wrote several chronicles dealing with the history of Milan and exalting the Visconti, who by his day had in effect become its ruling dynasty. Pietro Azario of Novara, in his account of events in Lombardy between 1250 and 1362, also concentrated on the achievements of the Visconti, as did Bonincontro Morigia of Monza, although to a lesser degree. Bonincontro Morigia's chronicle covered the period up to 1349. The anonymous *Chronicon Estense*, dealing with the years 1095-1354, focused (as its title suggests) on the actions of the Este, the ruling family of Ferrara. Ferreto dei Ferreti, in addition to his *Historia*, also composed a poem on the origin of the Scaligeri, a Veronese dynasty. This was actually a panegyric devoted to the most illustrious member of the Scaligeri, Cangrande della Scala. The exploits of the Carrara of Padua were recorded in two vernacular works: the anonymous *Gesta magnified domus Carrariensis* in the late fourteenth century and the *Cronaca carrarese* by Galeazzo and Bartolomeo Gattari in the early fifteenth century.

Venice appears to have produced only two important chronicles in the later Middle Ages: one in French by Martino Canale, covering the period up to 1275; and one in Latin by the fourteenth-century doge Andrea Dandolo. But in Tuscany a profuse and distinguished historical literature, much of it in the vernacular, emerged during this period. The Dominican Bartolomeo Fiadoni, better known as Ptolemy of Lucca, composed, in addition to his theological and political writings, a set of annals dealing with developments in and around Lucca up to 1303. His terse Latin narrative contrasts with the fullness of the great Florentine chronicles produced shortly afterward by merchant writers. Dino Compagni, an active participant in the civic politics of his time who (like Dante) was exiled as a member of the White faction, composed a passionate denunciation of his enemies that developed into a very

detailed account of Florentine history between 1280 and 1310. The combination of his direct experience of the events he described and his commitment to a deeply felt view of these events enabled Compagni to bring them to life in a way few previous chroniclers had been able to do. It also enabled him to give his work a coherent literary form and a moral message, as a record first of the triumph and then of the discomfiture of evil. His younger contemporary Giovanni Villani was less intense in manner but also succeeded in the larger design of relating what had happened in Florence from its foundation onward, evoking events in all their reality and immediacy, and interpreting them so as to convey a concept of the moral purpose of history. Like Compagni, Villani took part in the government of his commune and was able to use the knowledge he derived from this experience, as well as from his international contacts as a merchant, to give his narrative a particularity of detail that had been rare in his predecessors. After Giovanni Villani died in 1348 (a victim of the black death), his brother Matteo continued his chronicle. In the later books of Giovanni's work and in the books written by Matteo, Giovanni's original optimistic vision of history was replaced by a growing gloom with regard to the disasters affecting both Florence and the financial and political fortunes of the Villani themselves.

The Villani brothers made an impressive contribution to the enrichment of the chronicle form, despite this change of mood—or perhaps in part because of it, since a salutary by-product was the development of more pragmatic criteria of judgment and explanation. They helped to transform the genre from one that had been concerned with recording facts, usually in the learned language of Latin, into one attempting a reflective and fully descriptive treatment of carefully observed events, written in a vernacular accessible to practical men interested in applying the lessons of the past to present realities. Florentine chroniclers of the later fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century, such as Marchionne di Coppo Stefani (who dealt with the period up to 1384) and Gregorio Dati (who dealt with the period between 1380 and 1405), were influenced by the example of the Villani. Their histories were on a much smaller scale, but like Giovanni Villani they attempted to make their narratives convey their moral and political ideals; and like Matteo Villani they adopted a more secular and

pragmatic formulation of these ideals than that inspired by the providential view of history still dominant in the early *Trecento*.

Elsewhere in Tuscany, vernacular chronicles that were less ideological, though nearly as much concerned with the details of historical incidents, also flourished in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Works such as the anonymous *Storie Pistoresi*, Raniero Sardo's *Cronaca di Pisa*, and Giovanni Sercambi's chronicles tracing the course of events in Lucca, as well as several similar Siennese examples, testify to the willingness of merchant writers to produce extensive accounts of their cities' histories. This tendency on the part of ordinary citizens to record significant past and present events also found expression in the domestic chronicle, in which authors such as Donato Velluti and Giovanni Morelli noted details of their ancestry and everyday lives. The domestic chronicle emerged particularly in Florence.

Increasingly, Italian became the language of chronicles, which thus answered the needs of the literate but unlearned for knowledge of the past of their city or family. It is true that, well into the fifteenth century, Latin continued to be used by some chroniclers, such as the notaries Giorgio and Giovanni Stella in their Genoese annals covering 1298-1435. But by this period a distinction was made between the works of the humanists, based on classical models, and works that followed the conventions of the medieval chronicle; and the latter—as a result of this distinction—came to be more generally composed in the vernacular. Works in this form had once expressed an essentially clerical culture and had become a means by which notaries, jurists, and mendicant friars recorded civic histories or the deeds of rulers. Now, the form became increasingly the instrument by which literate members of the merchant class celebrated and came to terms with their past and left an account of their actions and achievements for the benefit of later generations.

It should be noted that nearly all the works referred to here have been published in one or another of the following sets of sources: the old or new editions of L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*-. *Scriptores*, *Fonti per La Storia d'Italia* (Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo).

See also Albertino Mussato; Caffaro Family; Compagni, Dino; Dandolo Family; Galvano Flammia; Historiography; Jacobus da Voragine; Paul the Deacon; Ptolemy of Lucca; Riccardo da San Germano; Rolandino of Padua; Salimbene de Adam; Villani, Filippo; Villani, Giovanni; Villani, Matteo

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Church Organization and Functions

Beginnings

The followers of Jesus of Nazareth, soon known as Christians, at first constituted a sect within Judaism, a religion tolerated in the Roman empire. The Christians believed that Jesus was the messiah promised in the Old Testament. Their primary mission, particularly after Pentecost, was evangelization among their fellow Jews. They paid little attention to organization, since the second coming of Christ seemed close at hand; however, Jesus himself had set up among his followers a group of

twelve— analogous to the twelve tribes of Israel—who continued to lead the community at Jerusalem after his death in A.D. 29. Most prominent among them were Peter and James the Elder. The community elected seven assistants, later known as deacons, and sent emissaries like Peter and Barnabas to other Christian communities. After his conversion, for example, Paul negotiated with Peter, James, and others of "the twelve" about the specifics of his mission to gentile believers. Until its destruction in A.D. 70, Jerusalem continued to be the center of Christianity, supported financially by other communities. Encyclical letters addressed to several communities and missionary visits maintained links among groups of Christians in Rome and, in particular, scattered through the eastern half of the Roman empire.

Toward the end of the first century, in Rome as well as elsewhere, the congregational leadership was shared by charismatics (teachers, apostles, and prophets) and local officials (elders or presbyters, a term from which "priest" was derived; bishops; and deacons) concerned with liturgy and administration. From the later second century on, these leaders were differentiated from the general congregation as clerics and eventually came to be known as major orders. The minor orders, including until the thirteenth century the subdeacon, were clerics such as acolytes, exorcists, lectors, and doorkeepers, depending on time and place. Only the major orders received ordination through the laying on of hands. Each diocese was headed by a communally elected bishop who supervised the clergy, celebrated the liturgy (eucharist), and admitted new Christians through baptism and controlled teaching. Regional meetings with other bishops, called councils or synods (these terms were equivalent until the twelfth century), resolved disciplinary, doctrinal, and administrative problems. Three decrees of the ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325) generally endorsed and described a system of ecclesiastical administration matching the administrative divisions of the empire: in each civil province the affairs of the church were to be administered by a synod of bishops headed by the metropolitan (archbishop), the bishop of the provincial capital. Like encyclicals, the councils were one means of maintaining unity, as was the gradual establishment of the canon of the scriptures. Major disputes were submitted to the patriarchal sees (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem), which had evolved as regional centers after

the destruction of Jerusalem. Even after Constantine moved the capital to Constantinople, Rome remained preeminent because both Peter and Paul were (and are) believed to have been martyred there. Moreover, the bishop of Rome, later called the pope, was seen as the successor of the apostle Peter (Matthew 16:c. 18f.) The concept of papal primacy, however, was a medieval development, and the principle of apostolic succession was valid for bishops everywhere. By the second century at the latest, the Greek word *ecclesia* (or citizen assembly; in English, church) was taken over into Latin (the predominant language in the west since the third century) and was used to designate the community of believers as well as the institutional, corporate structures and—not least—the place of assembly. Generous donations and bequests maintained the clergy and provided for extensive charitable support of widows and orphans as well as the ransom of prisoners.

The Church and Secular Power

Because the Roman religion was a civic religion (the emperor was also *pontifex maximus*), and Christians refused to participate in the imperial cult, their position in the Roman empire became a critical issue as early as the mid-first century. But despite intermittent persecutions—which were particularly violent beginning in the mid-third century—about 10 percent of the population of the Roman empire had become Christian by the time Constantine I (r. 306 or 307–337) was converted in 312, when he was victorious in the battle at the Milvian Bridge leading into Rome. Constantine's conversion marked a new era in the history of the church: there was close collaboration between the church and the Roman state, the *pax Augusta* was celebrated as a preparation for the birth of Christ, and the emperor was considered to be chosen by God and to be the equal of the apostles. Constantine's legislation not only undid the confiscations of property, the banishments, and the destruction that had taken place during the persecution but also granted the church and the clergy a privileged standing in Roman law: civil suits could be removed to the jurisdiction of a bishop; bequests to the church were legalized; manumissions performed in church before a bishop had full legal validity; Sunday was to be a day of rest;

disabilities for celibates or childless couples were abrogated; and the clergy enjoyed immunity from public duties and impositions. The Council of Nicaea of 325, convoked by Constantine to maintain the unity of the church in the face of the Arian heresy, is another example of the term "Caesaropapism," which connotes that the secular ruler is by divine grace also responsible for the church within his realm. This principle was generally accepted in the Byzantine empire (and later in Russia), but it was vigorously and successfully challenged in the medieval west, where barbarian kings were hailed as successors of Constantine and as late as the twelfth century Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1152-1190) could add laws to the *corpus iuris Iustiniani* as heir of the Roman rulers.

The Medieval Church

1. *The church and the barbarians.* The medieval period of the church can be said to begin with the pontificate of Pope Gregory I (590-604) and the expansion of Islam after 632. The churches of North Africa almost vanished; Rome and Constantinople alone remained among the patriarchates; and Germanic successor kingdoms were missionized: the Slavs from Constantinople and the Franks and Anglo-Saxons from Rome after initial Christian contacts through the British church of northern England, Wales, and Ireland. In contrast to Byzantium, western or Latin Christianity adopted Germanic as well as Irish features. Particularly influential were the proprietary church and the Irish (originally Egyptian) system of private penance. In the eighth century, an alliance between the Frankish Carolingians and the papacy was of equal importance with the Roman missions in the penetrating Christianization of this Gallo-Germanic-Slavic mixture of peoples on the European continent under Roman guidance. This meant as well the preservation of basic elements of Greco-Roman civilization, beginning with the Latin language.

2. *The papacy and the Franks.* The treaties of 754 between the Frankish king Pepin III (r. 751-768) and Pope Stephen II (r. 752-757) constituted additional legitimization for the Carolingians. These treaties also decisively shaped the history of the papacy as well as that of Italy.

On behalf of the papacy, the Franks defeated and replaced the Lombards as secular rulers in Italy. Also—and most importantly—they offered the papacy, which had become a regional Italian power in the hands of the local nobility, a means of asserting its independence from the Byzantine rulers (whose names disappear from papal documents after 781) and of furthering its own policies. The *constitutum Constantini* (Donation of Constantine), probably forged in the second half of the eighth century, was intended to attribute imperial rank to the popes and to endow them with sovereignty over vast territories in the western half of the old Roman empire. The coronation of Charlemagne (r. 768-814) by Pope Leo III (r. 795-816) in 800 as emperor and Augustus concluded this development from the perspective of the papacy. Much of Italy, with the partial exception of the papal states, became part of the Frankish (western) empire. Given the Constantinian inheritance, it is not surprising that Charlemagne and his son and successor, Louis the Pious (r. 814–840), contributed significantly to ecclesiastical developments. The basis for their interventions was the concept of a sacral kingship ruling on behalf of Christ: a theocratic monarchy. A Frankish king, and in particular Charlemagne, though not a priest, was more than simply a layman. His God-given duties as ruler very naturally included protecting the papacy; calling synods; reforming monasteries in accordance with the rules of Benedict of Aniane (Benedictine monasticism) or those of Chrodegang of Metz (regular cathedral canons); instituting churches and abbeys in recently conquered pagan Saxony; authorizing revisions of the Bible; issuing prescriptions for preaching; and establishing cathedral and monastic schools to train the clergy as well as the laity. These, of course, were in addition to his specifically secular duties. Jonas of Orleans, interpreting in Carolingian terms a letter of 494 from Pope Gelasius I (r. 492-496) to Emperor Anastasius, described the king and the priest as the two preeminent persons of equal rank within the one church, whose head was Christ.

3. *The Gregorian reform.* It might seem as if secular rulers had appropriated ecclesiastical functions, especially since they also appointed bishops and abbots. However, historians such as Fliche-Martin who present a view of "the church in the hands of the laity" tend to overlook the fact that, simultaneously, ecclesiastics penetrated the

secular sphere, creating a "state" in the hands of the priesthood. Such a state was nearly realized as early as the later years of the reign of Louis the Pious, but it was characteristic of the entire medieval period, when no neat categories can be applied. Ecclesiastical and secular affairs were closely intertwined; bishops were endowed with comital rights, including secular jurisdiction; and the predominant form of property consisted of fiefs, in the hands of both the spiritual and the secular nobility. The lords spiritual of the English parliament as well as the German ecclesiastical electors were an outcome of these developments, and Thomas Becket is a famous illustration of the principles involved. In the late ninth century and the tenth century, Saracen and Magyar invasions put an end to such abstract preoccupations until the Carolingian ideological inheritance was picked up by the East Frankish—i.e., German, Ottonian, and Salian—rulers. They asserted, once again, a strong leadership in the church; and in the Salian period under Emperor Henry III (r. 1039-1056) they also had a guiding role in the growing ecclesiastical reform movement, directed originally against moral and disciplinary failings within the church, simony, and ecclesiastical marriage. Henry III carried the reform to Rome in 1046, when the council of Sutri—which he had convoked—dealt with disputes surrounding the papacy. At the time, two predecessors of Pope Gregory VI could, strictly speaking, also have claimed the papacy. Under Henry's influence, Gregory VI and both his rivals were deposed or resigned, under pressure at Sutri or at a council that followed three days later in Rome (23 December 1046).

The reformed papacy was freed from dependence on the local Roman nobility, regained its international standing, and resonated so strongly throughout Latin Christendom that Pope Gregory VII could direct his own thoughts once more to Constantinople. Gregory wanted to aid Byzantium against its enemies by leading a crusading army to the east; this was certainly a step toward resuming amicable relations with the Byzantine church, which had broken off in 1054, during the pontificate of Leo IX. (Leo had sent Cardinal Humbert to Constantinople; Humbert, having failed to secure the submission of the Greek church to Rome, had excommunicated its patriarch.) The eastern and western churches were split by doctrinal differences concerning the use of unleavened bread, the *filioque*, and married clergy, as well as by the

demands for primacy which were put forward by the reformed papacy with some recourse to the Donation of Constantine. In 1076 and 1080, Pope Gregory VII deposed and excommunicated Henry IV, the son and successor of Emperor Henry III, over the question of royal investiture of bishops and abbots; this episode, too, reflects the assertion of leadership in the Christian world by the reformed papacy. When Henry IV capitulated at Matilda's fortress of Canossa in 1077, theocratic kingship as it had been known in the earlier Middle Ages came to an end. The ruler, a layman, was described in Gregory's letters to Hermann of Metz as far lower in rank than even the lowliest clerical doorkeeper. Obedience to the papacy became a dogma of the church. At the same time, the pope, as the successor of Peter, became the head of a strictly conceived ecclesiastical hierarchy; this concept eventually led to that of a papal monarchy.

4. *The supremacy of the church.* The papal election decree, formulated by the Lateran Council of 1059, stipulated that instead of the customary election by the Roman clergy and people, the cardinal bishops were to be the leading electors; thus the decree excluded local and lay influences. The papal bureaucracy—known, since the later eleventh century, as the curia—was centralized and expanded; the financial organization of the church was improved and became increasingly sophisticated; canon law evolved into a scientific discipline taught at the nascent universities, especially Bologna; and scholasticism developed. These changes supported the increased power of the papacy, which under Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) had become strong enough to make King John of England its vassal and, in turn, to protect him against internal and external opposition. During the crisis of the double election of 1198 to the Holy Roman Empire, Innocent III—as the recognized leader of Christendom—formulated the canonical thesis that imperial dignity originated in and depended on the papacy. Innocent demanded the right to approve candidates even for the German kingship, since a king, once elected, would have a claim to the imperial crown. His arguments were based on the higher dignity of the priesthood and the recent theory of the translation of the empire by the papacy from the Romans to the Franks and Germans; the pope felt as responsible for other rulers and the emperor, once crowned, as for any Christians "by reason of sin" (*ratione peccati*). The Fourth Lateran

Council, an ecumenical council held in 1215, was the high point of Innocent's pontificate, and of the standing of the papacy in the medieval Latin west. Constantinople had been occupied by crusaders in 1204, and a healing of the schism with the Greek Orthodox church could be hoped for. One of the Lateran decrees formulated the doctrine of transubstantiation with regard to the eucharist. Another sacrament addressed by this legislation was penance: the council imposed on all Christians confession at least once a year before Easter in preparation for communion.

The use of indulgences by the church arose in connection with these changes in penitential practices; indulgences were meant to ease the burden of penance by allowing penitents to substitute monetary payments. The money was used for ecclesiastical purposes such as the crusades or the building of churches. In the thirteenth century, the granting of indulgences was justified by the theory of a "treasury of merits" which the papacy had accumulated since its founding by Christ. During the first Holy Year, the jubilee of 1300 celebrated in Rome by Boniface VIII (1294-1303), indulgences were granted on a large scale to pilgrims who came there.

Along with its recognition and regulation of the new monastic orders of Dominicans and Franciscans, which were (in contrast to the Benedictines) on principle active in urban settings and at the universities, the church had accommodated many of the social and religious needs of the rapidly growing urban populations. The faith and devotion of townsmen, from lowly artisans to entrepreneurs, are represented by the marvelous Gothic cathedrals north of the Alps, although in Italy the Romanesque style continued to predominate until the Renaissance. Popular piety had a tendency to become increasingly subjective and emotional, reaching beyond the ancient formulas of the Latin liturgy to express itself in extreme ascetic practices and in the veneration of miracles. The papal Inquisition entrusted the Dominicans and Franciscans with the suppression of heresies.

5. *The breakup of western unity.* In 1303, the defeat of Pope Boniface VIII at Anagni by Philip the Fair of France greatly weakened the papacy, which now came under French domination. From 1309 to 1377, the popes, who themselves were often French or from territories influenced by France, resided at Avignon. This "Babylonian captivity" of

the church was followed by the Great Schism, when there were rival popes in Rome and in Avignon (1378-1415). This disorder was an impetus for the conciliar movement. In their attempts to heal the schism, conciliar theorists held that a general council was the supreme earthly representative of the church. The Council of Constance (1414-1418) was largely a victory for such views. It ended the schism, proclaiming conciliar authority over the papacy. However, the hope of reforming the church and restoring unity by condemning the teachings of the Bohemian reformer John Hus (who was burned at the stake) was in vain. The clamor for reform, as expressed in the Protestant Reformation, was to break up the medieval Catholic church.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Canossa; Charlemagne; Frankish Kingdom; Gelasius, Pope; Gregory I, Pope; Gregory VI, Pope; Gregory VII, Pope; Humbert of Silva Candida; Innocent III, Pope; Louis I of the Pious; Pepin; Stephen III, Pope

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UTA-RENAME BLUMENTHAL

Cicero

Marcus Tullius Cicero (105-43 B.C.) is one of the most important figures in Roman antiquity and one of the most influential men in the history of western civilization. He was born in Arpinum and attended schools

of philosophy and rhetoric in Rome and Greece. He became a quaestor (in Sicily) in 75 B.C. and a praetor in 66. In 63 he was elected consul and was able to suppress Catiline's conspiracy. Accused by Publius Clodius of having ordered the execution of five conspirators without giving them the right to a trial, he left Rome for exile in Macedonia, whence he returned in 57. Although Cicero was a republican and a great admirer of Pompey, he was in favor of Caesar, who had formed a triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus. In the first months of the ensuing civil war, Cicero was not in Rome. When Pompey left Italy, Cicero did not follow him. In 49, Cicero met with Caesar, showing some indecision yet refusing to go back to Rome to join the senators and support Caesar. Instead, after some further uncertainty, he left for Greece. He was not at the battle of Pharsalus. On his return to Rome, he opposed Antony and favored Octavian. Octavian, however, formed a triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus, and at Antony's request Cicero was condemned to die (7 December 43).

Although Cicero wrote some poetry, his works are usually categorized in four other groups: rhetoric, philosophy, orations, and letters.

To the first group, rhetoric, belong *De inventione*, *De oratore*, *Brutus*, *De optimo genere oratorum* (or *The Orator*), *Partitiones oratoriae*, and *Topica*. *De oratore*, in which he discusses the education of an orator, is perhaps the most important example of this kind of literature. In *Brutus*, he gives a short history of Roman oratory; in *The Orator*, he attempts to represent the perfect orator.

Cicero's philosophical works (the second general category) are of two kinds: political-philosophical and philosophical in the stricter sense of the word. *De republica* and *De legibus* (*On Laws*) are political-philosophical; in these works, Cicero describe a government that should combine the best of three forms—monarchy, democracy, and oligarchy. In *De legibus* he explains the basic principles that must be accepted in order to ensure an ideal state. *Somniurn Scipionis* (*Dream of Scipio*) is part of *De republica* and was preserved by Macrobius in his commentary; it has come down to us as an independent work.

In his more strictly philosophical works, Cicero follows the doctrines of the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Platonic academy (he admired Plato); yet he says (*De officiis*, 1.6) that that he will also express and

defend his own opinions. Two of these works are lost: *Consolatio* and *Hortensius*; the latter had a great influence on Saint Augustine's conversion (*Confessiones*, 3, 4, 7). Cicero's surviving philosophical works include *Academica*, *De finibus* (*Of Ends*), *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, and *Tusculan Disputations*. Of these, *Tusculan Disputations* deserves particular attention for the intensity and sincerity with which Cicero expresses his thoughts; stylistically, some passages are among the best in his philosophical works.

In two other philosophical works—*De natura deorum*, and *De divinatione*—Cicero addresses theological problems and expresses the opinions of various philosophical schools concerning the nature of the gods. He treats the problem of man's free will in *De fato* (*On Fate*). His *Cato maior* and *De amicitia* (*On Friendship*) derive from the Greek Stoic Panaitios. In *De officiis* (*On Duties*), Cicero gives his son precepts for proper behavior.

Among his contemporaries, Cicero had a great reputation for oratory. His orations (the third category of his works) show that he had mastered this art like no one else in Roman history and was completely able to adapt his style to various circumstances. He could be decisive and abrupt, as in his orations against Catiline, *In Catilinam*; or he could be persuasive and polite, as in *Pro Archia*. Thirty-eight of Cicero's orations have been lost, but fifty-eight, some of which are fragmentary, have come down to us: *Pro Quintio*, *Pro Roscio Amerino*, *Pro Roscio comoedo*, *In Caecilium divinatio*, *In Verrem*, *Pro Tullio*, *Pro Fonteio*, *Pro Caecina*, *Pro lege Manilla*, *Pro Cluentio*, *Contra Rullum*, *Pro C. Rabirio*, *In Catllinam*, *Pro Murena*, *Pro Sulla*, *Pro Archia*, *Pro Flacco*, *Post reditum ad Quirites*, *Post reditum in senatu*, *De domo sua*, *De haruspicum responso*, *Pro Sestio*, *In Vatinius*, *Pro Caelio*, *De provincia consulari*, *Pro Balbo*, *In Pisonem*, *Pro Plancio*, *Pro Rabirio Postumo*, *Pro Milone*, *Pro Marcello*, *Pro Ligario*, *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, and *Philippicae* (1-14).

Cicero's letters (the fourth general category of his works) are of great importance. These are subdivided into four groups: *Ad familiares*, *Ad Quintum fratrem*, *Ad Atticum*, and *Ad Brutum*. All of them are valuable for the study of Cicero's personality and for his descriptions of illustrious people and significant events in Rome.

As noted above, Cicero also wrote poetic works. These include his

translation of the *Pbaenomena* of Aratos, in hexameters; his original compositions in *De consulatu* (*On Consulship*) and *De temporibus suis* (*On His Times*) in which he praises his own activities in politics; and an epic poem, *Marius*.

Cicero had a great influence in the Middle Ages. In the seven liberal arts, he represented rhetoric, and therefore his rhetorical works were preserved. *De inventione* and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* were well known. Augustine, Boethius, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Alcuin, and Rhabanus Maurus were acquainted with Cicero's rhetorical works. In the eleventh century, Lupus of Ferrières wrote to the pope in Rome requesting a copy of *De oratore* so that he could correct and complete his own copy. Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester II) was particularly interested in Cicero's rhetorical works and orations; this may explain why the orations were preserved in France. Cicero also influenced the philosophical thought and works of some church fathers. Minucius Felix in *Octavius*, Lactantius Firmianus in *De opificio Dei*, and Saint Ambrose in *De officiis clericorum* follow Cicero closely. As mentioned earlier, *Hortensius* influenced Saint Augustine's conversion. Saint Jerome had a famous dream in which, when he came to be judged after death, he was accused of being *Ciceronianus* rather than *Christianus*.

During the Renaissance, Cicero was also known in the political world. Petrarch's discovery of Cicero's letters to Atticus (Verona, 1345), in which Cicero revealed very human aspects of his personality, such as his uncertainties, added a new dimension to the image of Cicero. The discovery of another group of letters (*Epistulae adfamiliares*) prompted Salutati to express admiration for Cicero as a statesman who had taken part in the civil war and had seen the disappearance of freedom in Rome. P. P. Vergerio, L. Bruni, G. Barzizza, and Sicco Polentone were greatly interested in Cicero. In the *Quattrocento*, Cicero became a focus of attention by the humanists, with regard to a well-known question about the two "moments and aspects" of the Latin language, i.e., which language had been spoken by the Romans, and which should now be learned. For some humanists—the purists—Cicero represented the best model of language, which they tried to imitate. Other humanists—the archaists—preferred as models the authors of early Latin literature. Still others—the eclectics—tried to create an original style based on imitation

of all the best Latin authors. The humanists in Rome developed a special movement, claiming that the perfect style in Latin was Cicero's and that, for them, the imitation of Cicero, Ciceronianism, was the best way to make contact with the traditions of the ancient Romans. Ciceronianism was opposed by several humanists, especially by Erasmus in his work *Ciceronianus*.

See also Brunetto Latini; Liberal Arts; Macrobius; Petrarca, Francesco; Salutati, Coluccio; Sylvester II, Pope

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Ciconia, Johannes

Johannes Ciconia (c. 1370-1412), a musician of northern origins, became perhaps the most important figure connecting the *an nova* of the *Trecento* and the Renaissance or protoRenaissance styles that emerged in the *Quattrocento*. His biography has been a battleground for scholars. In her exhaustive study of his life and work, Clercx (1960) constructed an extended chronology according to which he was born in Liege c. 1335, served the papal court at Avignon from 1350 on, traveled in Italy during 1358-1363, returned to Liège in 1372, and then finally settled in Padua in 1403, where he remained until his death in 1412. Later discoveries and reinterpretations by other scholars, however, indicate that this chronology confused the lives of two or three different people of the same name. It is now accepted that the composer Ciconia was born c. 1370 (apparently he was the illegitimate son of a priest), and he is documented as a choirboy in Liege in 1385. By 1390, Ciconia was a musician in Rome, during the reign of Pope Boniface IX. In 1401, he went to Padua, where he served at its cathedral and university until his death in 1412; one of his chief patrons there was the great Paduan scholar and prelate Francesco Zabarella.

Ciconia was not only a musician but also a poet and theorist; he wrote several theoretical treatises. As a composer, he left a substantial and significant legacy of surviving works: twelve movements of the mass, fourteen polytextual Latin motets, two French *virelais*, four Italian madrigals, and seven Italian *ballate*, plus several miscellaneous and uncertainly attributed pieces. He was trained in the French *ars nova* style but obviously also encountered distinctly Italian *ars nova* practices, and as a result he developed a progressive synthesis of his own. In his French music, as well as in some of his Latin polyphonic pieces, Ciconia demonstrates a commitment to the intricate techniques of French *ars subtilior*, and in his settings of Italian texts he assimilates the Italianate lyricism of the Tuscan school but also infuses it subtly with French structural procedures.

By contrast, Ciconia built his complex polyphonic motets, with their multiple texts and their very northern isorhythmic counterpoint, around individual melodic lines, some of which were first conceived as Italianate songs. Through such compositions, Ciconia helped to introduce the motet style in the Italian musical scene. In his movements for the mass, he gave the upper parts remarkable melodic freedom; and

he was one of the earliest composers to draw a clear distinction between passages for solo singers and those for the full choral ensemble. In all, both in his technique and in his Franco-Italian fusion of idioms, Ciconia is recognized as the founder of what can be called a new "international Gothic" style that would take shape during the fifteenth century. The elegant intricacy and beauty of his music can still appeal to us. Ciconia's career also prefigures a pattern of the following 150 years, during which Italian courts and cultural centers were eager to import and patronize "Netherlandish" Franco-Flemish northerners (beginning with Guillaume Dufay), in preference to native Italian musicians, as musical stars and pacesetters.

A number of Ciconia's compositions were written as occasional pieces for specific patrons and situations. An early canonic composition with a French text may have been dedicated to Gian Galeazzo Visconti. One madrigal was written in honor of the city of Lucca; another madrigal and one of the motets praise members of the Carrara family, then reigning in Padua; one *ballata* may mourn the death (1406) in prison of the last Carrara lord. Among Ciconia's motets, two are dedicated to Francesco Zabarella; a third commemorates the submission of Padua to the Venetian republic, negotiated by Zabarella after the overthrow of the Carrara (1406). Another motet praises Doge Michele Steno, architect of the Venetian takeover, and two others apparently commemorate the installation of two Venetians as successive bishops of Padua—Albano Michiel (1406) and Pietro Marcello (1409). Still another motet may also be in honor of Pietro Marcello or, alternatively, of the antipope Benedict XIII.

See also **Ars Nova; Ballata; Madrigal; Motet; Visconti Family**

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Cielo D'alcamo

The *Contrasto* (*Rosa fresca aulentissima*), preserved only in the Vatican Codex (Vat. Lat. 3793), bears no attribution; the author's name, Cielo d'Alcamo, is recorded solely by a sixteenth century philologist, Angelo Colocci. This name indicates that the poet came from Alcamo, a township between Palermo and Trapani. Internal evidence places the composition between 1231 and 1250.

Both geographically and chronologically, then, the poem fits into the Sicilian school, yet its subject matter, an amorous contrast between a young woman and her seducer, has nothing in common with courtly *canzoni*, from which this poem also differs significantly in style and versification. *Contrasto* has a certain resemblance to a transalpine poetic genre—the French (and Provençal) *pastorelle*—but it lacks some of the most important features of that genre: it has no shepherdess and no accidental encounter in the field, and there is no social difference between the protagonists. *Contrasto* has been interpreted as a mime, intended to be either recited or sung. The meter, consisting of three monorhymed alexandrines followed by two hendecasyllables, is not lyrical, but neither is it necessarily popular. What is popular, however, is the dialogue form: the poem is made up of alternating remarks exchanged between the seducer and the woman. The repetition of some elements of the last distich in the opening line of the following stanza, while essentially a lyrical feature, serves to tie the dialogues together more clearly, perhaps for the benefit of the listeners.

In *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante cites a passage from *Contrasto* as an

illustration of what he calls a "mediocre"—that is, uncourtly—style. The language is essentially the same as that of the Sicilian school, and the text contains the usual Sicilian rhymes: *e* with *i* and *o* with *u*. Other features, while characteristic of the south, are not at all insular; these features include the assimilation of *nd* to *nn* (*monno* for *mondo*), the use of *b* for *v* (*bolontate*, *abere*), and sporadic occurrences of the diphthongs *ie* and *uo* (*castiello*, *nuovo*). This linguistic hybridism makes it impossible to determine the exact geographical origin of the text. The base is Sicilian, but with some continental, specifically Neapolitan, overlay, perhaps attributable to the transmission process. However, the various linguistic features found in *Contrasto* have never been encountered together in any single dialect. For this reason, some scholars conclude that the mixture of *siciliano illustre* and popular elements suggests that the poet's intention was a caricature, or parody.

See also Dante Alighieri; Giullari; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Poetry: Popular; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Cimabue

The Florentine painter Cenni di Pepe (or Bencivieni di Pepo, c. 1240-c. 1302) is commonly known by his nickname, Cimabue, connoting buliheadedness. He is generally said to have marked the division between the art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance by recalling painting to the task of imitating nature. Cimabue was a Florentine by birth, but his activity stretched from Bologna southward to Rome and Assisi, and west to Pisa. Biographical information on Cimabue (the *Ottimo commento* on the *Divine Comedy*, Villani, 1381-1382; and Vasari, 1550-1564) is scanty and unreliable, and specific documentation of his work is almost nonexistent. The earliest archival mention of Cimabue is from June 1272, when *Cimabue, pictore de Florentia* was witness to the signing of a legal contract in Rome. Besides this, the only other documentation of the artist comes from Pisa, thirty years later. Between September 1301 and February 1302, Cimabue was commissioned to complete the apse mosaic of Christ Enthroned in the cathedral of Pisa (begun by Maestro Francesco) with a figure of Saint John the Evangelist. Also in 1302, Cimabue and a Giovanni di Apparecchiato were commissioned to paint a panel (now lost) for the hospital church of Santa Chiara in Pisa. The Saint John in the cathedral of Pisa is Cimabue's single surviving documented work; it provides such a frail scaffold on which to hang an artistic career that German scholars in the early twentieth century thought Cimabue to have been a legendary figure. A number of works survive, however, which correlate stylistically with the figure of Saint John; and most recent scholars agree that these constitute a core body of works definitively attributable to Cimabue.

Vasari, who considered Cimabue the founder of Italian painting (his sequence of *Lives* begins with a biography of Cimabue), observed that although Cimabue imitated the work of the Greeks very well, he greatly improved on their art, eliminating a great deal of their awkwardness. Most scholars today agree that this was a perceptive

characterization, for although Cimabue is typically seen as the last important practitioner of the Italo-Byzantine manner, he made enormous advances in naturalistic representation.

One of Cimabue's earliest surviving works, the *Crucifix* above the high altar in San Domenico at Arezzo (1260-1265), continues the *Christus patiens*, a type of crucifixion popularized by Giunta Pisano in the 1230s and repeated by Florentine artists such as Coppo di Marcovaldo. Cimabue's *Crucifix* is in fact closely patterned after Giunta Pisano's *Crucifix* (1250s) in San Domenico in Bologna, the mother church of the Dominican order. In both works, the historiated apron (that is, an apron decorated with figures such as people and animals), typical of earlier crucifixes, is replaced by a patterned border that enhances the focus on Christ; and half-length figures of Mary and John the Evangelist are placed at the ends of the crossbar. In Cimabue's *Crucifix*, as in Giunta's, the segmentation of the body and the gold-striated drapery of Christ's loincloth are extremely stylized; but Cimabue intensifies the death agony expressed in the figure of Christ through a more emphatic sway of the body almost to the edge of the apron, and a more severely inclined head, emphasized by a halo, far left of the central vertical axis of the cross.

Cimabue's *Crucifix* for the Franciscan church of Santa Croce in Florence (c. 1285; it was severely damaged when the Arno flooded in 1966) at first sight conforms to the familiar type of suffering Christ, but it incorporates a degree of change and innovation unprecedented in *Duecento* art. The schematization of Christ's body that was still seen in the Arezzo *Crucifix* has here become so subtle that for the first time the body seems covered by a flexible, continuous integument of skin; the loincloth loses its gold striation to become a naturalistically rendered, nearly transparent veil through which we sense Christ's form. Even the gold highlights of Mary's and John the Evangelist's drapery at the end of the cross arm have been minimized. Most important, Christ seems manifestly present; his thumbs and toes extend beyond the painted borders of the cross, and his body now seems less rigid, its weight pulling his arms taut and wrenching his torso beyond the margin of the apron. This pathetically suffering, human Christ must have reflected the work's patronage: the Franciscan order emphasized the immediate, accessible, and human aspect of the deity, and this emphasis very likely

led Cimabue to rethink the subject of the crucifixion.

Innovation is also seen in the *Madonna and Child Enthroned* made for the high altar of the Vallambrosan church of Santa Trinita in Florence. This was an old theme, but it had risen in popularity as devotion to Mary increased in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and a number of important *maestà* altarpieces by Tuscan artists such as Coppo di Marcovaldo and Guido da Siena had preceded Cimabue's. No previous *Madonna Enthroned* prepares us, however, for the sheer scale of Cimabue's, which is twice as large as some other examples. An impression of monumentality is conveyed not only by the size of the composition but also by the enormous three-tiered throne that dominates it. Cimabue's contemporaries were accustomed to seeing only a modest throne in a *maestà*, and they must have been astonished by the unprecedented complexity of Cimabue's representation, and by the unmistakable suggestion of spatial recession and volumetric form. For example, the feet of the lowest pair of angels are firmly planted on the first stage of the throne, where the floorboards seem to converge in perspective to the center. The bases of applied columns fronting the throne are carefully depicted as three-dimensional solids, and the body of the Christ child is convincingly articulated through the folds of his tunic and pallium. Even the traditional iconic remoteness of the Madonna is softened by the glimmer of a smile. Curiously, though, such naturalism is not carried through consistently; or perhaps one might more accurately say that naturalism is denied just as trenchantly as it is affirmed. The base of the massive throne is explicitly defined but is given no rear support; the rounded colonnettes become flat along the length of their shafts; the angels above the pair standing on the platform float indeterminately in space; the Madonna is flattened into a shimmering apparition with no coherent structure; and although some heads are given a three-quarter turn, Cimabue insists on depicting both ears as if seen frontally.

Cimabue's greatest surviving cycle of works is the series of frescoes (at one point badly disfigured by chemical corrosion over much of the surface) in the transept and presbytery of the upper basilica of San Francesco in Assisi. These frescoes were most likely executed, with considerable participation by workshop assistants, during the papacy of either of two Franciscans: Nicholas III Orsini (1277-1280) or Nicholas IV

Masci (1288-1292). The cycle was designed as a Franciscan pantheon, testifying to the saint's special devotion to Maty, the apostles (especially Peter and Paul), the angels (Michael and his role in the Apocalypse foremost among them), and Christ's passion. The cycle runs parallel to themes stressed in the officially sanctioned biography of the saint by Bonaventure. The left transept is devoted to apocalyptic narratives, such as *Christ of the Apocalypse*, *Vision of the Four Angels*, *Vision of the Throne and the Book of Seven Seals*, *Fall of Babylon*, *Saint John on the Island of Patmos* (or possibly *Saint John Receiving the Vision of the New Jerusalem*), and *Saint Michael Expelling the Rebel Angels*. The left transept also includes a huge *Crucifixion*, covering the entire east wall; this *Crucifixion*, with its energy and dramatic intensity, is one of the most powerful conceptions of the theme in European art.



Cimabue (1240-1302), *Madonna in Majesty with Angels and Four Prophets*.
 From Santa Trinita, Florence. Uffizi, Florence. Photo: © Alinari/Art Resource,
 N.Y.

The apse frescoes depict scenes from the life of the Virgin: *Annunciation to Joachim*, *Joachim's Offering*, *Birth of the Virgin*, and *Marriage of the Virgin* in the lunettes; and *Death of the Virgin*, *Dormition*, *Ascension*, and *Christ and the Virgin Enthroned* on the lower walls. The right transept contains scenes of the apostles Peter and Paul in the main walls: *Saint Peter Healing the Lame Man*, *Saint Peter Healing the Sick and Possessed*, *Fall of Simon Magus*, *Crucifixion of*

Saint Peter, and *Beheading of Saint Paul*. Another large *Crucifixion* flanking the version in the left transept covers the east wall, but it has little of the force or vitality of its counterpart and therefore is considered—as are the rest of the frescoes in the right transept—to be largely workshop production after Cimabue's designs.

Despite their variety of narratives and decorative elements, Cimabue took great pains to give the frescoes in San Francesco overall unity as a program. This work—one of the first and most ambitious of such efforts—successfully conveys the impression that the east end of the church is, in terms of its decoration, a single cohesive entity.

Other works often attributed to Cimabue and his workshop include some of the mosaics in the Baptistery in Florence, a fresco of the *Maesta and Saint Francis* in the lower basilica of San Francesco at Assisi, a *Maesta* from San Francesco in Pisa (now at the Louvre in Paris), and a *Maesta* from Santa Maria dei Servi in Bologna.

See also Assisi; Coppo di Marcovaldo; Florence; Giunta of Pisa; Guido da Siena; Painting: Fresco; Painting: Panel

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Cino Da Pistoia

The jurist and poet Cino, or Guittoncino, da Pistoia (Cino dei Sighibuldi, c. 1270-c. 1336 or 1337) was born in the prosperous city of Pistoia, some 20 miles (32 kilometers) northwest of Florence. His father, Francesco dei Sighibuldi (Sinibuldi, Sigisbuldi), was a notary who belonged to one of the older and powerful families of Pistoia, adherents of the Black faction. Cino's mother, Diamante, was the daughter of the well-known physician Bonaventura di Tonello. We know very little about Cino's early life except that for five years he was the pupil of Francesco da Colle, who provided excellent instruction in grammar and the classics. Cino may have begun his legal studies in Pistoia in 1279-1284, under Dino dei Rossoni of Mugello; he then went to Bologna to continue his studies and remained there, in all probability, from 1284 to 1292, because the normal course for a law degree required eight years. The period in Bologna was critical for Cino's development both as a jurist and as a poet. He benefited from the lectures of Francesco d'Accursio and Lambertino Ramponi. In Bologna, Cino felt the lingering poetic influence of Guido Guinizzelli and Guittone d'Arezzo, as well as that of Onesto degli Onesti, with whom he exchanged several sonnets. Perhaps during these years in Bologna Cino met Dante, who visited there in 1287. The first textual evidence we have of their friendship is Cino's *canzone Avegna che io aggia più per tempo*, written to console Dante on the death of Beatrice (1290).

In 1292-1294, Cino may have traveled to France (in particular, to Orléans and Paris), for in his major juridical work, *Lectura in codicem*, he makes specific references to the legal writings of Frenchmen such as Pierre de Belleperche and Jacob da Revigni, both of whom taught at Orleans. In an unedited *consilium*, Cino refers to Belleperche as *doctor meus* ("my teacher"), the same phrase he used for Dino dei Rossoni.

Returning to Italy, Cino probably went first to Bologna. He stayed there as a lecturer in the *studium* for several years, at least from 1297 to 1301 or 1302. During this period Cino most likely made the acquaintance of the Bolognese poet Gherarduccio Garisendi, with whom he exchanged several sonnets and with whom he vied for the affection of a woman, probably Selvaggia, who is described as being

dressed in black, perhaps in mourning for her husband, Giovanni de' Cancellieri, nicknamed Focaccia. Selvaggia's actual identity—was she a historical figure or a literary fiction?—has been debated for many years, but this issue is not crucial, or even important, to a critical evaluation of Cino's poetry. Many of Cino's lyrics were written to praise a woman (to whom he refers using the *senhal* Selvaggia), to lament her lack of compassion, to express the alternate joy and anguish of the poet-lover's experiences, and to mourn her death. The object of Cino's affection may have been a member of the Vergiolesi family who, as a member of the White faction, was exiled in 1306 and died sometime between 1307 and 1309. However, what matters is not the historical woman but the transcendent literary persona represented in Cino's lyrics—a literary space in which she lives, moves, and acts, becoming a figure not dissimilar to Dante's Beatrice or Petrarch's Laura.

Cino's production of lyrics is the largest among the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*. His twenty *canzoni*, thirteen *ballate*, and 134 sonnets (including fragments) reflect virtually all the major themes, images, and concepts of that style. Because of the emotional fervor of Cino's lyrics and their unusual spatial orientation, critics have taken his poetry—erroneously—as a rich repository of autobiographical data. And even though these elements are obviously literary rather than autobiographical, they go beyond the standard conventions and give Cino's poetry its distinctive character. Thus, while we cannot, on the one hand, reconstruct Cino's biography on the basis of his lyrics, we can and must, on the other hand, read and understand them as an integral part of his literary corpus. He fashioned his lyrics to reflect the psychological contours and recesses of the persona of a poet-lover who is at once the same as and different from himself, presenting the broad range of a person's affective life in an objectified and conventionalized manner yet ostensibly offering a subjective account of these experiences. This tension provides the dynamic force of the corpus as a whole.

After Selvaggia's death, Cino was attracted to various other women, for and about whom he wrote lyrics. Indeed, Dante reproves Cino for his amatory habits in the sonnet *lo mi credea del tutto esser partito*, and this view was shared by other poets.

In 1302, Cino returned to Pistoia, where he married Margherita di

Lanfranco degli Ughi, whose family belonged to the White faction. Since Cino's family belonged to the Black party, the marriage was probably contracted in an attempt to establish peace between the two factions, at least at the level of individual families. Cino and Margherita had five children: one son—Mino—and four daughters. At the time of Cino's return to Pistoia, the city was in the throes of civil strife, and in 1303 he went into forced exile. After returning from exile in 1306 (on 11 April), Cino was elected judge of civil suits (*assessore di cause civilz*), and some of the cases he adjudicated eventually found their way into his legal writings. In addition to his lyrics on amorous topics, Cino's *canzoniere* is especially rich in *tenzoni* and in poems inspired by local partisan strife and political exile.



Anonymous fourteenth-century Sienese artist, monument to Cino da Pistoia, after 1337 (complete view). *Duomo*, Pistoia. Photo: © Nimatallah/Art Resource, N.Y

During the first decade of the *Trecento* Cino's friendship with Dante flourished, as several *tenzoni* on amorous topics attest. Dante praises Cino as the poet of love par excellence in *De vulgari eloquentia* (2.2.8), citing in particular the following *canzoni*: *Digno sono eo di morte*, *Non spero che giamai per mia salute*, and *Avegna che io aggia piu per tempo*. Dante also addressed a letter (*Epistola* 3) to Cino, the *exulanti Pistoriensi* ("Pistoian in exile").

In addition to their literary affinities, Cino and Dante were united in

their fervent support of Henry VII of Luxemburg, who was elected Holy Roman emperor on 27 November 1308 and represented the best hope for peace among the various warring factions in Italy. In June 1310, Henry sent Ludwig of Savoy as his personal ambassador to Rome to begin the preparations for his incoronation. Ludwig asked Cino to accompany him: first to Florence in a attempt (which turned out to be futile) to have the Florentines yield to Henry; and then to Rome, where Cino would serve as adviser to the imperial tribunal, a service which he mentions in his legal writings. On 24 August 1313, Henry VII died, probably of malarial fever, at Buonconvento near Siena, thus dashing Cino's and Dante's hopes for political peace and unity under the imperial aegis. The solemn *canzone* *Da poi che la natura ha fine posto*, written to commemorate the death of Henry, conveys Cino's sense of loss and desolation. Cino also wrote the moving *canzone* *Su per la costa, Amor, de l'alto monte* to commemorate the death of Dante.

While Henry's death marked the end of Cino's active involvement in partisan politics, it did not diminish his firm adherence to Ghibelline ideals, and this may be clearly seen in his legal writings. On 11 June 1314, probably in Pistoia, Cino completed *Lectura in codicem*, his great commentary on the first nine books of the Justinian code of laws. He had been working on this commentary desultorily since the last decade of the thirteenth century and had finally succeeded in assembling it in final form in two years. On 9 December 1314, he successfully completed a public examination (the *conventus*) and was awarded, in Bologna, a doctoral degree in legal studies. In the diploma, Cino is called *sapientissimus et eloquentissimus vir* ("a very wise and eloquent man").

As a lawyer and teacher, Cino was active in Florence, Macerata, Siena, Bologna, and Perugia. In 1324 in Bologna, Cino probably met Petrarch, who was a student in the *studium*. Cino, having earned a great reputation through his legal writings and lectures, was much sought after to add luster to the *studia* in other Italian cities. On 15 August 1330, Robert of Anjou invited Cino to teach civil law at the university in Naples, but Cino remained there for only one year. Some reasons for his brief stay may be found in the satirical poem *Deh, quando rivedro il dolce paese*, in which he rails against the vile untutored citizenry, the enviousness of his legal colleagues, and the generally disreputable nature of the city. Robert—although he may have

considered Cino, and Cino's political beliefs, distasteful—held *Lectura in codicem* in high esteem, acquiring a personal copy in 1332.

During the last four years of his life Cino was in Florence, Perugia, and Pistoia. In Pistoia on 13 July 1334, he was elected *gonfaloniere* (standard-bearer) for August and September. Perhaps because of ill health, he resigned that post, but on 31 March 1336 his fellow citizens elected him to the *consiglio del popolo* ("council of the people") for a six-month term. After the first signs of his final illness began on 12 December 1336, Cino made his will on 23 December. He died shortly thereafter, either in late December 1336 or in early January 1337. Because Cino's son Mino had died earlier, Mino's son Francesco—Cino's grandson—was named an heir, with Cino's four daughters (Diamante, Giovanna, Lombarduccia, and Beatrice) as *legatarie*. Cino was buried with honor in the cathedral of San Jacopo of Pistoia, and a funereal monument was erected near the altar of the Porrine in 1337. In the sculptural relief Cino is remembered as a teacher (twice), but not as a politician, jurist, or poet.

Nevertheless, it is for his poetry that Cino is most often remembered. In addition to his synthesis of various stilnovistic elements, Cino's basic contribution to the lyric tradition was his objective psychological realism, which manifested itself in the intensely personal, almost confessional tone of his poems; and in this regard he serves as a bridge between the *dolce stil nuovo* and Petrarch. Because of his extreme versatility as a poet, Cino was able to mediate among various "schools" and individual poets, compose lyrics in a number of modes and styles, and ultimately profit from and contribute directly to the several major literary currents of his time. Cino enjoyed literary and personal friendships with the greatest contemporary Italian poets, all of whom regarded him with much admiration: in addition to Dante's praise in *De vulgari eloquentia*, Boccaccio paid him tribute by incorporating almost all of his canzone *La dolce vista e 'l belguardo soave* in *Filostrato* (5.62-65), and Petrarch lamented his death in the sonnet *Piangete, donne, et con vol pianga Amore*.

See also Dante Alighieri; *Dolce Stil Nuovo*; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Law: Roman; Petrarca, Francesco; Pistoia; Tenzone

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Cino Rinuccini

Cino di Francesco Rinuccini (1350-c. 1417) was a Florentine poet, polemicist, and wealthy merchant. He was a member of the wool traders' guild (Arte della Lana) in 1381, and like many other intellectuals of his time he also belonged to the guild of doctors and pharmacists (Arte dei Medici e Speziali). He was active in Florentine politics and held some minor posts, serving on the council of the commune (1411) and the council of the people (1414).

Cino's collected poetry consists of fifty-two poems dealing primarily with the theme of love. His *rime* have come down to us in nine codices and were included in the prestigious *Raccolta Aragonesa*, a poetic anthology commissioned by Lorenzo de' Medici as a gift for Pietro d'Aragona in 1476. Unlike his political and cultural pamphlets, his poetry received little critical attention after several nineteenth-century literary historians, including Carducci, classified him as an epigone of Petrarch. However, Li Gotti (1947) commented favorably on the formal polish, elegant imagery, and musicality of Cino's verse, although he also noted that at times Cino's stylistic elegance borders on preciousness and that his musical sensibility tends toward technical virtuosity. In his anthology, Corsi (1969, 557) described Cino as "the last and most suggestive follower of the forms of lyric poetry from the *stilnovo* to Petrarch."

Cino's critics have underestimated the importance of *imitatio* as an aesthetic ideal of his poetry. By imitating the style and imagery of early

Italian poets, Cino pays homage to them and—more significantly—demonstrates the importance of poetry by representing its limits as a medium of human expression. In the sonnet *Chi è costei, Amor, che quando appare*, the poet claims that, were he aided by Homer, Virgil, and Dante, he would still be unable to describe his lover's beauty. Cino reinforces his representation of this theme by evoking Cavalcanti's sonnet *Chi è questa che vèn ch'ogn'om la mira*. Whereas for the *stilnovisti* artistic impotence is usually a rhetorical pretext, for Cino it is a prominent theme. In the conclusion to the *canzone* *Tu vuoi ch'io parli, Amor, de la bellezza*, Cino underscores his pessimism with a self-conscious statement about his artistic incapacity: *Deseritto hai, canzon mia, piccola parte! di quel che ho dentro, ch'io non so mostrare* (verses 91–92, "You have described, my song, a small part of what I have within, that which I am unable to show").

Cino Rinuccini is known to scholars of the *Quattrocento* primarily for two invectives: *Risponsiva alia Invettiva di rnesser Antonio Lusco* and *Invettiva contro a certi calunniatori di Dante e di messer Francesco Petrarca e di messer Giovanni Boccaci*. . . . These were composed in Latin and probably translated into Italian by Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, the author of the novel *Il paradiso degli Alberti* (1426).

The first invective, *Risponsiva*, is a response to an antiFlorentine diatribe of Antonio Loschi, who was secretary to the duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Loschi's invective was written in the spring of 1397, at the beginning of the war between Milan and Florence. Historians have debated the dating of Cino's *Risponsiva*: Hans Baron believed that Cino composed his pamphlet shortly after reading Loschi's piece; Witt (1970) gave a later date, 1406-1414; Tanturli (1976) offered evidence that Rinuccini's pamphlet was composed after 1401 but before 1406. In any case, *Risponsiva* reflects Cino's ardent republicanism and his defense of the Roman origins of Florence. His main point is that democracy is a more efficient form of government than monarchy, because "more eyes see better; more minds understand more; and the majority is more effective than one person" (Lanza 1991, 192).

The second invective, *Invettiva*, was aimed at the humanist critics of vernacular literature, in particular, Niccolo Niccoli. Cino—along with his fellow poets Domenico da Prato, Giovanni Gherardi, and Francesco Landini, who frequented Antonio Alberti's villa in the Florentine

countryside—took a traditionalist position in the cultural battle against the new class of intellectuals who claimed that Latin was superior to Italian. In *Invettiva*, he argues against the disinterested scholarship of the humanists and promotes the notion of culture as a social good. He complains, for example, that humanist philologists are misguided because they are not concerned with the truthful lessons of history which are useful to the republic (Lanza 1971, 263). Lanza, however, holds that the traditionalists saw only the errors of the humanists' critique of late medieval culture and were blind to their innovations (1971, 100).

Whatever Cino's own shortcomings, his poetry and invectives reveal that he was a prominent intellectual who defended Florentine culture and democracy in a critical period of the republic's history.

See also Italian Poetry: Lyric; Landim, Francesco; retrarca, Francesco

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Ciompi

The term *ciompi* was used in the latter half of the fourteenth century for Tuscan, especially Florentine, members of the lowest working classes, particularly those in jobs related to the wool cloth industry. These were able-bodied people who received only low and uncertain wages, often as day laborers. They did both skilled and unskilled tasks, such as wool carding, spinning, and weaving, for masters in the various crafts that were represented in the city's guilds. They themselves were not organized into guilds, and they were politically disenfranchised; their only power came from other kinds of self-organization and from mob action.

In the early 1340s, the duke of Athens (Walter of Brienne), then the ruler of Florence, did allow these *sottoposti*, or laborers, to organize a guild—a radical concession that was very short-lived. It was at that point that the term *ciompi* was first heard, probably as a local variant of the French *compères* (companions), used by members of the duke's retinue. In 1345, a Florentine wool carder (or perhaps a skinner), Ciuto Brandini, attempted to organize others in his class, but he was executed for his efforts. His sentence described him as "hated by all for his condition, activities, and bad reputation."

In Siena, similarly, Donato di Neri described the local *ciompi* as "the most contemptible of plebs" who wanted to "slay the masters of the city." In late 1370, food prices had risen steeply; and in 1371, 300 workingmen formed the Compagnia del Bruco and marched on the city hall. This attempt, like others in Lucca (1369) and Perugia (1370, 1371, 1375), soon failed. The most famous and successful of the *ciompi* revolts was that in Florence in 1378.

In Florence, as elsewhere, the black death and recurrent outbreaks of plague caused labor shortages, so that conditions and salaries for industrial and other workers improved over the second half of the fourteenth century. Nonetheless, several factors led to discontent and rebellion among the *ciompi* of Florence. A war with the papacy (1375—summer 1378) had hurt the Florentine economy and had led to enormous public expenditures (an additional 2.5 million florins), public debt, and increased taxation. In the wool industry, recent tension and rivalry had resulted in lower overall production, tighter restrictions on the workers, and higher unemployment. In addition, in mid-June 1378, powerful aristocrats of the Guelf party (*parte guelfa*) who opposed the papal war were plotting to overthrow the popular regime, which was led by the guilds. On 18 June, spurred on by Salvestro de' Medici, the "standard-bearer of justice" (*gonfaloniere della giustizia*), members of the lower classes—or *popolo minuto*—including the *ciompi*, rallied to the government, plundered the houses of the Guelf leaders, and drove these Guelfs into exile. The forces of the oligarchy had been checked, and those of democracy had been unleashed. In response to the threat of conspiracy and the reality of violence, many shops closed and their owners fled; as a result, food shortages threatened the city. On 22 June, rioters burned a dozen *palazzi*, but several executions temporarily restored order.

As conditions worsened, the minor guildsmen and the *ciompi* began to rethink the structure of Florentine government. On 9 July, the guilds successfully petitioned the government to apportion political and electoral power equally among the twenty-one guilds. This altered the older system, in which the seven more important guilds, or *arti maggiori* (merchants, bankers, industrialists, and professionals), had held a greater share than the fourteen *arti minori*, or lesser guilds (artisans and shopkeepers). Soon it became clear that this move opened

the door for the *ciompi* as well, since if they could organize into one or more viable guilds, they could share power with their employers, the masters of the established guilds. A group of laborers met on 18 July at Ronco, near Florence, to draw up a petition for, among other things, a guild, a role in the government, and a 50 percent increase in their salaries. They presented this petition to the government on 21 July. On the previous day, 20 July, members of the *arti minori* had been denied a greater number of seats in the city's principal offices, so they were well-disposed to an alliance with the *popolo minuto* who were seeking power. This alliance, along with a huge popular demonstration in the Piazza Signoria, rioting, arson, and the ouster of the sitting government, ensured the petitioners' success. By 23 July the movement had become a revolution and had succeeded. In consequence, supreme authority was vested, until 31 August, in a special commission (*balia*) that included 130 members from all classes except the magnates, and three new guilds: the *tintori* (cloth dyers), the *farsettai* (shirtmakers), and the *popolo minuto*, the largest of the three.

The banner of state had been abandoned by the standard-bearer of justice (now Luigi Guicciardini) and recovered by the wool carder Michele di Lando, who was granted this important executive office until the end of August. On 4 August, the Florentine civic offices were divided equally among the three groups of guilds: the *maggiori*, the *minori*, and the three new guilds. The program of the *ciompi* was furthered by several new developments: major offices were subjected to a new scrutiny in order to expand the basis of participation; debt repayment was suspended for two years; interest payments on communal bonds were suspended; a direct property tax (*estimo*) was reinstated; several *ciompi* were knighted; and (perhaps) a floor of 24,000 cloths per year was set for Florentine cloth production. Yet many workshops remained closed and wages unpaid; and a trend toward conservatism led to the repudiation of most of the radical legislation.

This impelled the more radical *ciompi* to make greater demands at the end of August, when Michele di Lando's and the commission's terms were to expire. In a mass meeting held in the Piazza di Santa Maria Novella, eight "saints" were elected to represent the *ciompi* to the government, and to demand a permanent place in it. But guildsmen led by Lando violently attacked the demonstrating *ciompi* on 31 August,

and the movement collapsed. The new government of September 1378 quickly abolished the guild of the *popolo minuto*, and a reaction set in. Leaders fled or were arrested and executed or exiled. Although many of the leaders who had fled or been exiled joined the disaffected Guelf exiles in Siena and Bologna, where they plotted revenge and supported minor uprisings, the revolution was over—and it had failed. In January 1381 or 1382, the charters of the guilds of tinters and shirtmakers were revoked, and the oligarchy formally reasserted itself.

Until the success of the French Revolution, historians deplored this popular outbreak, but nineteenth-century liberals found it stirring. Modern scholars attempting to characterize the *ciompi* revolt and assess its significance have generally fallen into two camps. Some, like Rodolico (1971), Rutenburg (1971), and Cohn (1980), utilize a Marxist framework and stress a class struggle—early proletarians against the forces of early capitalism—and the radical nature of the movement. They argue that had the economic elements of this program succeeded, the relationship between Florentine masters and workers would have changed fundamentally. Cohn points out that the *ciompi* program would have moved the government "from representing less than 20 percent of the population to almost all of the adult male population."

On the other hand, Brucker (1968, 1972, 1977), De Roover (1968), and Najemy (1982) have stressed the workers' attempts to join the ranks of the guildsmen and thus to share power in the Florentine state; these scholars see the *ciompi* program as conservative, Brucker describes the "*ciompi* government" of 22 June-31 August as, in reality, "an enlarged guild community" that demonstrated a "*petit bourgeois* mentality." According to De Roover, the demands of the *ciompi* "were by no means as radical or as revolutionary as one might suppose." Najemy does consider the *ciompi* revolutionary, especially in the context of the fourteenth-century commune, but notes that they followed the lead of the minor guilds and remained "within the historic framework of Florentine corporatism."

See also **Florence; Guilds**

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Civil Law

See Law: Roman

Civitavecchia

Civitavecchia, the ancient Centumcellae or Centum Cellae, has Etruscan foundations; but the true beginning of Civitavecchia dates from C. A.D. 106, when the emperor Trajan had an artificial port constructed there (this is recounted by Pliny the Younger, 6.31). The port served as an important base for the Roman fleet and remained important until the sixth century, when it was contested by the Ostrogoths and Byzantines. It was destroyed by the Saracens in 828. In 854, Pope Leo IV gathered the scattered population into a new city,

briefly named Leopolis. However, the inhabitants preferred the name Cencelle, and in any case they subsequently returned to the former site, which was then called *Civitas Vetula*—"old city"—and eventually *Civitavecchia*.

The city was impoverished and weak, subject to the endless assertions of control by neighboring monks, the Roman commune, barons in the countryside, neighboring towns, and the popes. When the papacy was moved to Avignon, the city entered a period of internal strife that was further complicated by the Great Schism. The port returned to the control of the papacy in 1431, after a formidable siege. Thereafter, it became part of the papal states.

See also **Leo IV, Pope; Ostrogoths**

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Clare, Saint

Clare (in Italian, Chiara; 1193 or 1194–1253) was among the earliest followers of Saint Francis, and founder with him of the second order of Franciscans, better known as the Poor Clares. Clare renounced her worldly possessions to follow Francis c. 1212. Before long, she was joined by a number of other women devoted to Franciscan ideals, and c. 1215 Francis himself named her the abbess of a new foundation for women at San Damiano, near Assisi. The second order grew from this community, of which Clare remained head until her death; its first rule was granted in 1219 by Cardinal Ugolino (later Pope Gregory IX). Thereafter, numerous daughter houses were founded in Italy and

eventually throughout Europe. The austerity of the Poor Clares went far beyond anything previously practiced by religious women, especially after modifications in the rule granted by Pope Innocent IV in 1247 and 1253. After Clare's death, a milder rule was granted by Pope Urban IV in 1263 and was adopted by the majority of the houses. Clare's own foundation at San Damiano, however, had insisted, from its earliest days and at her personal urging, on the strict observance of the *privilegium paupertatis* or privilege of poverty, as originally granted, and it never accepted any relaxation of the rule. Clare was canonized in 1255.



Church of Santa Chiara, Assisi. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Various writings attributed to Clare survive in the corpus of material associated with the early development of the Franciscan order. At least four letters are generally accepted as genuine; another letter and two devotional texts known as the *Testament* and the *Blessing* are disputed. A contemporary biography of Clare, attributed to Thomas of Celano, Francis's first biographer, is preserved in *Acta sanctorum*.

See also Francis of Assisi; Franciscan Order; Gregory IX, Pope; Innocent IV, Pope; Thomas of Celano; Urban IV, Pope

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Clare of Montefalco, Saint

Clare (1268-1308) was born at Montefalco, near Perugia, into a wealthy family that was already distinguished for its dedication to the church. Her brother, Francesco, and her sister, Giovanna, both embraced the religious life, and Clare herself began to show signs of unusual piety from a very early age. Clare was only six years old when she followed her sister into the community of San Leonardo, which Giovanna had founded. Here Clare led a life of extreme asceticism and devotion for some fifteen years, until she and her fellow religious moved, under Giovanna's leadership, to new quarters, which they called Santa Croce. In 1290 the bishop of Spoleto, responding to a request from Giovanna, authorized the community to adopt a version of the Augustinian rule. It is not clear that Santa Croce ever formally adhered to the Augustinian order; its beliefs and practices appear to have been influenced primarily by the Franciscans, who were hugely influential in Umbria during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (However, controversy on this point continued long after Clare's death; both orders were by then anxious to claim her, though neither, significantly enough, officially sponsored her for canonization.)

Giovanna died in 1291, and Clare succeeded her as abbess of the community of Santa Croce. For the rest of her life, Clare was a figure of unusual celebrity and authority in the religious life of Umbria. She acquired a reputation as a healer, a counselor, and a visionary, and she was visited by many leading ecclesiastics, with whom she engaged in spiritual and theological discussions. Interestingly, despite her lack of

formal education (although she could read Latin, at least for liturgical purposes, and taught others to do so), she was widely respected as an authority on the interpretation of scripture and the exposition of doctrine: in this capacity she was centrally involved in the denunciation of the heretical Franciscan Bentivenga da Gubbio after her meeting with him in 1306. At about the same time she drew on her considerable local influence to help bring about a truce between the rival communes of Trevi and Montefalco.

Although the campaign for her canonization began shortly after her death (propelled by her first biographer, Berengar of Sant' Africano) and met with some initial encouragement, it was delayed by the reluctance of Pope John XXII to endorse Clare's particular kind of visionary mysticism, which was probably too close for his tastes to that of the Spiritual Franciscans. Thereafter the cause became bogged down for many years in rivalry between the Augustinians and Franciscans. Not until 1624 was Clare beatified, and her canonization was decreed much later, by Leo XIII in 1881.

See also **Franciscan Order; John XXII, Pope**

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Claudius of Turin

Claudius (d. 827) was bishop of Turin from 817 or 818 until his death. He was strongly against the use of images in Christianity and took an active role in the Iconoclast movement

Claudius was probably born in Spain, near Sao de Urgel. In his youth he received an education in Spain among the clerics of Felix, who was the bishop of Urgel and was one of the most prominent figures in the Adoptionist heresy. Claudius moved to Lyon at the end of the eighth century and lived at the court of Louis the Pious, where he was ordained a priest. In Lyon, he studied with Leidradus. When Louis the Pious became emperor, Claudius moved with him to the imperial court in Aachen.

Claudius taught in Lyon and Aachen. He wrote biblical commentaries to numerous books and, in his writing, vehemently attacked the cult of images. He contributed substantially to the development of a type of commentary called *catenae*, which became very popular in Carolingian and later medieval times. The extant commentaries attributed to Claudius are those on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings, Matthew, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians.

See also **Biblical Exegesis; Louis I the Pious**

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Clement IV, Pope

Clement IV (Guido Fulcodi, Gui Foulquois, Guy le Gros Foulques; c. 1200-1268, r. 1265-1268) had been cardinal bishop of Sabina (1262) before becoming pope. He continued the policy of Urban IV with regard to replacing Manfred of Hohenstaufen as king of Sicily by Charles of Anjou, and he raised money for Charles by mortgaging Roman churches and pledging church treasure. However, Clement did try—though unsuccessfully—to prevent Charles from forming alliances with Lombard towns, notably Mantua and Ferrara, and thus increasing his power north as well as south of the papal state. When Charles reached Rome, en route to Sicily, Clement sanctioned his coronation but did not attend it.

When Clement became pope, Charles was senator of Rome. Clement confirmed this title, but neither Charles nor his successor, who was appointed when Charles resigned after the battle of Benevento, made much effort to facilitate the return of the pope, exiled since Urban IV had fled in 1267. Meanwhile, Clement demanded repayment of the sums he had raised; refused Charles's request for the prolongation of a clerical crusading tax (tenth) imposed on France and Provence to pay for his expedition; reproached Charles for being overly tolerant of the Saracens, Greeks, and Germans in his new kingdom; and viewed with some dismay Charles's reaffirmation of Angevin authority in Piedmont and his growing power in northern Italy.

In 1268, however, Conradin challenged Charles of Anjou for the throne of Sicily, whereupon Italian Ghibellines, notably in Tuscany, rallied. Clement called Charles in to strengthen the Guelfs in Tuscany and later made him papal vicar. However, Clement discouraged Charles from concentrating much on the north. Clement excommunicated Conradin but deplored his execution by Charles shortly after the battle of Tagliacozzo.

During his pontificate, Clement was almost exclusively occupied with Angevin affairs. He granted a crusading tax to Louis IX but otherwise did little about the crusade. In church matters, he took a firm (and unusual) stand against nepotism, but his only lasting contribution was the reservation to the papacy of provision to the benefices of all clerics who died while at the papal curia, a further step in the growing centralization of the church.

See also Charles I of Anjou; Conradin; Ghibelline; Manfred; Tagliacozzo, Battle of; Urban IV, Pope

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Clement V, Pope

Clement V (Bertrand de Got, c. 1260 or 1264-1314, r. 5 June 1305-20 April 1314) was the first of the Avignonese popes. He was born in Gascony to a noble family, studied the arts at Toulouse, and then studied law at Orleans and Bologna. Through family connections he rose rapidly in the church, holding several canonries before becoming vicar-general to his brother, the bishop of Lyon. After serving as a papal chaplain, he was made bishop of Comminges in 1295 and archbishop of Bordeaux in 1299.

When Benedict XI died in 1304, the college of cardinals was deadlocked for almost a year over a successor, primarily because they were divided over papal policy toward the French king Philip the Fair. They settled on Clement because he had good relations with Philip but had also been a favorite of Philip's enemy Boniface VIII and had braved the king's wrath to attend a council called by Boniface during his struggle with Philip.

Disturbances at Rome and in the papal states prevented Clement's coronation there, so he was crowned instead at Lyon, on 14 November 1305. He spent the rest of his pontificate in France, in what he considered temporary residences. During the first four years of his reign he moved frequently, never spending more than a year in one place, but after 1309 he favored Avignon, a city subject not to the French king but to the king of Naples, a papal vassal. His intended to stay in Avignon only briefly, but his successors were to remain there until 1376.

Within weeks of his coronation, Clement initiated policies which convinced some contemporaries that he was a creature of King Philip. He annulled Boniface VIII's bull *Clericis laicos*, which had been directed at Philip, and declared that Boniface's *Unam sanctam* had not claimed any new papal authority over France or its king. He confirmed Benedict XI's absolution of Philip and restored Philip's deposed allies Giacomo and Pietro Colonna to the cardinalate. Also, within a month of his election he made the first of a series of appointments to the college of cardinals that gave a clear advantage to the faction which favored the French. Of ten cardinals appointed in 1305, nine were French. In 1307, Clement ordered an investigation of the Templars, again at Philip's prompting. Philip seems to have had political motives for attacking the Templars; he coveted their wealth. Moreover, the evidence Philip

submitted to Clement of sexual misconduct and witchcraft by the Templars had been extracted under torture. Nevertheless, Clement carried the investigation forward for several years, uncomfortable with the evidence but unwilling to drop the matter. He referred the case to the Council of Vienne for review, then decided not to wait for its decision. Rendering no decision on the evidence, he simply suppressed the Templars, citing the good of the church, on 22 March 1312. He then turned their enormous wealth over to the Hospitallers and to other military orders fighting the Muslims in Iberia, much to King Philip's chagrin. Some see this move as an example of indecision; others consider it a clever resolution of a complicated and embarrassing crisis.

In his relations with the empire, Clement was more decisive. He backed the election of Henry VII in 1308 and Henry's coronation as emperor in 1312, although he had been pressured by King Philip to support Charles of Valois, Philip's brother. In 1313 Clement prevented a war between Henry and Robert of Naples, the leader of Clement's forces in Italy, by threatening Henry with excommunication. On Henry's death a few months later, Clement claimed authority to supervise the empire during the vacancy.

In Italy, Clement and his Guelf allies struggled, though desultorily, to regain control of the papal states. Throughout Clement's reign, Rome remained too unstable to be occupied safely. Clement also did his own cause considerable harm by appointing rapacious Gascon favorites to govern the Italian lands he did control.

Perhaps Clement's most important achievement was the Council of Vienne (1311-1312). It was originally called to consider the case of the Templars, but it accomplished much more, taking measures to ease the tension between the Spiritual and Conventual factions in the Franciscan order and to arbitrate disputes between secular and mendicant clergy. It also addressed the tension between papal delegates and bishops. The council's work was preserved in *Constitutiones Clementinae*, a collection of decretals redacted by Clement; this collection was promulgated by Clement's successor, John XXII, and became the seventh book of the *Decretales* in the church's *Corpus iuris canonici*. Clement also founded the universities of Perugia and Orleans and established the statutes of the medical faculty at Montpellier. At the urging of Ramon Llull, he commanded that chairs in Syriac, Arabic, and

Hebrew be established at Oxford, Paris, Salamanca, and Bologna, in order to aid mission work in Asia.



Pope Clement V. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 221 v.

During much of his reign Clement was seriously ill, perhaps with stomach cancer. This may account for his seeming malleability and his lack of stamina in dealing with Philip the Fair. His illness also left him incapable of supervising the papal court for long periods; as a result, serious corruption developed. Clement had hopes of returning to Rome after the Council of Vienne, but his bad health prevented it. He died at Rocquemaure on a final journey to Gascony.

See also **Avignonese Papacy; Boniface VIII, Pope; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Military Orders in Italy**

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Clement VI, Pope

Pope Clement VI (Pierre Roger, c. 1291-1352, r. 1342-1352) succeeded Benedict XII. Unlike his thrifty predecessor, Clement was a bountiful patron and a lover of ceremony who preached effectively on major occasions. Clement expanded the papal palace in Avignon, seeking an increase in curial revenues to pay the expenses incurred. He was charitable, especially toward the victims of the black death of 1348; but he suppressed the bands of flagellants who converged on Avignon after the epidemic. Clement was inclined to seek military solutions to political problems. Although unable to organize a crusade, he did form a league against Turkish pirates. Since Lewis (Louis) of Bavaria had

fallen from power, the pope was able to make peace with the empire; but his goodwill did not extend to Charles IV of Luxembourg, who had ambitions in Italy. Clement waged war against the tyrants of Romagna and the March of Ancona, but, after initial success, his underpaid troops were defeated. Clement was more successful in diplomacy, temporarily reconciling the conflicting interests of Milan and Florence. He favored the tribune Cola di Rienzo's efforts to restore the greatness of Rome, until Cola launched his revolution in 1347. Clement welcomed Cola's overthrow in 1351. Clement's luxurious court drew criticism, even from Petrarch, who had benefited from the pope's generosity.

See also Avignonese Papacy; Cola di Rienzo; Petrarca, Francesco

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Cloth Making and Production

See Fustians; Silk in Italy; Wool Industry in Italy

Cluny and the Cluniac Order

Cluny, a Benedictine monastery in Burgundy and motherhouse of the Cluniac order, was founded in 909 by Duke William the Pious of

Aquitaine. Cluny was one of several religious houses established at the turn of the tenth century to arrest or reverse a precipitous decline in religious life. The disintegration of the Carolingian empire had led to the destruction of many monasteries; lay control of the survivors had caused many to give up observance of the Benedictine rule. Duke William's charter exempted Cluny from secular authority, placing it under the protection of the Holy See. This device, which had already been applied at a number of other reformed monasteries, left the monks of Cluny free of lay interference.

Duke William chose as Cluny's first abbot, Berno of Baume, a reformer in the tradition of Benedict of Aniane. A century earlier, Benedict had sought to bring all Carolingian monasteries under a unified organizational structure that would regularize observance of the Benedictine rule and make communal prayer a more important part of the monks' daily routine. Berno vigorously pursued these ideals during his abbacy (909-926), and he was able to bring several other monasteries into uniformity with Cluny. His successor, Odo (926-944), broadened Cluny's influence, reforming monasteries in France and Italy, promoting lay piety, and aiding the emergent ecclesiastical peace movement.

Abbots Aymard (944-965), Mayeul (965-994), and Odilo (994-1049) continued these policies. As Cluny's fame increased, so did its land grants and the number of monasteries accepting annexation by Cluny. Meanwhile, Cluny was also founding many new monasteries. It treated all these houses as extensions of its own community, bound by a vow of obedience to the Cluniac abbot. During the abbacy of Hugh (1049-1109)—considered the high point of Cluny's history—it is estimated that more than 1,000 monasteries in France, Italy, Spain, and England professed allegiance to Cluny. Each monastery founded by Cluny was run by a prior appointed by the abbot of Cluny; and each followed the same calendar, canonical hours, and other observances as Cluny. All monks in these monasteries made their monastic professions before Cluny's abbot. Preexisting monasteries that were annexed to Cluny observed these rules more loosely, depending on the terms of their annexation. As Cluny grew, its abbots carefully cultivated the support of the papacy, obtaining from the popes timely affirmations and extensions of their original exemption. By the early eleventh century,

Cluny was immune from all episcopal and lay authority.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Cluny had a strong influence on ecclesiastical art, architecture, and music. It was also an important force in generating church reform. Although the monastery remained generally aloof from the political struggles of the Gregorian reformation, it produced some important figures in the reform movement. Pope Urban II is perhaps the most famous.

Cluny lost considerable prestige when it was racked by internal disputes during the early twelfth century. A weak and overextended system of central government seems to have been the cause. Peter the Venerable (1122-1156) restored some of Cluny's luster, but the monastery never again exercised the kind of moral authority it had during the mid-eleventh century. At the same time, the reforming ideal on which the Cluniac network was based came under attack by Cistercian reformers who propounded a purist interpretation of the Benedictine rule. Many of Cluny's practices, especially its liturgical traditions, were condemned as corruptions. Cluny weathered the attacks but lost its image as a leader of reform and a model of primitive monastic perfection. It entered a period of slow decline during which its dependents gradually slipped away. In the thirteenth century it came under the authority of the French monarchy.

See also Monasticism; Urban II, Pope

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Coins and Mints

Early Middle Ages

The coinage system of early medieval Italy, like that of the late Roman empire, was based on a gold coin, the *solidus*, and its fractions. Silver and copper issues were of varying weight and value and were produced sporadically. As introduced by Constantine the Great in the early fourth century, the *solidus* was a coin of pure gold, weighing 24 ancient *siliquae* or about 4.5 modern grams; its half was the *semis* and its third the *tremissis*. (Note: 1 gram = 0.035 ounce.) At the end of minting in the name of western emperors in the late fifth century, *solidi*, *semisses*, and *tremisses* of the same types (images) and standards were produced at four Italian mints: Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna, and Rome.

Little change was brought to the gold coinage under the Ostrogoths; Milan, Ravenna, and Rome continued to mint Ostrogothic coins bearing the name of the eastern emperor; Pavia replaced Ravenna after Ravenna fell to Justinian in 540. Coins of these mints vary little from official

issues of Byzantium except for minor differences in the legends (inscriptions) of the *solidi* and the retention of iconographic details after their alteration at the official mints. There were no regular Ostrogothic issues of *semisses*. *Tremisses* of the Ostrogothic mints can be distinguished from those of Constantinople only by their (generally better) style. After the completion of Justinian's reconquest in 552, Byzantine gold coins were produced in Italy at the existing mints of Rome and Ravenna, and new mints were opened in Sicily and Sardinia and at Naples. These Byzantine Italian mints continued to produce *solidi*, *semisses* (mainly in Sicily), and *tremisses* through the eighth century, but the gold content of their coins dropped dramatically toward the end of this period. Italian minting of Byzantine gold coins continued in the ninth century in Sicily alone.

The gold coinage of the Lombards was of two distinct series: northern royal issues and Beneventan ducal issues. In the north, only *tremisses* were minted; at first these were imitations of Byzantine issues, but by the end of the seventh century the names of Lombard kings were added. These coins can be separated by their reverse types into two geographical groups—Lombardy and Tuscany—and those of the second half of the eighth century bear the names of a dozen specific mints. They are distinguished from other *tremisses* of the period by their wide borders, which rise in a cuplike fashion from the struck part of the coin. In the south, the Lombard duchy of Benevento produced gold *solidi* as well as *tremisses* of Byzantine style and continued this production through the mid-ninth century, well after gold coinage had ceased at northern Lombard mints.

The silver coins of the late Roman and early medieval period are called *siliquae* and multiples and fractions thereof. Unlike their gold counterparts, Ostrogothic silver coins usually bore the full name of the king as well as that of the Byzantine emperor. After the reconquest, the Byzantine mints of Italy produced silver coins more regularly and more abundantly than the eastern mints of the empire. From the late seventh century on, the silver coins of the Roman mint bore a papal monogram as well as the imperial name. The late seventh century also saw the introduction of silver coinage in the name of northern Lombard kings, probably following earlier pseudo-imperial issues that are difficult to distinguish from Byzantine coins. The royal Lombard silver coinage

lasted only a few decades; by the 730s, the coinage of northern Italy appears to have comprised entirely gold *tremisses*,

The bronze denomination of the late Roman empire was the *nummus*; many thousands of *nummi* were equivalent to a single gold *solidus*. Bronze coins with numerals indicating numbers of *nummi* of value were issued in the Ostrogothic period; they bore the identification of the Roman senate as well as the name of the king. Forty-*nummi* coins called *folles* (as well as fractions thereof) were minted at ever-decreasing weights in the Byzantine mints of Italy through the eighth century. Bronze played no part in the coinages of the Lombard kingdom of northern Italy or in the duchy of Benevento.



Gold florin obverse with image of Saint John, the patron saint of Florence (1306). Private collection of Richard Lansing.

Ninth through Twelfth Centuries

Two series of military incursions brought about dramatic changes to the coinage of Italy: the Frankish victories of the late eighth century brought the coinage of the north into line with that of western Europe, while the Arab conquests of the ninth century brought the south into the monetary system of the Islamic world. The coinage of Carolingian Europe was based entirely on a single denomination, the silver *denarius*

(in English, penny; in Italian, *denaro*). For accounting purposes, these coins were grouped into a *solidus* (English, shilling; Italian, *soldo*) of twelve *denarii* and a *libra* (English, pound; Italian: *lira*) of twenty *solidi* or 240 *denarii*. The Carolingian *solidus* and *libra* were merely counting terms, however; only silver *denarii* existed as real coins. These were thin disks of fine silver weighing around 1.5 grams; their types were usually simple monograms, crosses, or schematic temples. The standard coin of Muslim lands was the gold *dinar* of about 4.2 grams; under the Fatimid rulers of the tenth century its quarter, called in western sources a *tari*, was the common fraction. These coins were usually without images and bore a form of the Muslim declaration of faith. Though the alloy of Islamic gold coins was closely controlled, their weight was not, and they were invariably weighed in transactions.



Gold florin reverse showing the Florentine lily. Private collection of Richard Lansing.

The imposition of Frankish coinage on Italy was effected within a decade of Charlemagne's victories of 774. After a brief transitional period, the coinage of Carolingian Italy was restricted to the issue of imperial *denari* from the mints of Milan, Pavia, Lucca, and Treviso. Venice began issuing *denari* early in the ninth century bearing the types and imperial name of the coins of its Italian neighbors. For the next three centuries, Venice minted *denari* in the name of the western emperor, while its merchants used mainly Byzantine coins for

commerce. In Rome, the popes substituted the recognition of Charlemagne and his successors for that of the Byzantine emperor on their ninth-century silver coinage. The dukes of Benevento identified Charlemagne as overlord on their gold *solidi* and introduced a silver coinage based on the Frankish *denarius* during his reign.

In the period of the disputed rule of northern Italy from the mid-ninth century through the mid-tenth, *denari* were minted in the names of rival rulers; these seldom bear mint names and can be only tentatively assigned to Milan and Pavia. In the Ottoman period, Verona and Lucca joined Milan and Pavia as imperial mints; c. 1000 all four were producing *denari* bearing mint names but interchangeable in trade. In the course of the eleventh century, the *denari* of these four mints declined in weight and fineness of silver at varying rates; the *lire* based on them ceased to be equivalent, and it became necessary to specify in documents which coinage was to be used in payment.

In the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, coinage in the north spread beyond the four traditional mints. In the mid-twelfth century, Pisa replaced Lucca as the main supplier of coinage for Tuscany, and it was joined by Siena by the year 1200. By the end of the twelfth century, other mints opened in northern Italy, including Susa, Asti, Genoa, Piacenza, Cremona, Brescia, Mantua, and Bologna. In the late twelfth century, Venice began putting the name of its doge on its *denari* rather than that of the emperor. While many of the communes, bishops, and lay rulers that issued *denari* claimed imperial privilege for their minting, they set their standards individually, and the coinages were not interchangeable.

The coinages of central Italy ended shortly after the brief period of Carolingian rule. Benevento issued its last gold coins in the first half of the ninth century and ceased minting silver by the end of the century. The papal coinage of Rome lasted until the late tenth century but then ceased for 300 years. In the late twelfth century the Roman senate began the issue of *denari* copied after those of Provins in Champagne, a frequent trading partner of Italian merchants.

The last Byzantine mint in Italy, Syracuse, closed in the late ninth century, but coins of eastern Byzantine mints continued to circulate in southern Italy into the twelfth century. Minting by the Arabic rulers of

Sicily began in the tenth century and consisted mainly of gold *tori* weighing about 1 gram, supplemented by tiny coins of base silver alloy. Beginning in the eleventh century, Norman rulers in Sicily, Amalfi, and Salerno issued coins in the Islamic and Byzantine traditions. Their gold *tari* originally copied Islamic prototypes in appearance as well as standard, but they gradually introduced Christian inscriptions and crosses. They also issued large bronze coins of original design but of Byzantine style and weight.

Later Middle Ages

The coinage of Italy at the end of the twelfth century was in its basic components little changed from that of 300 years earlier: northern mints coined only silver *denari* of European appearance, and the south produced mainly gold and bronze denominations whose overall aspect was Islamic and Byzantine. The increased participation of northern Italy in the economy of the Mediterranean and the growing political ties between the south and the rest of Europe brought the two coinage zones closer together. By the end of the thirteenth century, mints throughout Italy produced coinages in fine silver, in gold, and in "billon" (an alloy of gold or silver with copper). Though these coinages were not interchangeable, they were all in the European tradition and could be easily related to one another.

The changes started in Norman Sicily. In 1140, Roger II altered the standards of the bronze coinage and introduced the *ducalis*, a large coin of half silver and half copper weighing about 2.7 grams. Though it was clearly derived from Byzantine models and was, like them, cup-shaped, the *ducalis* gave Sicily a silver-based coinage which could serve as a link to the coinages of the north. A smaller, baser *denaro* was introduced to the south during the reign of Henry VI, in the late twelfth century. By this time, the coinages of most northern mints had so declined in standard that their *denari* weighed less than 1 gram and were of billon—that is, less than half silver in alloy. Beginning shortly after the middle of the century, northern imperial mints issued new *denari* with somewhat higher silver contents, though none nearly as high as those of the Carolingian period. In 1190, the coinage of Pisa was

improved to bring it into line with new *denari* of Siena.

Around the year 1200, Venice introduced its *grosso*, a coin of almost pure silver weighing about 2.2 grams. This was the first fine silver coin in centuries to be used by most of Europe and the Mediterranean world. The Venetian *grosso* was modeled after the Sicilian *ducalis* (though it was flat rather than cup-shaped) and was minted primarily for trade with the east. Other Italian minters soon followed with their own *grossi* of fine silver: Genoa in the 1220s; Bergamo, Verona, Bologna, Ferrara, Siena, Pisa, Lucca, Florence, and Arezzo in the 1230s; Trent and Modena in the 1240s; Milan by 1250; the Roman senate in 1253; and Savoy before 1300. Charles of Anjou brought the heavy pure silver coin to the south with the silver *carlino* of 1278, which survived in Sicily under the name of *pierreale* through the end of the Middle Ages. In Naples it was replaced in 1302 by the heavier *gigliato*, which went on to serve as the model for later coinages from Provence to the Aegean. The specific standards of these coins varied and were often altered over time, but the *grosso* of fine silver weighing between 2 and 4 grams became established as the basis for medium-level monetary transactions throughout Italy.

The south also served as the bridge for bringing gold coinage to all of Italy. In 1231, Frederick II issued the gold *augustalis* from mints in Messina and Brindisi. The fineness of 21.5 carats (90 percent pure) attached it to the standards of Islamic gold, but its fixed weight of 5.25 grams distinguished it from the Islamic and Sicilian gold coins of variable weight and aligned it with European coins, whose controlled weight allowed them to be counted rather than weighed. With its obverse portrait bust and reverse eagle, it resembled ancient Roman coins more than any contemporary issues.

Though the specific standards and appearance of the *augustalis* were not copied, the minting of gold coins of fixed weight was initiated in northern Italy within a few years of Frederick's death. In 1252, both Florence and Genoa began the issue of coins of 24-carat (pure) gold, weighing about 3.5 grams. Though other communes joined in the minting of gold in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the Florentine *florin* (which soon eclipsed the *genovino*) dominated the gold coinage of northern Italy. Its designation as the medium for the accounting of papal tithes helped to establish it as the monetary

standard for all of Christian Europe. At mints in Brindisi, Barletta, and Messina, Charles of Anjou at first followed the standards of the *augustalis* with his gold *reale*; however, in 1278, he issued a coin of the same value but of pure gold and lesser weight, the gold *carlino*. After the Sicilian Vespers, the standards of the *carlino* were followed in the gold *pierreale* of the Aragonese rulers of Sicily. In 1284 Venice began to issue its gold *ducat*, on the same standards as the *florin*, which quickly became the standard gold coin of the entire Mediterranean trade.

While these gold coins were being minted at the centers of international trade and silver *grossi* were issued from regional commercial centers, scores of communes and principalities continued issuing *denari*, including those minters of the more valuable coins. The *denari* of Italian mints were of different standards, except where coinage conventions imposed a limited and transitory consistency, and generally continued a progressive decline in fineness and weight. To supplement these increasingly copper *denari*, and often to distract attention from their debasement, various minters introduced multiples worth two, three, four, and six *denari* (still of the alloy billon) and *soldini* of twelve *denari* (of somewhat finer alloy).

By the end of the Middle Ages, all Italy used coinages of three basic types and levels of circulation: black money, white money, and gold coinage. The black money consisted of *denari* and their low multiples; it was minted locally and formed the basis for the *soldo* (twelve *denari*) and *lira* (240 *denari*) of the local systems of accounts of the north. In Sicily and the Regno the accounting system grouped 6 *denari* into a *grano*, twenty *gram* to the *tari* of account and thirty *tari* to the *uncia*. White money was the term for heavy coins (2 grams or more) of relatively fine silver produced at the major commercial centers. Though the issuers often sought to tie the value of their *grossi* to their *denari*, they were seldom successful, and the *grossi* were either accounted in the petty *lira* at current market rates or grouped into *soldi* and *lire* of *grossi* (twelve and 240 *grosso* coins respectively). Because the ratio of gold to silver was everchanging, gold coins could never be pegged to a local system of black or white money and were always accounted at a variable value in such systems or just counted, though usually in decimal terms rather than grouped into *soldi* or *lire*.

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Cola Di Rienzo

Cola di Rienzo (1313-1354) was a notary who in 1347 seized power in Rome, proclaiming himself "tribune." Cola—the name is a dialect form of Niccolò or Nicolaus—was born in Rome. He was the son of a tavern keeper named Lorenzo (Rienzo) Gabrini and a laundress named Maddalena, although he later claimed to have been fathered by Emperor Henry VII. Cola was raised by a relative of his father's at Anagni. At age twenty he returned to Rome and married the daughter of someone called Cecco, possibly the notary Francesco Mancini. Cola received formal training as a notary and read the works of a number of ancient authors, including Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Livy, Sallust, Cicero, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Statius, Boethius, and Symmachus. He also trained himself to read ancient inscriptions.

Cola's public career began in December 1342, when a *popolano* government of "thirteen good men" took power in Rome and sent Cola to Avignon as its ambassador. Cola was to confer the title of senator on the new pope, Clement VI, and ask him to declare a jubilee in 1350. Cola was well received at the papal court, where he also became a friend of Petrarch's. In April 1344, he was awarded the office of notary of the Capitoline chamber. That summer, Cola returned to Rome. In a letter of 9 August 1344, Clement VI referred to him as a papal "familiar" and instructed the Roman senators to protect Cola from the Roman nobles.

Following his return, Cola began a remarkable campaign against the Roman barons, drawing on his historical knowledge and his keen sense of public ritual to rally the common people. He also made use of allegorical paintings (now lost) to convey his message. These included an allegory of Rome under baronial rule, an allegory of the revolution

he hoped to carry out, and a depiction of the Roman senate conferring the *imperium* on Emperor Vespasian. The last image was used to illustrate a notable speech Cola delivered in 1346, in Saint John Lateran, on the *lex regia de imperio*, the law by which the Roman people entrusted their *maiestas* (sovereignty) to the emperors. Cola had deciphered the text of this law on an ancient tablet—his reading is still used by epigraphers to fill in parts of the inscription that have since been lost—and he used it to justify popular sovereignty in the fight against the nobles.

On 20 May 1347, Cola carried out a successful coup, with the complicity of the papacy. Cola and the papal vicar were to rule together, each with the title "rector," and the pope confirmed this arrangement on 27 June 1347. But Cola also dusted off the republican title "tribune" for himself, and soon he was calling himself "Nicholas the Severe and Merciful; Tribune of Liberty, Peace, and Justice; Liberator of the Holy Roman Republic." On the afternoon of 31 July, in a public ceremony, Cola was immersed in a porphyry basin thought to have been used for the baptism of Constantine. On 1 August, Cola was proclaimed "Knight-Candidate of the Holy Spirit, Nicholas the Severe and Merciful, Liberator of the City, Zealot of Italy, Lover of the World, and Tribune Augustus."

Internally, Cola's policy was to restrain the barons and strengthen the hand of the *popolo*. He also undertook a number of significant external initiatives. Thus he declared the "unanimous will of the Roman people to take up their former rights of sovereignty"; extended Roman citizenship to all Italians; asked the cities of Umbria and Tuscany to send ambassadors to Rome; and announced a future "parliament" of communes. In practical terms, this may have seemed an attempt to revive the Guelf alliance of central Italian communes, but Cola's ambitions were obviously boundless. By mid-August the Avignon papacy changed its tune, probably encouraging a revolt by two Roman baronial families—the Colonna and the Orsini—at the end of September. On 20 November, the communal forces inflicted a major defeat on the barons, but this was followed by indecision on Cola's part, and as his position weakened, he resigned the tribunate on 15 December 1347.

After a flight to Naples, Cola returned in 1348 to Rome, where he was arrested by the Orsini. He was able to escape, however, amid the

anarchy that had been created by the black death. Between 1348 and 1350, Cola found refuge among the Spiritual Franciscans of the Abruzzi. Profoundly influenced by their eschatological message, he decided to go to Prague in 1350 to convince Emperor Charles IV that he was the instrument who would restore the kingdom of God on earth. (Probably at this time Cola wrote a commentary on Dante's *De monarchia*, dated between 1347 and 1352.) At Prague, Cola's message was received with suspicion, and at the pope's urging the emperor threw Cola into prison. On 24 February 1352, Clement VI transmitted a bull to the bishops of Germany excommunicating Cola, and that summer the prisoner was consigned for trial to the papacy at Avignon. Cola now denounced the prophecies of the Spiritual Franciscans, and he argued in his own defense that the religious policies of his tribunate in Rome had been entirely orthodox.



Statue of Cola di Rienzo, Rome. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Cola was greatly aided by the death of Clement VI on 6 December 1352; in a remarkable reversal of fortune, the new pope, Innocent VI, freed him on 15 September 1353. Cola was quickly put to work in an effort directed by the papal legate, Cardinal Egidio Albornoz, to restore papal authority in central Italy. With some reluctance, Albornoz named Cola a Roman senator, and on 1 August 1354 Cola made a triumphal entrance at Rome, accompanied by 250 knights. Now acting strictly as the pope's agent, Cola again attempted to subdue the Roman barons.

The hostilities escalated, and this time Cola found it difficult to rouse popular support. A mob that had probably been moved to rebellion by two baronial families—the Savelli and the Colonna—killed him at the top of the Capitoline on 8 October 1354. His body was dragged through the streets, exposed for two days, and then burned.

Cola is the hero of several Romantic treatments of his story, including Wagner's opera *Rienzi*, and during the fascist period he was much praised. However, his influence on more immediate political and religious developments (the *ciompi* revolt in Florence, the Hussite movement in Bohemia, the Porcari conspiracy in Rome, and Savonarola's movement) has not been adequately explored.

See also Alborno, Gil Álvarez Cabrillo de; Clement VI, Pope; Colonna Family; Dante Alighieri; Orsini Family; Petrarca, Francesco; Rome

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Colombini, Giovanni

Giovanni Colombini (c. 1304-1367) was the founder of the Gesuati, a lay congregation devoted to preaching, penance, and service to the poor and sick. In 1355, Colombini, then a prominent merchant of Siena, had a religious experience that led him to divide his wealth with his wife, give his own share to charity, and dedicate his life to doing penance and serving the sick and the poor. He soon attracted a small band of followers; but he also aroused the hostility of some members of the Sienese nobility, who forced him into exile in 1360. For the next several years, Colombini and his followers wandered from city to city, visiting Arezzo, Città di Castello, Pisa, Lucca, and Florence. When a plague struck Siena in 1364, they returned to tend the sick and bury the dead. At about the same time, Colombini decided to organize his followers as a lay congregation following the rule of Saint Benedict. When the group was accused of teaching the errors of the Fraticelli (heretical Franciscans), Colombini sought the pope's approval to clear its name. Pope Urban V granted that approval a few weeks before Colombini's death.

Colombini was much admired by his contemporary Catherine of Siena and later by Philip Neri. His congregation gradually spread to many cities in Italy and France during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Because of his followers' practice of calling aloud the name of Jesus, they came to be called Gesuati.

See also **Bianco da Siena; Catherine of Siena, Saint; Monasticism**

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Colonna Family

The Roman Colonna family goes back, possibly, to the Tuscans, who at the beginning of the eleventh century ruled Rome from time to time and supplied no fewer than three popes. The first person known to have borne the family name was Pietro de Columpna, who is attested to at the beginning of the twelfth century; Pietro had taken the name from the family's castle near the city.

The descendants of Pietro de Columpna profited from conflicts between the papacy and the emperors. The first cardinal of the Colonna, Giovanni (d. 1245), sided with Frederick II Hohenstaufen, giving rise to the family's reputation—only partly justified—as Ghibellines, i.e., adherents of the imperial party. In the 1280s, the Colonna, through a deft change of party affiliation and an association with the papacy and with the Angevins of Naples, rose to become a leading family of Rome, whose standing would be matched only by the

Orsini. An essential element in this position was the placement of a member of the family in the College of Cardinals. In 1278, the pious Jacopo became the second Colonna cardinal; he was followed ten years later by his power-conscious nephew Pietro (d. 1326). Pietro's brothers, Stefano (d. 1348) and Sciarra (d. 1329), provoked a conflict with Pope Boniface VIII, who wanted to ensure the hegemony of his own family, the Caetani, in the areas south of Rome and in southern Tuscany (Campagna and Marittima) and was thus a threat to the power of the Colonna. In May 1297, the Colonna cardinals challenged the legality of the pope's election and appealed to a council. Boniface VIII consequently deposed the Colonna and called for a crusade against them and their relatives; in the course of that crusade, their fortresses—including their chief stronghold, Palestrina—were destroyed. After their defeat, some members of the family went into exile. Sciarra Colonna avenged his family in 1303, when, with the help of the French, he took Pope Boniface prisoner in Anagni. Boniface died shortly thereafter; and within a few years the Colonna, again thanks to the protection of the French king, succeeded in regaining their former positions in the College of Cardinals and—as senators—at the head of the Roman commune. In 1312 and 1328, they made it possible for Henry VII and Lewis (Louis, Ludwig) of Bavaria to receive the imperial crown in Rome. Stefano Colonna, however, in contrast to his brother, Sciarra, finally went over to the papal side and thereby gained a cardinal's hat for his son, Giovanni (d. 1348). Giovanni developed a splendid court in Avignon, where the curia had resided since 1309; the high level of culture at that court is reflected in the writings of Giovanni's *familiaris* and secretary, Francesco Petrarca.

As a result of the early deaths of Stefano Colonna's numerous children, and a conflict between the Roman tribune Cola di Rienzo and the Roman barons in 1347 and 1354, the Colonna lost a great deal of power in Rome. They regained considerable influence during the Great Schism in 1378 and the turmoil in the kingdom of Naples; now, they hired themselves out as *condottieri* and thereby compensated for their exemption from service in the city militia, which had been set in the city statutes in 1360. The position of the Colonna was further strengthened at the Council of Constance in 1417, when Oddone Colonna became Pope Martin V.

See also Avignonese Papacy; Boniface VIII, Pope; Caetanl Family; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Lewis of Bavaria; Petrarca, Francesco; Rome

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Como

Como (in Latin, Comum or Novocomum) is situated at the southern end of the western branch of Lake Como, in a valley enclosed by mountains to the east, south, and west. The city was founded in 196 B.C., became a Roman colony in 89 B.C., and received full Roman rights under Caesar in 49 B.C. It retains clear traces of the original Roman grid plan.

The first recorded bishop of Como was Felix, consecrated by Ambrose of Milan in the late fourth century. Como was conquered by the Huns in 452 and was occupied successively by the Ostrogoths, Byzantines, and Lombards. During the Lombard period Como was attached to the duchy of Milan. At the beginning of the seventh century, Bishop Agrippinus broke with Rome and Milan over Nestorianism and submitted to the archbishop of Aquileia.

Under the Carolingians, Como was part of the county of Milan, but

because of the city's position on the route linking Italy to the Frankish kingdom its bishops played an important role in imperial politics. As a result, the bishops acquired comital privileges and other rights that made them effective lords of the city. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the bishops undertook extensive building programs that reflected their power.

A commune composed mainly of local landowners existed in Como by 1109, when the sources first refer to magistrates called consuls. The new commune sought the support of the German emperors against the encroachments of neighboring Milan. A dispute with Milan over the appointment of the bishop led in 1118 to a war that ended in the capture and sack of the city by the Milanese in 1127. With imperial assistance the city recovered, and by siding with Frederick I Barbarossa it not only recovered its former territories but also obtained a share of Milanese lands in 1162. Como joined the first Lombard League of 1167, but quickly changed its allegiance at the approach of Frederick's armies. In 1176, Como again aligned itself with the victorious league, and Como was one of the communes whose independence was acknowledged in the peace of Constance (1183).



Torre del Comune and Broletto, Como. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

During the war against Frederick II, Como was split by a factional struggle between the Guelph Vittani family and the Ghibelline Rusca that lasted until 1335. The fortunes of these two parties mirrored those of the corresponding Milanese factions, the Delia Torre and Visconti, whose adherents controlled the positions of podesta or bishop in Como. The victory of the Guelfs in 1303 was reversed by an expedition undertaken by Emperor Henry VII, and with the return of the Visconti to power in

Milan, their Rusca allies regained control of Como. In 1335 Franchino Rusca offered the *signoria* of Como to Azzone Visconti, the *signore* of Milan. Except for a brief renewal of factionalism after the death of Gian Gaieazzo Visconti in 1402, Como remained under the control of the Visconti until 1451, when it passed to the Sforza lords of Milan.

Como's cathedral, Santa Maria Maggiore, dates from the first half of the eleventh century. After 1396, the nave was completely reconstructed in a late Gothic style, and the east end was finished during the Renaissance. The fifteenth-century facade includes statues of the two Plinys, who were natives of Como.

The basilica of the monastery of Sant' Abbondio, southwest of Como, is one of the best-preserved examples of Lombard Romanesque architecture. It was dedicated to a fifth-century bishop and patron saint of Como and was begun in 1022 and consecrated by Pope Urban II in 1095. With its austere facade, double towers, unvaulted nave, and minimal interior decoration, Sant' Abbondio resembles the imperial cathedral of Speyer in Germany, of about the same date. Germanic influences can also be seen in the polygonal apse of the twelfth-century church of San Fedele, which was inspired by Sankt Maria in Kapitol in Cologne.

Several monuments survive from Como's communal period. Three towers—Torre di San Vitale, Torre di Porta Vittoria, and Torre di Porta Nuova—line the southern wall of the largely intact twelfth-century defenses. The Broletto, north of the cathedral, served as the palace of the *podestà*. Built in 1215 in alternating courses of white, red, and gray marble, it is a particularly good example of Italian Gothic public architecture. The adjacent campanile, the Torre del Comune, dates from the same period.

See also Frederick I Barbarossa; Lombard Leagues; Milan; Urban II, Pope; Visconti Family

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Compagnetto Da Prato

The poet Compagnetto da Prato (c. thirteenth century) is virtually unknown, and the period of his activity remains elusive. Monaci (1955) considers Compagnetto an archaic poet, contemporaneous with Giacomo da Lentini, but more recent scholarship places him in the first generation of the Siculo-Toscani (Sicilian-Tuscan) poets. His geographical extraction supports this later dating (Prato is in Tuscany), and we have no proof that Compagnetto ever visited Sicily.

Compagnetto's poetic legacy consists of two poems, preserved in the Vatican codex (Vat. Lat. 3793). *Per lo marito c'ho rio* is a rare example in Sicilian of the genre *malmaritata*, which was cultivated with fervor in northern France. The female protagonist complains of her husband's cruelty and vows to take vengeance by accepting her lover's entreaties; meanwhile, an old woman, cast in the traditional role of *malparliera*, or speaker of evil, tries to obstruct this amorous relationship. This situation is essentially what one would expect to find in *fabliaux*, but not in courtly lyrics. *Per lo marito* is a *canzonetta* in dialogue form, as is the other poem attributed to Compagnetto, *L'amor fa una donna amare*, in which a lady begs her lover to give her his love.

Because of his popular themes and the easy-flowing style of his lyrics, Compagnetto has been described as a *giullare*, or jongleur.

See also Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Poetry: Popular; Mai-maritata; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Compagni, Dino

Dino Compagni (c. 1246-1324) was a Florentine merchant, political figure, and chronicler. He was born into a well-established Florentine family, embarked on a career in the cloth industry, was inscribed in the guild of Por Santa Maria (manufacturers of silk cloth and retail cloth dealers) in 1269, and served repeatedly as consul of his guild between 1282 and 1299. This was the period during which a government based on guilds and headed by priors and a standard-bearer of justice was established in Florence; and Compagni, as a prominent and respected member of a major guild, was deeply involved in these developments. In 1282, he was one of a group of six citizens that took the lead in establishing the guild regime; he himself served as one of the priors in 1289 and as standard-bearer of justice in 1293. When he was not himself in office, he served regularly in a consultative capacity, advising the officeholders as they tried to preserve peace and order in an increasingly turbulent political climate. Compagni was again one of the

priors in October 1301, when factional conflict between the Black and White Guelfs erupted into open warfare in the streets of Florence. Compagni and his fellow priors were forced to resign; the Black Guelfs seized and plundered the city; and many of the White Guelfs, including Dante Alighieri, were forced into exile. Compagni was spared that fate because of a law barring judicial proceedings against certain important officials for a year after they left office; nevertheless, the defeat of his party meant the end of his public career. He spent the rest of his life as if he were an exile in his own city, tending to his business and mulling over the events that had led to the defeat of the White Guelfs.

The fruit of Compagni's reflections was a chronicle that has ensured his fame ever since its rediscovery in the seventeenth century. In contrast to most medieval chronicles, which tend to be formless compilations of miscellaneous information, Compagni's is a tightly focused, dramatic account of the factional strife that tore at Florence between 1280 and 1312. Rather than a daily chronicle of events, Compagni produced a retrospective history. He wrote it between 1310, when an expedition of Emperor Henry VII to Italy aroused the hope that the White Guelfs would soon be restored to power in Florence, and 1313, when that hope was dashed by Henry's death. Freed from the obligation to record events as they occurred, Compagni was able to seek causes and connections. His detailed and exact information, incisive analysis of political motivations and alignments, and vivid portraits of such leading figures as Giano della Bella and Corso Donati—and the fact that this information comes from someone who was himself a participant in the events—make Compagni's chronicle an unsurpassed narrative source for the political life of Florence in the age of Dante.

See also Chronicles; Dante Alighieri; Donati Family; Florence; Guelfs; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Historiography; Villani, Giovanni

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Compiuta Donzella Di Firenze

The poet known as Compiuta Donzella di Firenze, or "accomplished young lady of Florence" (latter thirteenth century), is one of the first women known to have written poetry in Italian. Her identity and life remain unknown, however; Compiuta could be a real first name but is more probably a descriptive *senbal* (code name).

Three of Compiuta's sonnets survive, in one manuscript anthology. *A la stagion che 'l mondo foglia e flora* ("In the season when the world sends forth leaves and flowers") expresses anxiety about her father's choice of a husband for her, contrasting her misery with the joy of other lovers in the springtime. In *Lasciar voria lo mondo e Dio servire* ("I would like to leave the world to serve God"), she laments the general decline of noble behavior in the world and the increase of falsity and meanness, expresses her wish to enter a convent, and regrets her father's resistance. The vocabulary (*cortesia*, *villania*, *fin pregio*, *fin amanti*) reflects her familiarity with the Provencal verse much admired in her day. Like her contemporary La Nina Siciliana and her predecessors the *trobairitz*, whose works circulated in Italy, she participated in a *tenzone*—an exchange of sonnets—with an anonymous admirer, who says he would like to make her acquaintance. She responds to his interest with modest pleasure.

Master Torrigiano (perhaps the famous medical doctor, d. 1313) wrote two ambivalent sonnets about Compiuta, wondering whether to consider her unnatural, like a horse that can play a musical instrument, or miraculous, like a divine sybil. His second sonnet, perhaps an awkward apology for the first, claims that it is praiseworthy for her to have surpassed normal female nature. It is possibly also to her that Guittone d'Arezzo directed his fifth letter.

See also Guittone d Arezzo; Italian Poetry: Lyric

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Condottieri

Condottieri were chiefs of mercenary armies operating in Italy during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries in the wars among Italian states. There are several elements in their background. Bands of adventurous soldiers came from outside Italy when periods of truce or peace had momentarily stopped the wars being fought in Europe. Moreover, imperial, and after 1265 Angevin, armies had crossed Italy and left a number of deserters ready to undertake any profitable enterprise. The political situation in Italy, which was divided into a number of independent states, some as small as a county, fostered

antagonism and conflicts that often led to wars. In the thirteenth century, such wars were fought by armies composed mainly of citizens — militias—with a limited number of mercenary soldiers who were enlisted individually or in small groups. In the fourteenth century, mercenary companies appeared, with a formal organization and a chief called a *condottiere* because his services were regulated by a contract, or *condotta*. Many factors favored the development of these companies. During a time of great commercial and industrial development, service in a militia became inconvenient for business-minded citizens. Also, the use of new arms, such as the longbow and crossbow, required technical ability and extensive training of professional soldiers. Furthermore, the increase of wealth—a result of the spectacular development of the economy of Italian cities—allowed for significant and consistent military expenses.

The first companies mentioned in the chronicles (1285— 1305), consisting of hundreds of soldiers, were those of William della Torre and of Diego de Rat, both from Catalonia. The company of Cerruglio (named after the small town where it had its base) gathered more than 800 German knights who had deserted the army of Lewis of Bavaria and elected as its chief the Italian Marco Visconti. The Cerruglio company conquered the city of Lucca, which it sold to Genoa for a huge sum.

Between 1320 and 1360, about 700 chiefs of German knights operated in Italy; their companies comprised some 10,000 men. According to some scholars, the first real company worthy of the name was San Giorgio (Saint George), led by Lodrisio Visconti; it consisted of 2,500 knights and 1,000 infantrymen, most of them from Switzerland. San Giorgio had two officers who later became famous *condottieri*: Conrad of Landau and Werner of Urslice. Werner formed the first company named Grande ("great"), together with another captain, Montreal d'Albarno, known as Fra Moriale. The Grande company won a remarkable battle against the feudal army of Naples at Meleto and amassed the incredibly large sum of 500,000 florins in spoils and ransoms. After the death of Fra Moriale, who was taken in Naples by Cola di Rienzo in 1354, Landau took the leadership of the Grande company until his death in 1363. Landau died in the battle of the bridge of Canturino, where he was defeated by another mercenary army, the

White company, called "of the Englishmen," led by the German Albert Sterz. John Hawkwood was also in that company; he was elected its captain general the following year. The White company soon became well known, not only for its shining armor but also for its strict code of discipline (its soldiers exercised a certain degree of moderation in pillaging) and its military ability, which was based on an impressive mobility and a capacity to move at night and in winter, using the tactics of the English armies under Edward III. The White company, the La Stella company of Albert Sterz, and the San Giorgio company of Ambrogio Visconti were the three most powerful mercenary armies in Italy in the mid-fourteenth century. When a company of Britons came to Italy under Bertrand de la Salle, they found a new company of Saint George led by an Italian *condottiere*, Alberico da Barbiano, who defeated them in 1379 in the battle of Marino.

At the end of the fourteenth century, a change took place in the relationship between the lords and states of Italy and the mercenary companies, and a new tendency developed: the most famous *condottieri* remained in permanent or semipermanent service. This was the case with Hawkwood, who served the republic of Florence; Jacopo Dal Verme and Alberico da Barbiano, who served Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the ruler of Milan; and Bartolomeo Colleoni and Gattamelata (Erasmus da Narni), who served the republic of Venice.

In the fifteenth century, most of the companies had Italian leaders. The most famous *condottieri* of that time were Andrea D'Oddo, Braccio da Montone, and Muzio Attendolo Sforza. They constituted a new generation of mercenary captains who combined military prowess with political ability and were ambitious to assume the leadership of existing states. The son of Muzio Attendolo, Francesco, became the duke of Milan, and Braccio ruled in Perugia.

Other *condottieri*, different from these, were prince-soldiers. They were rulers of small principalities, from which they drew their followers, and they fought other political entities for money and prestige. Examples include Carlo Malatesta of Rimini, his brother Pandolfo Malatesta of Fano, Facino Cane of Piedmont, and Ottobuono Terzi of Parma. Moreover, some Italian *condottieri* operated in foreign countries; for example, the Florentine Filippo Scolari became famous, under the name Pippo Spano, in Hungary.

In the sixteenth century, mercenary companies became less important, although the great armies of the French kings and the emperors were still composed of mercenary soldiers under contract—Italians, Swiss, Germans, and others.

Mercenary companies were in many respects peculiar to the history of Italy, even though they had been initiated by foreigners. They were an object of considerable criticism. Contemporary chroniclers and historians considered them an unfortunate result of the cynicism of their leaders, who were always ready to change patrons; these chroniclers also commented on the rapacious and disorderly behavior of the soldiers—who were sometimes more inclined to sacking and destruction than to fighting battles. Moreover, since the companies were composed primarily of knights, they contributed to the prolongation of military tactics based on cavalry charges, which were already at the point of becoming obsolete. On the other hand, some observers noted that certain companies, at least, contributed to a diffusion of new methods of warfare: such companies included the Englishmen, with their longbows; the dismounted knights; and the mounted archers. It should also be noted that, given their international composition, the mercenary companies probably contributed to habits of exchange that made the culture of the Renaissance truly European.

See also **Hawkwood, Sir John**

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Confraternities

The first known Italian confraternities were founded in the early thirteenth century, although it is likely that some forms of confraternal life existed from the tenth century on as part of hospitals and hospices for pilgrims, among congregations, and in schools. Confraternities were formed voluntarily and spontaneously by groups of laypersons for mutual aid and devotional purposes, and they were one response to the anxiety generated when the spiritual life seemed to be challenged by a sudden rise, in the eleventh century, of an urban commercial culture; they also represented a response to more immediate political, economic, and social problems that necessitated mutual aid. Yet urbanization and commercialization cannot provide a thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the rise of confraternities, since even small towns had very active forms of confraternal life.

Although lay religious devotion was at the center of most of these organizations, their purposes and their social composition were often mixed. The earliest known confraternities—such as the Bigallo in Florence, which claimed to have been founded by Saint Peter Martyr—focused on the prevention and elimination of heresy through structured programs of religious devotion. At the heart of the confraternal impulse was penance: specifically, the satisfaction of penance through religious devotion and charitable works. Both devotion and works, however, were collective rather than individual; and confraternities, like most other corporate bodies in the Middle Ages, used the model of Active kinship to describe their members' relationship to one another. Although confraternities consisting entirely of men were the most common, there were also confraternities of women and of children. The children's confraternities, at least, were guided by one or more men.

Another important purpose of confraternities was to provide a network of social support for their members, beyond the guild and the family. Their activities and their charity were often limited to their own members. Confraternities attempted to preserve spiritual purity by requiring an aspiring member to be sponsored by a current member, undergo a waiting period, and even perform a specific penance or restitution for past sins.

Whereas the members of a guild were united by their occupation and families were united by lineage and alliances, confraternities were united by quite disparate religious purposes. *Laudesi* confraternities, for instance, were organized chiefly for public and private singing of lauds and performances of other divine offices. Quite often the *laudesi* companies were made up entirely of boys and became part of celebrations of official feast days. Companies of discipline, or flagellant confraternities, incorporated whipping as part of the penance imposed on their members, often followed by various charitable activities, such as distributing grain and alms to the poor or caring for the infirm and sick in hospitals. Certain confraternities specialized in accompanying condemned prisoners to execution and providing spiritual comfort to them by holding a devotional image before their eyes as they walked to the gallows.

Laudesi companies, which also performed charitable functions, are of special interest to historians of the performing arts. Many *laudesi* companies organized schools to teach singing as well as Christian doctrine. But singing was only one element of the festive life of *laudesi* confraternities, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Members of the *laudesi* confraternities carried devotional images, either painted or sculptured in wax, during processions; and the *laudesi* confraternities that specialized in spectacular dramatic performances often used mechanical devices and ingenious props for entertainment and edification. Confraternities hired musicians to play instruments as well, and very often all these elements were combined in spectacular religious plays and other dramatic performances. In the early modern period, confraternities led to the development of such advanced musical forms as the opera and the oratorio.

The wax devotional images mentioned above were significant. The proliferation of these images, at least in Florence, was a reliable

indicator of the popularity of a cult. The *laudesi* company of Or San Michele oversaw the manufacture and use of an enormous number of wax images, which were placed before a miracle-working Madonna there. In the fifteenth century, when popular devotion to the Annunciation increased, more than 600 images crowded the church of the Annunciation.

The sermons prepared for confraternities were as edifying as their dramatic performances. Most youth confraternities included training in rhetoric and "practice" sermons, both in Latin and in Italian, as part of the services provided for their members; more generally, adult and youth confraternities often sponsored public appearances by well-known itinerant preachers.

Disciplinary confraternities also encouraged their members to listen to sermons. However, the flagellant confraternities tended less toward the celebratory and more toward the penitential as a spiritual path. Such confraternities encouraged participation in religious rituals that focused not so much on the lives and miracles of individual saints as on the liturgical calendar, particularly during the period of Christ's passion and resurrection: Lent, Holy Week, and Easter. Devotional exercises encouraged members to meditate on these critical events in the life of the Christ; and in order to support such meditation the confraternities commissioned a great number of fresco cycles and other kinds of visual cues. One aspect of this meditative devotion was an elaborate visual language, which was crucial to the development of the visual arts in the late Middle Ages and would eventually provide the basis and techniques of Catholic reform in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola.

Indeed, quite apart from the benefits that confraternities conferred on their members, they provided a context for the hope of individual and collective salvation. Confraternities were the most obvious way of extending the benefits of the divine economy of salvation from the cloister to the street. One disciplinary confraternity in Florence, the Company of the Night, in imitation of the monastic schedule, woke its members to come to devotions in the very early hours of the morning. When scholars describe the piety of the late Middle Ages as more "individualized," they do their period of study a disservice, for it was precisely associations of laypersons, associations modeled on monastic

discipline, which held religious life together in the absence of strong ecclesiastical leadership and which would provide the structures that ecclesiastical leadership later utilized for reform and renewal.

The social composition of confraternities was an important factor in the way medieval Italians articulated religious impulses. The members of a confraternity might have been brought together simply by devotion to a particular cult, a particular saint, or even a particular image, and thus medieval confraternities were characterized by a remarkable social fluidity. In cities such as Venice, for example, the *scuole grandi* deliberately placed their rich and poor members in proximity so that the former could help the latter. In Florence, patricians and artisans performed their charitable work close to one another. In some confraternities, the members remained anonymous, primarily to conceal the identity of donors of charity but also to mask social differences. The members of the archconfraternity of the Misericordia in Florence, for instance, wore black robes and hoods. Some confraternities—such as those that helped the *poveri vergognosi*, the "shamefaced poor"—protected the anonymity of recipients of charity as well. The confraternities assisting the *poveri vergo-gnosi* reached out to those who were ashamed of their poverty for whatever reason, and that category could include nobles in reduced economic circumstances.

All these activities for the living were important both to members of the confraternity and to the larger public, for whom they became models of piety. However, much confraternal devotion centered on death and the memorialization of the dead. Members of a confraternity, like members of a modern burial society, could expect that their brothers would make the arrangements for an appropriate funeral and if necessary underwrite the expenses. Women from the families of the deceased mourned by singing lamentations, and as late as the twelfth century, they engaged in such public forms of mourning as tearing their hair and scratching their faces. By the thirteenth century, such behavior constituted a threat to public order in a highly factionalized society and became the object of much sumptuary legislation. Confraternities, however, were exempt from sumptuary legislation limiting funeral pomp. Lay confraternity members in good standing could be buried in religious habits; they could also attract very large crowd of mourners, especially in such cities as Venice, where an individual might belong to

more than one confraternity.

The increasing acceptance of the doctrine of Purgatory in the thirteenth century was an impetus for other kinds of commemoration of the dead. Prayer for the remission of sins in Purgatory was a monastic practice, and members of confraternities left bequests in their wills to pay for masses and other prayers to be said for their souls. Commemorative masses included specific offices for the dead and special sermons emphasizing the uncertainty and brevity of life. Further ceremonies, repeated once or twice a week, kept the memory of the deceased alive within the confraternity. All Saints' Day and certain other commemorative occasions also included feasting. Although feasting was traditionally an important part of confraternal life—perhaps as a survival of pre-Christian fraternal banqueting—the lavishness of confraternal banquets often prompted criticism of how confraternal officers spent resources.

Such concern regarding how finances were used became acute in the mid-fourteenth century, when the black death was already causing confraternities to focus more on charity and the commemoration of the dead. A succession of plagues throughout the century reduced the urban population of Italy by as much as one-half to two-thirds; and legacies to confraternities increased dramatically, partly as a result of this higher mortality but also in the hope that charity would placate the wrath of God. At the same time, though, there were fewer poor people to receive charity, since the plague killed the poor even more than the wealthy: the poor were less able to flee a plague-stricken city and also were malnourished and therefore less resistant to infection.

All this had mixed effects on confraternities. Certainly, the considerable misuse of funds for real estate speculation and building focused more communal scrutiny on the confraternities' activities and finances. At various times in the fifteenth century, some confraternities had to be licensed by municipal governments. But the large number of donations to confraternities involved them even more in patronage of the arts and in spectacular communal celebrations. Moreover, as municipal governments became increasingly involved in large charitable and architectural projects, Italian urban society and politics came to combine the secular and the sacred to a greater degree than had been the case earlier in the Middle Ages.

The importance of medieval confraternities in shaping the early modern world went far beyond establishing collective patterns of lay devotion. With regard to culture, they were a setting in which polyphonic music, drama, and theater were developed and practiced. They also provided a setting, and often funding, for major and sometimes innovative developments in the visual arts. Techniques of visualization that sustained individual religiosity were learned in confraternal settings. Members of some confraternities sharpened their rhetorical and philological skills in the confraternal oratory or parish cellar. By fostering an interpenetration of the sacred and the secular, and by providing future religious reformers with structures that balanced individual piety and collective ritual, confraternities assisted the spread of monastic discipline from the cloister to society at large. But ultimately, the importance of the confraternity must be measured by what it accomplished in the eyes of the individual members. It provided a ritual setting and a ritual community that stood in stark contrast to a society often perceived as divided and factionalized. Members of confraternities assisted each other, above all, in preparing for death and in preparing the soul for its ascent through Purgatory toward its true, final home.

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Conrad II

Conrad II (c. 990-1038 or 1039) was the founder of the Salian, or Franconian, dynasty in Germany and Holy Roman emperor (r. 1024-1039). Henry II, the previous emperor, had died without an heir, and Conrad could claim a tenuous link with the Saxon dynasty through his mother. Conrad traveled to Italy only twice during his reign, but did consider Italy an important part of the empire.

Conrad undertook his first journey to Italy, in 1026-1027, because revolts had erupted after Henry's death and he wanted to restore order; he also wanted to be crowned there. He arrived in the spring of 1026 and was greeted by the high clergymen of Lombardy who had remained loyal during the rebellion. Conrad was crowned king of Italy in Milan and then quelled armed disturbances at Pavia and Ravenna. He was next crowned as Holy Roman emperor on Easter Day of 1027, in Rome.

His second and last expedition to Italy took place in 1036-1038. Violence had broken out in Milan between the lesser knights (the *valvassors*) and the great lords (the *capitanei*), who were supported by Archbishop Aribert of Milan. Both sides appealed to Conrad to adjudicate this dispute, so in December 1026 he set out for Milan. A synod in Pavia was to settle the matter, but Aribert rejected Conrad's imperial prerogative to judge the archbishop. Milan, led by Aribert, was in revolt by May 1037, and Conrad never did subdue either the rebellious archbishop or the city, even though he had the help of Pope Benedict IX. Conrad did, however, regulate the relationship between the *valvassors* and the *capitanei* in the *constitutio de feudis* (28 May

1037), under which the *valvassors* were to be secure from arbitrary seizure of their lands, their fiefs were to be inheritable, and they were allowed to appeal to the emperor's representative in disputed cases. In 1038, Conrad addressed some of the affairs of southern Italy before returning to Germany, where he died.

See also **Aribert; Henry II, Saint and Emperor; Holy Roman Empire; Milan**

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Conrad IV

Conrad IV (1228-1254, r. 1250-1254) was the last of the Hohenstaufen emperors. He succeeded his father, Frederick II, in December 1250. In

1237, in Vienna, Conrad had been elected king of the Romans by the German princes; since then, he had been Frederick's representative in Germany. After the deposition of Frederick II in 1245 at the Council of Lyon, Conrad fought two successive anti-kings in Germany: Henry Raspe (d. 1247) and William of Holland (d. 1256), who had the pope's support. This struggle was desultory and gradually became a stalemate.

When news of Frederick's death reached Germany, Conrad resolved to go to his newly inherited kingdom of Sicily—the Regno—where the Hohenstaufen held a stronger position than in Germany. Conrad settled his German affairs at a diet held at Augsburg in June 1251 and set out for Italy in October 1251. On his arrival, he was greeted by his primary supporters in northern Italy, Ezzelino da Romano, Uberto Pallavicini, and Manfred Lancia. Another diet was held at Goito, this time to arrange Lombard affairs; it was attended by delegates from a number of northern Italian cities.

Conrad next sailed down the Adriatic coast and landed in the Regno at Siponto on 8 January 1252. There he was greeted by his half-brother and regent in Sicily, Manfred; and still another diet was held—this one in Foggia, to settle Sicilian affairs. Before Conrad's arrival, there had been two major events in the Regno in 1251. First, revolts had begun against Hohenstaufen rule, although they were for the most part suppressed by Manfred. Second, Manfred had entered into negotiations with Pope Innocent IV, with the possible goal of having Manfred himself replace Conrad as king of Sicily; nothing came of this, however, because Manfred did not like the pope's stipulations. At Foggia, Manfred submitted to Conrad and was punished. The diet at Foggia also decided to open negotiations with Innocent IV so that Conrad would be recognized as emperor, and to finish putting down the Sicilian rebellions. Conrad's negotiations with the papacy in the summer of 1252 were a dismal failure: Innocent refused absolutely to consider a Hohenstaufen as emperor and king of Sicily at the same time. On the other hand, the revolts in the Regno were quelled, and by the end of 1252 only Naples still held out. During 1253, Conrad was occupied with invading Naples, which finally fell on 10 October after a siege of several months; the Regno was, therefore, pacified at last.

Once again Conrad opened discussions with the papacy. These lasted from October to February 1254, but, as before, no agreement could be

reached with Innocent, who would still not recognize Conrad as the legitimate emperor. Moreover, the pope directed against Conrad charges that were reminiscent of those made against Frederick II. Although Conrad denied these charges, they resulted in his excommunication in April 1254. Conrad then prepared to intervene in Lombardy with the Sicilian army and renew the conflict between the papacy and the empire there. However, while the army was gathering, Conrad died after an illness on 21 May, at Lavello.

See also Ezzelino III da Romano; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire; Innocent IV, Pope; Manfred

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Conradin

Conradin (1251 or 1252—1268) was, properly, Conrad, but he was called by the diminutive from the time when, at age two, he succeeded his father, Conrad IV, son and heir of Emperor Frederick II, as titular duke of Swabia, king of Jerusalem, and king of Sicily. He is sometimes known as Conrad V.

Conradin acquired the duchy on the death of William of Holland, king of the Romans, in 1264, and the government of Jerusalem was carried on in his name until his death. However, he never made good his claim to Sicily, where Frederick II's bastard son, Manfred, ruled, first in Conradin's name and, from 1258 on, as king. When Manfred was killed at Benevento in 1266, and Charles of Anjou seized the Regno, Conradin put forward his own claim. Soon afterward, Sicily was seized by two of his allies: Federico Capece and Prince Frederick of Castile (who was annoyed because Charles of Anjou had failed to repay a loan he had made toward the cost of the Angevin invasion). Conradin, underestimating the strength of Charles's position on the mainland, organized an expedition, backed principally by his uncle Lewis (Louis, Ludwig) of Bavaria, to take his southern inheritance. Pope Clement IV excommunicated Conradin but did not organize an adequate resistance: a Gueif army in Tuscany failed to stop him. In July 1268, Conradin reached Rome, which Clement had abandoned for Viterbo. In Rome, Henry, the brother of Frederick of Castile, had become senator following a popular insurrection directed largely against Charles of Anjou, who had resigned from the senate in 1266 under pressure from the papacy. Henry, after some indecision, became active on Conradin's behalf in 1267. He and Rome now welcomed the boy with wild

rejoicing. A month later Henry and Conradin marched south to the borders of the Regno, where they encountered the troops of Charles of Anjou near Tagliacozzo and were soundly defeated. Conradin fled to Rome, but Henry's deputy, Guido of Montefeltro, barred the city against him. He therefore headed for Terracina, hoping to escape by sea, but he was captured and handed over to Charles of Anjou in Naples. After a trial, in which he was found guilty of having tried to seize the Regno from Charles, the rightfully constituted king and vassal of the pope, Conradin was executed in October 1268.

The execution of the last legitimate Hohenstaufen shocked Europe: executing a sixteen-year-old was not unprecedented, but it was regarded as peculiarly merciless; and executing a reigning monarch (Conradin's position as king of Jerusalem had not been in doubt) and eminent prince was considered outrageous, even by Charles's allies. Nevertheless, Conradin's death removed the last threat to Charles from Germany and made him much more secure. It also removed one potential source of trouble in Germany, where Conradin would inevitably have become involved in the struggle for the kingship of the Romans.

See also Charles I of Anjou; Clement IV, Pope; Conrad IV; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Guido da Montefeltro; Hohens-taufen Dynasty; Manfred; Tagliacozzo, Battle of

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Constance

Constance of Sicily (1154-1198) was the posthumous daughter of Roger

II Hauteville and his third wife, Beatrice of Rethel. She was probably born in Palermo, where she died.

Constance lived in obscurity until her betrothal to Henry VI, the son of Frederick I Barbarossa, on 29 October 1184. Their marriage in Milan on 27 January 1186 signaled a diplomatic realignment in Italy. The peace of Venice of 1177 had ended the conflict between the emperor and his Italian enemies: the papacy, Venice, the Lombard League, and the kingdom of Sicily. Under the conditions of the marriage, Frederick was required to relinquish the long-standing imperial claim to southern Italy, but he wanted to detach Sicily from the alliance that had led to his defeat in northern Italy. For his part, William II of Sicily sought to neutralize the Hohenstaufen threat so that he could freely attack the Byzantine empire. Neither Frederick nor William anticipated that Constance would succeed to the Sicilian throne, although at the curia of Troia in 1185 the Norman barons agreed to accept her as queen if William died without an heir.

When he departed on a crusade in 1187, Frederick Barbarossa named Henry imperial regent; but after William II died on 18 November 1189, Henry directed his attention to Sicily. A faction of Norman barons elected Tancred of Lecce, the illegitimate grandson of Roger II, as king and crowned him on 18 January 1190. Meanwhile, Frederick had died on his crusade, in 1189. Pope Celestine III crowned Henry VI emperor on 15 April 1191. Henry attacked Naples in May 1191, but disease drove the imperial forces out by August. At that time Constance was captured and sent to Tancred. Celestine negotiated her release, but pro-imperial forces rescued her and sent her to Germany before she could be delivered to the pope. Henry financed his return to southern Italy in 1194 with the ransom that he had extracted from the English king, Richard Lionheart, but effective opposition to the emperor collapsed with the death of Tancred on 20 February 1194. Henry quickly disposed of Tancred's nephew and successor, the child king William III, and was himself crowned king of Sicily in Palermo on 25 December 1194.

Constance, who was then forty years old, gave birth to a son at Jesi on 26 December 1194. She named him Constantine, but he was subsequently renamed Frederick Roger. A rumor later circulated that Frederick was not Constance's son, and a legend arose—which was unfounded—that she gave birth publicly to dispel such doubts.

Constance left the infant Frederick in Fo-ligno, where he lived until age three.

Henry ruled Sicily with a heavy hand. At the curia of Bari in 1195, he clarified the nature of the union between the empire and the kingdom, thereby reducing the tension between the Norman barons and his German followers. Constance was crowned queen at Bari. Henry returned to Germany in 1195. Constance ruled the Sicilian kingdom day to day and issued diplomas in her own name. In Germany, Henry pursued a scheme to make the imperial title hereditary. He failed in this, but he did manage to have Frederick elected king of the Romans in December 1196. In 1197, Henry returned to Sicily. Constance spent Easter with him in Palermo, where he renewed a far reaching revocation of privileges. A revolt against Henry ensued, but the emperor crushed it by July. Some German sources suggest that Constance played a role in the conspiracy against Henry, but he apparently did not act on reports of her complicity. Henry and Constance continued to live together and to issue diplomas jointly.

Henry died in Messina on 28 September 1197. Constance quickly secured the kingdom. She hastened to Palermo, where she deposed the chancellor and recovered the royal seals; she recalled Frederick from Foligno; and she expelled from the kingdom the German barons who had been most closely associated with Henry. Constance negotiated an accord with the Roman curia for the coronation of Frederick and the burial of Henry, who had been excommunicate when he died. To obtain the cooperation of Pope Innocent III, she conceded Frederick's imperial title. Henry's funeral took place in Palermo in early May 1198, and Frederick was crowned on 17 May. Constance continued to use her imperial title but issued diplomas jointly with Frederick after his coronation.

Constance was an active ruler, and her position was secure, but she negotiated with Innocent to define the feudal status of the kingdom and later to obtain papal protection for Frederick after her death. Innocent forced her to relinquish traditional royal rights over church councils, legates, appeals, and elections. She retained only the right to approve a bishop-elect before he could occupy his see. The pope sent a cardinal to receive her homage and confer vassalage, but she died before he arrived. Frederick does not seem to have felt bound by her concessions

to the papacy until he renewed them in 1212.

On 25 November 1198, Constance wrote her last testament. She commended Frederick to the protection of the pope as regent and guardian and directed her subjects to swear fidelity to the pope. She died on 27 or 28 November and was buried in the cathedral of Palermo, next to Henry VI, on 29 November. The papal regency notwithstanding, her death initiated a period of violence and chaos in the kingdom of Sicily that persisted until Frederick reached his majority in 1208.

The legend that Constance had once been a nun developed in the thirteenth century and was used by papal polemicists in anti-Hohenstaufen propaganda. Constance was said to have been raised in monastic solitude and to have taken religious vows, only to be torn from the contemplative life to marry Henry. Dante immortalized her legend in *Paradiso* (3.113). Later, several religious communities claimed her, some as abbess. By the fifteenth century, San Salvatore in Palermo seems to have won the competition to claim Constance as a member.

See also Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Innocent III, Pope; Lombard Leagues; Roger II; Tancred of Lecce and Roger III, Kings of Sicily; William II

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Constance of Aragon and Sicily

Constance (1247-1302) was the daughter of Manfred of Ho-henstaufen, the illegitimate son of Frederick II. Her mother was Beatrice, daughter of Amadeo IV of Savoy.

By 1258, Manfred had acquired control of southern Italy and Sicily despite the papacy, which was fiercely opposed to the sons of Frederick II. On 23 June 1262, Constance married Peter, who was heir to Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia and was persistently determined to recover royal rights. After the invasion of Sicily by Charles I of Anjou (1266), Peter's court became the focus of opposition to the Angevins; and Constance is said to have maintained Sicilian customs—including recipes for dove— at court. After the revolt of the Sicilian Vespers in March 1282, Peter claimed Sicily in right of Constance. During Peter's absence in Spain from 1283 to his death in 1285, she governed Sicily, remaining there during the reign of his son James I of Sicily (the future James II of Aragon). After James inherited the Spanish lands of the crown of Aragon and tried to hand Sicily back to the Angevins, she attempted to make peace between James and his younger brother Frederick, who was elected king of Sicily in 1296. Clearly, she had no enthusiasm for the idea that her own Sicilian inheritance might be given back to the house of Anjou. In early 1296, she faced the threat of excommunication by Pope Boniface VIII (with whom she eventually made her peace in person), but she was personally very devout. She had already founded a house of Poor Clares at Huesca in Aragon in February 1268; the Clares were favorites of her mother-in-law, the Hungarian princess Queen Violante of Aragon. In her later years, Constance dressed as a Clarissa; and she retired to take up a religious life in Barcelona, where she died. Dante described her as "the good Constance" (*la. buona Costanza, Purgatorio*, 3.143). Her belief in the justice of her cause undoubtedly helped fuel Peter III's enthusiasm for the Sicilian war, in the face of considerable opposition at home in Spain.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Sicily

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Constance, Peace of

After his defeat at Legnano by troops of the Lombard League (1176), Frederick I Barbarossa established a six-year armistice through the peace of Venice. During this period he created a new relationship with his Lombard territories, replacing an aggressive imperial stance with looser mutual obligations of feudal suzerainty. This would be formalized in the peace of Constance. In March 1183, Frederick sent four envoys to negotiate with communal deputies who had assembled in Piacenza. Discussions lasted until June, and the peace was published in Constance on 25 June 1183.

The peace of Constance was essentially a compromise that gave great latitude to the communes while retaining the lordship of the Holy Roman emperor over northern Italy. Vassals and subject citizens were to swear an oath of allegiance and vow to support the emperor, offering the traditional services to sustain him when he traveled through their territories (*mansionaticum, foderum, parata, spedizione*); in return, he vowed to travel through quickly. Frederick recognized the Lombard League and allowed its members to repair and augment fortifications and to retain certain regalian rights (over pastures, meadows, mills, bridges, and waterways). The communes also retained civil and criminal jurisdiction, with appellate jurisdiction in imperial hands. The emperor would invest, if not appoint, consuls, who would then take oaths of fealty. Frederick also formally pardoned the Lombard League, its allies, Ezzelino da Romano, and the marquis Obizzo Malaspina for past disloyalty.

Frederick achieved peace and stability; and the seventeen signatory communes treated this peace as a Magna Carta that formally

established their liberties. It became part of the constitution of the Lombard League and headed many communal cartularies of rights and privileges. It signaled a flowering of communal pride and territorial aggressiveness.

See also **Frederick I Barbarossa; Legnano, Battle of; Lombard Leagues**

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Constans II

Constans II (630-668; emperor of Byzantium, 641) was the second major emperor of the Herakleian dynasty. He succeeded as a child, under overbearing tutelage and amid recurrent revolts and dangers, as the Lombards pressed the empire's Italian territories, the Slavs penetrated the Balkan peninsula, and, above all, the Arab conquests expanded into maritime aggression aimed eventually at Constantinople itself. By the end of his teenage years, Constans asserted himself and faced these threats with energy and dedication, confronting the massive Arab fleet in the "battle of the masts" (655) and making the first efforts to drive back the Slavs in Europe.

However, Constans's harsh, autocratic personality made him increasingly unpopular. Also, alarmed by rebellion in North Africa and dissidence in Italy, Constans became impatient with the theological controversies that were raging in his day. In 648, he issued his *Typos*, forbidding further doctrinal debate. Those who persisted were harshly punished—notably Pope Martin I, who in 653 was arrested in Rome, brought to Constantinople, tried, condemned, and sent to die in brutal exile.

Popular indignation over the murder of his (probably treacherous) younger brother, Theodosius, in 660 is said to have impelled Constans to leave his capital, never to return. But Constans apparently decided, in a period when the Arab menace had relaxed, to direct his attention to the empire's precarious territories in the west. After a progress through Greek lands, Constans crossed to Italy. He was the first emperor of Constantinople to visit Rome since Theodosius I, and he marked his brief stay (in 663) by stripping the copper roofing off buildings such as the Pantheon in order to make coins to pay his troops. At first, he was successful against the Lombards, but he eventually met reverses and failed to end their threat to Italy. His oppressive fiscal impositions, like his personality, made him deeply unpopular. Apparently intending to consolidate the region against dangers from the Lombards and Arabs by introducing the new organizational system of the *themes*, Constans set up residence in Syracuse, Sicily. Whatever his intentions, they were cut short by his assassination (at age thirty-

eight) on 15 July 668 by a cabal of disgruntled retainers and military dissidents.

See also Lombards; Martin I, Pope

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Constantina

Constantia (d. 354) was the daughter of Emperor Constantine I. When Constantine died in 337, he was survived not only by his three sons—Constantine II, Constantius, and Constans— but by two daughters, Constantina and Helena. Any study of Constantina is difficult because history and memory have preserved two strikingly different accounts: a historical account and a legendary account survive, and the latter had more influence in Italy and the medieval west than the former.

The historical Constantina followed the path expected of an emperor's daughter. During his reign, Constantine had arranged through political negotiations for Constantina to marry his general Hannibalianus, thus raising the general's hopes of someday ascending to the purple. Constantine encouraged these hopes, but no doubt more

to control a possible rival than to seek a worthy successor, since he had sons of his own. Nevertheless, the marriage to Constantina brought Hannibalianus a good deal of advantage. Constantine gave him the title "king of kings" and sent him to rule in Pontus (between Armenia and the Black Sea) with Constantina as his queen.

After Constantine's death, his son Constantius II had Hannibalianus killed and arranged another politically expedient marriage for Constantina, this time to her cousin Gallus. For a while, this marriage gave Gallus upward mobility. Constantius made him *caesar* in 351, and Gallus and Constantina both participated actively in the upheavals that went on for years after Constantine's death. Constantina seems to have been equal to her brothers' bloody politics. The historian Ammianus Marcellinus—whose hyperbole, however, makes it necessary to read him cautiously—described her as "a Megaera in mortal guise, . . . being as insatiable as [Gallus] in her thirst for human blood." Ammianus recounts (in book 14.1) that she worked closely with her husband in the conspiracies that led to Gallus's murder in 353. Constantina herself died a year later, and her body was buried in Rome.

In sharp contrast, the legendary Constantina is portrayed as a Christian exemplar bearing no resemblance to the historical figure. In legend, Constantina was cured of leprosy at the tomb of Saint Agnes in Rome and, out of gratitude, took a vow of Christian chastity. The legend then tells how she resisted an arranged marriage, converted her fiancé, and left her wealth to her servants John and Paul to use for Christian purposes. The legend of Constantina was preserved in a *Vita* that combines a life of Constantina with a life of Gallicanus (her betrothed) and of John and Paul (her servants).

The legend of Constantina persisted at least partly because its written version was so popular. The *Vita* spread through western Europe and, in addition, was circulated during the seventh century by the Anglo-Saxon Aldhelm. Aldhelm included material on the legend of Constantina in his *Carmina de virginitate* (*Songs of Virginity*), a text that remained popular until the twelfth century.

In Italy, the continuation of the legend was ensured by the association of the legendary Constantina with the fourth-century tomb of Santa Costanza, near the basilica of Saint Agnes, the site of Constantina's reputed miraculous cure. Constantine probably built

Santa Costanza for his pious sister, Constantia, not for his politically-minded daughter; and the piety that led to the building of the tomb of Santa Costanza was also probably Constantia's—but the reputation for piety devolved to Constantina. The legendary virgin daughter of Constantine has left a greater historical mark than the historical wife of two pretenders to the throne,

See also Constantine the Great

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Constantine the Great

Constantine I the Great (c. 285-337) was born to the Roman co-emperor Constantius Chlorus and his wife, Helena. Constantine inherited his father's power on the latter's death in 306 and, through a series of alliances and military conflicts, eventually gained supreme authority over a united Roman empire. In 312, Constantine defeated Maxentius, his rival and brother-in-law, at the Milvian Bridge just outside Rome, to become the senior ruler of the west; in 324, Constantine defeated Licinius at Chrysopolis to become the sole emperor of both east and west. He then rebuilt the eastern capital, Byzantium, which was renamed Constantinople in 330, and established the central seat of the Roman empire there. When Constantine died, he was buried at Constantinople in the Church of the Twelve Apostles. In the east he has been known as the thirteenth apostle; and as a saint he is recognized by a feast day, 21 May. Constantine's life was celebrated by Lactantius, by Eusebius of Caesarea's panegyric *Life of Constantine*, and by the city bearing his name, which remained the capital of the eastern Roman empire until 1453.



Constantine the Great. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 129r.

As emperor, Constantine implemented several administrative and military reforms begun by his predecessor Diocletian. He reorganized the army and separated the civil and military branches of the government. He reinstated the senate as the governing class, and he issued new gold coins which became the standard unit of international exchange for seven centuries. Perhaps most important, his rule proved crucial to the development of the Christian church. Like his father and the earlier third-century emperors, Constantine had worshiped pagan gods, especially the Roman sun god, Sol. Despite his pagan upbringing, however, his early reign had been marked by religious toleration. At the time of his victory over Maxentius in 312, Constantine's faith took a consequential turn, and the emperor appeared to make a strong commitment to Christianity. According to divergent accounts of the event, on the eve of the battle Constantine saw, in a dream or a vision, an image of the cross and the words "with this sign you will conquer" (*in hoc signo vinces*). Apparently, he then had the cross or, alternatively,

the first two letters of Christ's name inscribed on his soldiers' shields for the decisive conflict; and when he won, he attributed his victory to God's intervention. In subsequent military campaigns he used the sign of the cross as a battle standard. While the details of this episode vary from source to source, it does appear that Constantine believed he had entered a contractual relationship with God at the Milvian Bridge, and this belief was reflected in his imperial policies toward Christianity.



Arch of Constantine, Rome. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

In 313, with the cooperation of Licinius, who was then the eastern emperor, Constantine issued the Edict of Milan, allowing for freedom of worship and the restitution of confiscated property to the church. Throughout his reign, Constantine continued to strengthen the position of the church through legislation; for example, he established Sunday as a public holiday and partially exempted the clergy from taxes. The emperor's support of the church also extended to building projects; Constantine built and endowed Christian churches in the Holy Land (where his mother, a believer who is associated in legend with the rediscovery of the True Cross, often visited), Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome.

The dissension that fractured the church at this time necessarily engaged the emperor as well; Constantine was personally involved in addressing the Donatist and Arian heresies. He summoned two synods

to consider the Donatist heresy before finally hearing the case himself in 316. When he judged the case adversely, the Donatists rejected the imperial decision; for five years thereafter they were repressed by force, until Constantine abandoned the issue. As for the Arian heresy, Constantine convened and presided over the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325, which ruled against the Arians, although Constantine's personal position on the controversy seemed to waver in the years that followed.

Constantine has been called the first Christian emperor, and by the end of his reign Christianity had indeed achieved a considerably stable position within the empire. However, he was not baptized until the end of his life; and apparently the rite was then administered by an Arian bishop, Eusebius of Nicomedia. Myths surround his baptism, though; and an imaginative account of the event circulated widely in the Middle Ages through the *Golden Legend* (*Legenda aurea*). According to this tradition, Constantine contracted leprosy as a divine punishment for persecuting Christians. He was told to bathe in the blood of 3,000 infants as a cure but felt such pity for the children that he set them free. That night, he received a vision of Saints Peter and Paul, who instructed him to heal his disease through baptism. The following morning, Constantine sent for Pope Sylvester, who had been hiding on Mount Soracte. The pope baptized him, and Constantine proclaimed that Christ was to be worshiped in Rome as the true God. The popularity of this legend is attested to by Dante's references to it in *Inferno* (27.94) and *Monarchy* (3.10), although in *Monarchy* Dante is careful to indicate that the story may not be historically accurate.

In some versions of the apocryphal tale of the baptism, Constantine put his newfound support of the Christian church into writing, in the form of the Donation of Constantine; in other versions, Constantine produced the Donation when he transferred his seat of power to Constantinople. In reality, the Donation is an eighth-century forgery of Frankish origin, called the *Constitutum Constantini*, which purports to pledge, in the name of Constantine, the temporal power of the west to the church. In the first 155 lines of the document, the *Confessio*, the fictional "Constantine" addresses Pope Sylvester and all subsequent popes and bishops, relating to his readers what Jesus Christ accomplished through the apostles Peter and Paul, by means of the

miracles of Pope Sylvester. The narrative makes use of early medieval legends surrounding Pope Sylvester, recontextualizing them within "Constantine's" confession of faith. The remainder of the work, the *Donatio*, purports to endow the Roman church with power over the western regions of the empire. The *Donatio* exalts the Roman church over all other churches; bestows the Lateran Palace on the papacy, promising to build a church there in honor of Christ the Savior; and grants the Roman clergy the right to bear imperial insignia and privileges. Most important, on relocating the seat of the imperial government to the east, "Constantine" confers on Pope Sylvester power over the city of Rome, the province of Italy, and all of the western empire.

The purpose behind this forgery is not entirely clear. While some of Constantine's policies did indeed benefit the Roman church financially, socially, and politically, there is no evidence that the emperor officially signed over the western region of the empire to the papacy. The Donation may, then, have been written with the purpose of reinforcing Rome's claims to the papal states, or it may simply have functioned as a literary fiction or hagiographical legend with no express political purpose other than to exalt the Lateran Church of the Savior. In any case, belief in the authenticity of the document was widespread in the Middle Ages. It was copied many times, and it was used to fortify the position of the papacy against the eastern church. In the late eleventh century the reformed papacy utilized the *Donatio* to achieve autonomy from the emperor and dominion over the papal states. Moreover, since the document was familiar to medieval canon lawyers, it was used extensively to uphold the temporal sovereignty of the papacy whenever that sovereignty was challenged.

Dante, too, accepted the Donation as genuine, although he may not have known the document directly. Despite his belief in the document, however, Dante questioned the juridical value of such a charter on the same basis that civil lawyers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries questioned it. Dante claims that Constantine did not have the authority to give away the privileges of the empire—as emperor, he could not effectively compromise his own position—and that the church was not authorized to accept them, since in Matthew 10:9 Christ himself forbade his followers to accept material goods (*Monarchy*, 3.10). In the

Commedia, Dante frequently deplores the Donation as the turning point in church history, the moment when spiritual issues were subordinated to political and financial concerns. According to Dante, Constantine's gift to the church, which he linked with Constantine's move to the east, made possible the material corruption that later characterized the papacy. Although Dante does not blame Constantine directly, placing him in paradise among the just rulers in the sphere of Jupiter, he maintains that whatever Constantine's intention, the Donation yielded only evil (*Paradiso*, 20.55-60 and 6.1-3; *Inferno*, 19.115-117 and 27.94; *Purgatorio*, 32.124-129; *Monarchy*, 1.16.3 and 2.11.8).

In 1440, Lorenzo Valla applied the tools of humanist philology to condemn the Donation as a forgery (Nicholas of Cusa had briefly done the same seven years earlier). Valla's scholarship allowed for the denunciation of papal claims and thus bolstered the arguments of Protestant reformers who wanted to promote the more spiritual aspects of the church's mission.

See also Councils, Ecclesiastical; Donation of Constantine

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Constantinus Africanus

Constancinus Africanus (d. 1087) was born in Tunis in North Africa. As a Saracen merchant, he brought medical texts in Arabic from North Africa to the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino in the mid-eleventh century. He then became a monk there and translated these texts into Latin for use by physicians in nearby Salerno. Constantinus's translations include the *Pan-tegni* of Ali ibn Abbas (d. 994), the *Viaticum* of Ibn al-Jazzar (d. 1004 or 1009), and the works of Isaac Israeli (d. 932). His translations of the writings of the ancient Greek physicians Hippocrates and Galen formed the basis for *Articella*, a collection of medical works that was one of the most popular of the Middle Ages. He died at Monte Cassino.

See also Avicenna; Medicine; Monte Cassino, Monastery

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Constitutions of Melfi

The Constitutions of Melfi, also known since the thirteenth century as *Liber Augustalis*, represent one of the earliest efforts at royal codification in medieval Europe. They are pivotal for an understanding of the reign of Frederick II, king of Sicily (1198-1250) and Holy Roman emperor (1220-1250), who promulgated this legislation at Melfi in Apulia in 1231 for the kingdom of Sicily. Drawing on legislation by Frederick's Norman predecessors as well as Lombard and Romano-Byzantine legislation, the constitutions reflect a revival of legal learning in the twelfth century. Frederick's earlier legislation (c. 1220) set the tone for the collection, which reveals a strong debt to both Roman and canon law. Given the heterogeneous historical background of southern Italy and Sicily, it is not surprising that the institutions show considerable diversity. However, they are less diverse than has been popularly believed. Thus there is little direct Arabic influence, despite the fact that Sicily was under Muslim rule until the late eleventh century. Nor are Byzantine influences as strong as might be expected. A Greek translation— actually more of a paraphrase—was made shortly after the laws were promulgated, but this was not done at the royal behest. The Constitutions of Melfi are chiefly a monument to the

development of western law.

Since earlier critical interpretations of Frederick and his reign emphasized almost exclusively his conflicts with the church and papacy, it was inevitable that the Constitutions of Melfi should have been viewed in that light. In fact, however, they were promulgated during a period of good relations between the emperor and Pope Gregory IX, following the resolution of a conflict raised by Frederick's leadership of a crusade while he was excommunicated and Gregory's invasion of the kingdom of Sicily in 1229. After the treaty of Ceprano in 1230, the emperor and the pope were endeavoring to work together to resolve outstanding issues. The constitutions, then, reflect this atmosphere of cooperation much more than the earlier tension.

There is some evidence from two letters written by Gregory on 5 July 1231, before the promulgation of the constitutions, that he was alarmed by a supposed threat in the legislation to the status of the church. He complained to both Frederick and Archbishop James of Capua. However, the final product was actually quite favorable to the position of the church, save for the inclusion of the assizes of Capua, originally issued in 1220, which were aimed against usurpations of rights of the royal domain. Since these assizes had aroused considerable controversy even as late as 1225, their inclusion may have caused complaints to Rome. But there is no specific evidence that this was the case, and the promulgation of the Constitutions of Melfi called forth no protest from Rome.

The compilation of *Liber Augustalis* was undertaken by a royal commission appointed in 1230. The membership of this commission is not known, though Gregory's letter makes a strong case that Archbishop James was a member, most likely representing clerical interests, as is suggested by that letter. An early and probably well-founded tradition has assigned a leading role to Petrus de Vineia, a legal scholar who studied at Bologna and who served as *logothete*, or chief spokesman and secretary, for Frederick until nearly the end of his reign, when Petrus was accused of treason and deposed.

A substantial portion of the laws are reissues of those of Roger II, William I, and William II. Frederick also repromulgated legislation he had first issued after his reentry into the kingdom in 1220, following his long sojourn in Germany and his coronation as emperor. In the

proemium to the Constitutions of Melfi, Frederick explained the need for this code in terms of the long period of turmoil that had troubled the kingdom during the reign of his parents and his own minority. Book 1 opens with legislation against heretics, a reaffirmation of the position he had taken at his imperial coronation. It also dwells heavily on issues of peace and justice and the royal administration. Book 2 is concerned with civil and criminal procedure. Book 3 asserts the rights of the crown over the royal domain. Like all medieval lords, lay and ecclesiastic, Frederick placed considerable emphasis on the defense of his rights; indeed, this concern provided grounds for his conflicts not merely with the nobility and churchmen of the kingdom of Sicily but also with the Lombard communes and the papacy. Much of the tone of the Constitutions of Melfi reflects Frederick's earlier legislation, which aimed at tightening loopholes and strengthening royal power, goals which lay at the heart of medieval administration in the thirteenth century.

There are numerous editions of the Constitutions of Melh. Cervonius (1773) remains of fundamental importance because of its editions of the legal commentaries of the Angevin period. The most recent edition (as of the present writing) is that prepared by Conrad and his colleagues (1973-1986). The Greek text was published, along with the surviving fragment of Frederick's register, as *Constitutiones regum regni utriusque Siciliae ...* (1786); it was reedited as the final volume in the Conrad edition. An English translation was prepared by Powell (1971). For the sources of the legislation, see Dilcher (1975).

See also Frederick II Hohenstauren; Pier de la Vigna; Roger II; William I; William II

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Conti Family

The Conts da Segni and its branches constituted one of the most powerful families in thirteenth-century Rome. Their name denotes their title: they were the *conti*—counts—of Segni, a small area south of Rome in the Volscian hills. They were descended from the Lombards.

By the mid-twelfth century, Count I rasimund was respected enough to marry into an eminent Roman family, the Scotti. His son, Giovanni Lotario, had an excellent education and became Pope Innocent III (1198-1216). Two of Innocent's relatives also became popes during the thirteenth century: Ugo, who was Innocent's nephew, became Gregory IX (1227-1241); and Riccardo, Gregory's nephew, became Alexander IV (1254-1261). Innocent's brother Riccardo (d. 1225) took additional titles—lord of Poli and Guadagnolo in 1204, and lord of Valmontone and Count of Sora in 1208. Riccardo's son, Stefano (d. 1254), became a cardinal (1216) and vicar of Rome. Riccardo's inheritance was divided by his other two sons, Paolo (a proconsul of Rome in 1238) and Giovanni (d. 1261, a Roman senator). Paolo gained the title to Valmontone, and Giovanni the lordship of Poli and control of the Torre dei Conti in Rome, which had been built by his father; the stump of this tower still overshadows the Forum of Nerva. Giovanni's descendants included another Giovanni (d. 1332), successively bishop of Pisa and Nicosia; and the Franciscan theologian Andrea (d. 1302). This line died out in the mid-1300s. Paolo's descendants included Ildebrandino, who was an important functionary at the Avignonese papal court and a friend of

Petrarch.

See Alexander IV, Pope; Gregory IX, Pope; Innocent III, Pope; Rome

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Convenevole Da Prato

Convenevole (c. 1270 or 1275-c. 1338) was born into a Ghibel-line family in Prato. He became a notary like his father and brother Filippo, and also took holy orders in 1293.

In 1306, he moved to Pisa, where he may have met *ser* Petracco and Petracco's young son, Francesco (Petrarch), in 1311-1312. Convenevole next moved to Avignon. From 1312-1316 he tutored both the young Petrarch and Guido Sette in grammar and rhetoric. Petrarch remembers his first teacher in several letters, although he never identifies Convenevole by name; however, Convenevole is named by Filippo Villani in *De Florentinis illustribus viris*. Petrarch would later claim that when he was still young his own literary abilities already exceeded those of his teacher (*Familiarum rerum libri*, 24.1). If we are to believe Petrarch, Convenevole seems to have led a miserable existence, making a poor living as a schoolteacher, Convenevole was a close friend of Petrarch's family and was often helped financially by Petrarch's father—and, after the father died in 1326, by Petrarch himself. In his *Rerum senilium libri* (16.1), Petrarch relates a sad story about his former

schoolmaster: Petrarch lent Convevole Cicero's *De Gloria* and later discovered that Convevole had pawned the volumes and could not afford to redeem them; shamed by his betrayal of his pupil's trust and the loss of the books, Convevole fled to Tuscany, and Petrarch never saw him or the books again. However, Billanovich (1997) calls this story a *fiaba trasparente* (fairy tale), and the historical evidence does suggest a more prosaic version. Petrarch may never even have possessed Cicero's *De Gloria*, and he probably invented the story for dramatic effect.

Convevole was offered a position as a grammar professor in Prato in 1336 and was thus able to return to his home before he died (probably in early 1338). One work has been attributed to Convevole: *Regia carmina*, a collection of poems written in honor of Robert of Anjou.

See also Petrarca, Francesco; Sette, Guido

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Coppo Di Marcovaldo

Coppo di Marcovaldo (fl. 1260–1276) was most likely born in Florence, and he is the first Florentine artist to be known by name. The

beginnings of his artistic career are murky, though it has been suggested that he trained in the studio of the Master of the Bardi Saint Francis, and that early in his career he assimilated some aspects of Giunta Pisano's emotionally charged approach.

Coppo is first documented in February 1260, when he is listed in the Florentine register of soldiers as *coppo dipintor*, a shield bearer in the war against the Sienese, which ended in the disastrous defeat of the Florentines at the battle of Montaperti in September 1260. According to popular tradition, he was held by the Sienese as a prisoner of war, and his sole surviving signed and dated work—*Madonna del Bordone*, painted for the church of Santa Maria dei Servi in Siena in 1261—was made in exchange for his release.

Coppo is next documented as the owner of a house in Florence in 1265, and as receiving payment in 1265 and 1269 for frescoes, now lost, in the chapel of San Iacopo in the cathedral of Pistoia. He is documented again in 1274, as working for the cathedral of Pistoia: executing a Crucifix and two panels of the Madonna and Saint John for the choir, and another Crucifix and a figure of Saint Michael for that saint's chapel in the cathedral, San Michele. Of these panels, executed with considerable assistance from his son Salerno, only the Crucifix in the San Michele chapel is extant. Coppo's final recorded activity relates to his painting of a "solarium" above the altar and choir of the cathedral of Pistoia in 1276.

Only two works are widely accepted as representative of Coppo di Marcovaldo's style; the *Madonna del Bordone* in Siena and a Crucifix (number 30) in the Pinacoteca Civica of San Gimignano. *Madonna del Bordone* is significant both for its size (7 feet 3 inches by 4 feet, or 2.18 by 1.2 meters) and for the sense of monumentality it conveys. This panel is among the first of the large-scale maestas that became so popular in the late thirteenth century. The linearity and compartmentalization of form in this panel clearly show Coppo's links to the Byzantine style, but the result is utterly removed from the formulaic schematization of the Byzantine school. Coppo's compartmentalized structures, such as the rolled-up blanket supporting Christ, are put to the service of a more simplified, more powerful rendering of clear, legible shapes. The schematization of Mary's dress articulates the form of her body beneath the drapery remarkably

effectively, and conveys a convincing three-quarter turn of the body into space. This panel seems to have been considered an important object of devotion, for the head and hands were repainted during the early *Trecento* in the popular Ducciesque idiom to keep it up to date. X-rays of Coppo's original treatment of the faces, still intact beneath the fourteenth-century repainting, reveal a kinship with the elongated forms, especially the eyes, seen in the Crucifix in San Gimignano.



Coppo di Marcovaldo (fl. 1260-1280), *Madonna and Child*. Santa Maria dei Servi, Siena. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The Crucifix in San Gimignano continues the expressionistic tendencies of Giunta Pisano's crucifixes and is a very evocative example of the *Christus patiens* (suffering Christ) type. It achieves

monumentality of form through broadened, simplified, carefully modeled, almost sculptural masses and combines these with a sharp jagged line whose brittle angularity perfectly expresses Christ's suffering. In this work and *Madonna del Bordone*, one finds early evidence of a tendency toward simplification and monumentality and an interest in expressive intensity that would be hallmarks of the Florentine Renaissance. Coppo's influence on his immediate successors, such as Cimabue in Florence and Guido da Siena, was fundamental to the subsequent development of their schools.

See also Cimabue; Duccio di Buoninsegna; Florence; Giunta of Pisa; Guido da Siena; Painting; Panel

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Corpus Juris Canonici

See Law: Canon

Corpus Juris Civilis

See Law: Roman

Correggiaio, Matteo

We know very little about the poet Matteo Correggiaio (probably late thirteenth century-mid-fourteenth century). Scholars have for some time been perplexed by the fact that Correggiaio appears only in the historical records of Bologna, although he is listed in the anonymous *Leandreide* (1383) as a poet of the Veneto. In a translation of a French text, the poet calls himself "Mathio Corezaro de Pava," i.e., Padua, if he was indeed a native of Padua, it seems likely that his early childhood was spent in Bologna.

Very little of Correggiaio's poetry survives; we have only thirteen compositions of certain attribution. His themes are those of the *dolce stil nuovo*, and he is indebted as well to Fazio degli Uberti and to the Dante of the *rime petrose*. Correggiaio's major contribution was his ability to fuse aspects of all these literary influences into an intelligent and cohesive whole (as in *Gentil madonna, mia speranza card*). His unique predilection for complex literary composites is evident in the multilingual poetry he exchanged with Antonio da Tempo, in which there are alternating lines of Italian and French or Provencal.

See also Antonio da Tempo; Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Italian Poetry: Lyric

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Corsica

Corsica, an island in the Tyrrhenian Sea 7 miles (about 11 kilometers) north of Sardinia across the strait of Bonifacio, has a rich history and survivals of prehistoric settlement. It was caught up in rivalries between the Greeks, Phoenicians (Carthaginians), and Etruscans, and ultimately in the wars between Rome and Carthage. Corsica was incorporated into Roman administrative structures by 227 B.C. and became a prosperous center in the empire. During the Germanic invasions of the fifth century after Christ, the island was seized by the Vandals under Gaiseric (450). In the sixth century, it was seized by Belisarius as a part of his conquest of Vandal North Africa (534). It was conquered by the Ostrogoths under Totila in 549 but was restored to the rule of Constantinople shortly thereafter and incorporated into the Byzantine exarchate of North Africa (Carthage).

The early Christian organization of Corsica was consolidated by Pope Gregory I the Great, who established the first bishopric at Ajaccio. Corsica was incorporated into the kingdom of the Lombards following their conquest of Pisa in 725. According to Charlemagne's confirmation in 774 of the Donation of Pepin, Corsica was intended to be under papal rule, but it actually came under the jurisdiction of the Frankish lords of Tuscany. Raids and attacks by the Saracens became increasingly frequent and disruptive, and eventually they came to dominate the island for about three centuries. Pisa recovered Corsica for Christianity by making two expeditions against it (1014 and c. 1050) in alliance with the Genoese. It was reclaimed by the papacy; and in 1078 Pope Gregory

VII placed it under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Pisa as his apostolic legate. In 1091, prompted by Countess Matilda, Pope Urban II reaffirmed the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Pisa, which in the following year was elevated to an archbishopric; the bishoprics on the island were made his suffragans.

The ecclesiastical control of Corsica by Pisa confirmed a strong influx of Tuscan cultural influences. The island became an object of intense competition between Pisa and Genoa, and by the mid-twelfth century the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Corsica had been transferred to the see of Genoa. This transfer was followed in 1195 by a definitive military takeover of the island. Pisan feudal families who were already present in Corsica were incorporated into new Genoese organization; but dissidence continued to plague Genoa's control of the island, and attempts by some rebels to seek aid from Pisa contributed to hostilities between Genoa and Pisa at the time of the battle of Meloria (1284). The Genoese were the victors in that battle, and thereafter they imposed more concentrated control over Corsica, until Pope Boniface VIII, antagonized by the hostile policies of both cities, awarded Corsica and Sardinia to James II of Aragon. James's efforts to control the island proved to be more disruptive than effective. Genoese rule continued, but it was complicated by factional strife among the Corsicans, which culminated in an attempt by Sambucuccio d'Alando to form a federation of cities and parishes in 1359. Dissatisfied with this situation, the Genoese government handed over the administration and exploitation of the island to a Genoese commercial corporation (*maond*) in 1378. From 1396 to 1409, as a part of the submission of the Genoese republic itself to the French crown, Corsica came first, if briefly, under French occupation, anticipating its fate in later times.

See also Genoa; Meloria, Battle of; Pisa

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Cortenuova, Battle of

The battle of Cortenuova (1237) was the greatest victory of the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II in his struggle to control northern Italy. In 1235, the eleven cities of the Second Lombard League had reaffirmed their determination to oppose Frederick's efforts to dominate them, and so he mustered a strong army of German and Italian forces to reduce the league by military as well as diplomatic means. In late 1237, when the campaign season seemed to be over, Frederick's army caught up with the full Lombard forces at a river crossing near the town of Cortenuova, between Brescia and Bergamo, and defeated them on 27 November. Although the disorganized Lombard army had been defeated easily, the Milanese soldiers stubbornly rallied around their symbolic *carroccio*—the war chariot that bore their standard—and were slaughtered in huge numbers. Thus the prime forces of the Lombard League were devastated, and Milan's honor, in particular, was debased. Frederick had the *carroc cio* sent as a gift to the antipapal commune of Rome, to be displayed as propaganda in the Campidoglio.

Frederick's victory at Cortenuova put him in a commanding position in northern Italy for the rest of his reign. However, resistance against him continued, so that ultimately he could not make decisive use of this victory.

See also Carroccio; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Lombard Leagues; Milan

JOHN W. BARKER

Cortona

Cortona, a city in the province of Arezzo in Tuscany, was once an important Etruscan and Roman center. It became part of the diocese of Arezzo in the early Middle Ages. The expansion of the commune of Cortona into the surrounding countryside in the mid-twelfth century was accompanied by an immigration of the rural nobility into the town. There, they formed a substantial noble class (*magnati*), which was opposed by a strong middle class (*popolo*) during the thirteenth century.

Three bishops of Arezzo—Martino (r. 1212-1236), Marcellirio (r. 1236-1248), and Guglielmino degli Ubertini (r. 1248-1289)—encouraged factional rivalries in Cortona so that they could pursue their own jurisdictional claims, which the town had resisted. During the night of 1 February 1258, an armed force from Arezzo instigated by Bishop Guglielmino, which included Guelf *magnati* exiled from Cortona, captured the town and sacked and destroyed it. Many of the Ghibelline noble families and prominent families from the *popolo* fled to the protection of Perugia.

The battle of Montaperti (4 September 1260) created the conditions for a truce between the two factions, the return of the exiled Ghibellines, and peace with Bishop Guglielmino (1261). Under this peace, Cortona became bound to the bishops of Arezzo, recognizing their jurisdictional rights (including the choice of *podesta*, or city magistrate), and was forced to accept Arezzo's allies and enemies as its own. Later, in 1289, Bishop Guglielmino and the Ghibellines were defeated at the battle of Campaldino (11 June). The relations between Arezzo and Cortona that had been established in 1261 (and reestablished in 1266) were not improved by this defeat.

The treaty with Bishop Guglielmino of 1261 heralded the rise of the Casali family. Uguccio Casali, one of the Ghibelline leaders, had been the principal agent in the treaty and became the bishop's trustee. Uguccio was *podesta* of Cortona (1265) and Arezzo (1280) and *capitano delpopolo* in Pisa (1298-1299). In Cortona, he allied himself with the *popolo*; in 1278 he became the *priore dei consoli e delle arti del popolo del comune di Cortona*, i.e., prior of the consuls and guilds of the *popolo*. Thus two rival groups of *magnati* emerged in Cortona: one

group was tied to the old feudal landlords; the other, led by Uguccio, was more flexible, more closely integrated into the town, and better disposed toward the *popolo*. After Uguccio's death, the rise of the Casali family continued; his son, another Guglielmino, became *podesta* of Arezzo (1308), *vicario imperiale* of Cortona (1313), and *maggiore gonfaloniere generale* (1314 and 1316). The office of *gonfaloniere* (standard-bearer) strengthened this Guglielmino's ties with the *popolo*.

Having gained power in Cortona in 1319, the *popolo* succeeded in thwarting two conspiracies by the *magnati* (30 November 1323 and 25 July 1324). Guglielmino Casali's sons, Ranieri and Uguccio, played a decisive role in these episodes on the side of the *popolo*; this greatly strengthened their party, which after 1324 controlled all the main public positions in the commune.

Events in Arezzo then became decisive for Cortona. The expansionist policies of Bishop Guido Tarlati of Arezzo (r. 1312–1327) at the expense of Florence and the papacy forced Pope John XXII (Giovanni, r. 1316–1334) to act. The pope, who was sympathetic toward the ambitions of the Cortonese, broke the subjugation of Cortona to the diocese of Arezzo, creating a new and autonomous episcopal see (19 June 1325). Cortona then naturally supported the pope, Florence, Siena, and Perugia against Bishop Tarlati. Such developments in Arezzo—to which the *magnati* conspirators in the plots of 1323 and 1324 had been exiled—coupled with the preeminence of the Casali family and its followers led to the accession of Ranieri Casali to the *signoria* in Cortona, a position he held from 1325 to 1351. Immediately on his accession, he changed the constitutional charter (December 1325).

Because of the enduring hostility with Arezzo, Ranieri Casali reinforced his ties with other entities, particularly Perugia. Until the collapse of the *signoria* in 1409, the Casali family sought to maintain the autonomy of Cortona by leaning in turn toward one or another of its powerful neighbors—first Perugia, then Siena, and finally Florence—changing alliances when one of them became too restrictive. Thus Bartolomeo Casali (*signore* 1351–1363), Ranieri's son, broke an alliance with Perugia (1358) and made one with Siena that continued under his successors Francesco (in 1363–1375) and Niccolo Giovanni (in 1375–1384).

After annexing Arezzo (1384), Florence became a neighbor of

Cortona, replaced Siena as Cortona's ally, and forced Cortona into a alliance, which was renewed in 1397 and again in 1401. The autonomy of Cortona ended in 1409 with the overthrow of Aloigi Battista Casali (*signore* 1407–1409), and in 1411 Cortona, too, was annexed by Florence.

See also Arezzo; John XXII, Pope; Perugia

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Cotton

See Fustians

Councils, Ecclesiastical

The periodic holding of councils or synods (i.e., gatherings)— the terms were used as synonyms until the twelfth century and are so used here) —was and is a constant feature of historical Christianity. Beginning with the assembly of the apostles in Jerusalem (c. a.d. 52) to decide whether Gentile Christians were obligated to follow the law of Moses (Acts 15:1-30), bishops met with each other and with abbots and the monastic and secular clergy, as well as with members of the laity, to find and lay down solutions to common problems. Such problems might be disciplinary or pastoral (e.g., involving regulation of lifestyle and dress), administrative (e.g., involving property disputes), or doctrinal (e.g., involving baptism and heresies). The councils varied greatly with regard to their composition, attendance, frequency, and scope, depending on historical circumstances. Generally, however, we can distinguish diocesan synods (one bishop with his clergy); provincial or metropolitan councils (at least one archbishop, or metropolitan, with

the bishops of his archdiocese, known as suffragan bishops); ecumenical councils; and papal, or general, councils. In the west, many general councils are also ecumenical. The so-called national councils in the Germanic kingdoms can be subsumed under provincial councils.

A council was usually a most solemn occasion, at least whenever the early medieval *Ordo de celebrando concilio* (*Rule for Conducting a Council*, transmitted in numerous manuscripts) was applied. Accompanied by prayers and exhortations, the assembly consulted and read, from a canonical collection set up in its midst, earlier conciliar legislation on the conduct of councils, also searching the collection for instructions on specific difficulties. *De ordine palatii* (ninth century) of Archbishop Hincmar of Reims described procedures for mixed councils, sometimes called national synods, when ecclesiastics, summoned by the kings, met side by side with—and for some sessions jointly with—royal secular assemblies. William Durant the Younger's *Tractatus de modo generalis concilii celebrandi*, written for the Council of Vienne of 1311-1312, strikingly illuminates the evolution of a different type of council and of early conciliarist thought. Conciliar decisions of general applicability were recorded as canons. During some periods, all participants signed the records. Unfortunately, these documents have rarely been preserved; nevertheless, a considerable number of individual decrees made their way into the canonical collections of the period and thus into the *Decretum*, or collected canons, of Gratian of Bologna (c. 1140). Other conciliar canons, especially those from the Carolingian period, were preserved among the capitularies of the Frankish rulers. Until the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century, ecclesiastical legislation was binding only on the basis of general acceptance and tradition, as evidenced by transmission in canonical collections. It was enforceable only through ecclesiastical sanctions, unless it had become part of royal or imperial legislation. With the Gregorian reform, papal approval—direct, indirect, or on the basis of noncontradiction with papal decrees—became the factor determining the validity of canons.

Ancient Ecumenical Councils

In accordance with the practice of the early ecclesiastical councils, Emperor Constantine I (r. 324–337) called the first "universal" or "ecumenical" (from *oikomenegē*, "inhabited earth") council of bishops of the whole empire, in order to end the Arian schism. The theory of Arius of Alexandria—that the son of God was not coeternal with God the father—had divided the church and thus impeded the proper worship of God, in the eyes of Constantine and his ecclesiastical advisers, led by Bishop Hosius of Cordoba. The famous assembly met at Nicaea in 325, from May or June to c. August. Although Pope Sylvester I sent two representatives, who were the first to sign the records, the initiative and leading role belonged to the emperor, in accordance with Roman senatorial procedure. Constantine convoked the bishops, presided over sessions of the council, explained the reasons for its convocation, and directed the individual interrogation of the bishops. The near-unanimous adoption of the Nicene Creed, defining the divine nature of the son, was due to imperial pressure; but while the key term "consubstantial" (*homoousios*) was also formally proposed by the emperor, we should note that it had originated with his episcopal advisers. In addition to the creed, the council also adopted twenty disciplinary canons.

The other six (in the Greek Orthodox east) or seven (in the Latin west) ancient ecumenical councils in general followed the example of Nicaea I. The Roman emperor would convoke the bishops of the empire to an assembly, in agreement with the bishop of Rome, in order to decide doctrinal quarrels and to regulate Christian discipline through canons. The first six ecumenical councils—Nicaea I (in 325), Constantinople I (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), Constantinople II (553), and Constantinople III (680–681)—accordingly dealt with trinitarian doctrine and subsequently with questions of Christology. The seventh ecumenical council, Nicaea II (787), settled the question of the veneration of icons; and the eighth—in the west, Constantinople IV (869–870)—settled the schism of the patriarch Photios. All the councils except the sixth (Constantinople III) also promulgated disciplinary canons, which were published as imperial legislation and incorporated with the canons of other local synods in collections of canon law. Their validity in the west depended on their acceptance by the popes. Since all the ancient ecumenical councils were held in the east, the Latin west

was at best thinly represented. The popes never participated in person but usually sent their representatives.



Council of Nicaea. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 130v.

The exalted standing of the first four ecumenical councils was already reflected in the view of Pope Gregory I (597-604), for whom they were the equal of the four gospels. The canonists of the eleventh-century reform were responsible for the new emphasis on Constantinople IV (869-870), the council at which Photios had been formally deposed and Ignatios had been reinstated as patriarch. Legates of Pope Hadrian II had played a decisive role in the proceedings. The west was to accept this council as the eighth ecumenical synod. In the east, however, the Great Council of Union, held at Saint Sophia in Constantinople in 879-880 in the presence of papal legates, reinstated Photios and canceled the decisions of 869-870. Since the eleventh century, therefore, the eastern and western churches have diverged with regard to the enumeration of the old ecumenical councils. It must be stressed, though, that the modern Roman Catholic numbering of

ecumenical councils based solely on generally accepted tradition did not originate until the sixteenth century.

Papal or General Councils

Today the Roman Catholic church counts twenty-one ecumenical or universal synods:

Eight ecumenical councils of antiquity

Four general councils of 1123, 1139, 1179, and 1215 celebrated by the popes at the Lateran and therefore known as Lateran I, Lateran II, III, and IV

Two councils held at Lyon in 1245 and in 1274 (First and Second Councils of Lyon)

Vienne (1311-1312)

Constance (1414-1418)

Basel-Ferrara-Florence-Rome (1431 -1445)

Lateran V (1512-1517)

Trent (1545-1563)

First (1869-1870) and Second (1962-1965) Vatican Councils

This numbering had evolved by the sixteenth century, and the Vatican Councils are of course modern additions to the list. Thus the numbering was done in hindsight and does not necessarily reflect the contemporary importance of the papal councils. For instance, none of the great reforming councils of the eleventh century are included as ecumenical, yet they were celebrated by some of the most outstanding popes in the history of the church, beginning with Pope Leo IX (r. 1049-1054), and including Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085) as well as Pope Urban II (r. 1088-1099), who initiated the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont (1095).

Leos great council, convoked at Reims in 1049, is well recorded. It illustrates the changed international stature of the reform popes, and their willingness and ability to look to and after the church in general, with far less emphasis on purely local Roman concerns. Reims reflected the involvement of the papacy in reform in the French royal and

nonroyal church, by imposing the new Roman understanding of simony (traffic in ecclesiastical offices) on the recalcitrant French clergy, regardless of whether King Henry I (1027-1060) liked it or not. However, the papal decrees issued at Reims also covered specifically French concerns, extending the papacy's support to the regulations of the Peace and Truce of God, which had been the ecclesiastical response in French synods to the disorder and insecurity created by feudal warfare. In other canons from Reims, Leo's reliance on ancient canonical collections is made clear; for example, his prohibition of usury dates back to the great council of Nicaea in 325. In a letter (JL 4185) sent later to the abbot of Saint Remy at Reims, the pope specifically mentioned that he had ordered the canons of his councils, including Reims, to be added to the old canonical collections. Clearly, Leo attached great significance to the councils and the canonical collections, transmitting their decrees together with statements of the church fathers and papal decretals. He may have held as many as eleven synods in Italy, France, and the empire during his relatively brief reign.

The councils or Pope Urban 11 had an even greater impact in France. This is especially true of the Council of Clermont (November 1095), which was made famous through the crusades but was also concerned with a multitude of other issues, many of them related to church reform. Earlier, in March 1095, at the outset of his journey to France, Urban had held the council of Piacenza. Its aims were both propagandistic and pastoral. Perhaps even more than Clermont, Piacenza celebrated the end of the papal schism, which had derived from northern Italy. The synod was a clear demonstration of Urban's wide support; its legislation was designed to heal the effects of the schism. Urban's presence in northern Italy would give added impetus and effect to a series of regulations—for example, about the legality of orders received by clerics from simonists and schismatics. Publicizing conciliar meetings and their decisions was a particular difficulty faced at that time. This problem was not to be solved until the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils, when more effective preparation for the meetings and better distribution of their decrees became possible because of the centralization of the papacy, the growth of universities and scientific canon law, and a vastly expanded and more sophisticated bureaucracy.

The councils of Leo IX and Urban II were held abroad. The effectiveness of the renewed papacy of the eleventh century at home, in Rome, was at least as significant for the success of the Gregorian reform. The Lateran Council of 1059, held by Pope Nicholas II (1058-1061), defined the relationship between the papacy and the Romans in its decree on papal elections. This decree—which was not signed by two ardent reformers, Hildebrand (later Pope Gregory VII) and the canonist Deusdedit—deprived both the Roman clergy and the population of Rome of any active participation in future papal elections. The cardinal bishops alone were to decide the election, consulting subsequently with the lower ranks of the cardinalate. Only then were the clergy and people of Rome to consent to the election— as was the German king, who as emperor-to-be had inherited the functions of a Roman patrician, i.e., participation in papal elections, from his father, Emperor Henry III. Moreover, the election decree envisioned the election of non-Romans to the see of Saint Peter. The writings of Cardinal Deusdedit reveal the outrage among the pro-Roman faction of the reformers, who resented the loss of traditional Roman rights.

what has been said so far should indicate the significance of papal councils in shaping the reformed papacy and thus influencing the later Middle Ages. All of them clearly reflect the enhanced stature of the papacy, the acclaim the popes found in the west, and an expanded vision of the papacy. This was the background of the general papal councils later called ecumenical. Their common features are that they were convened by the pope, who was present in person at the sessions and promulgated their decrees. The councils were attended by bishops, abbots, and procurators of ecclesiastical corporations; and by princes or their emissaries, who, however, had only a limited vote and a limited right to participate.

The four Lateran synods which are among the series of ecumenical councils accepted today in the west are a part of this tradition. Lateran I, held in 1123 by Pope Calixtus II (1119— 1124), is probably best-known for ratifying the agreements (later the Concordat) of Worms of 1122 between the pope and Emperor Henry V (r. 1106-1125). These agreements were only a truce, but they nonetheless represented the end of the investiture controversy, the final phase of the Gregorian reform that pitted the papacy against the kings of Europe. The Lateran I

decrees are a curious mixture, treating both general matters and local issues. Many of them repeat earlier canons promulgated during the eleventh-century reform.

Lateran I is the ninth ecumenical council; the tenth is the Lateran synod of 1139 under Pope Innocent II (1130-1143). This council defined the end of a papal schism, a fact that is probably responsible for its status. A set of texts survives from Innocent II's synods that was copied from council to council, "with only minor variations and omissions that could well be due to the form in which the canons survive" (Somerville 1972). Therefore, the legislation of Innocent's councils does not provide much of a basis for distinguishing between them.

The great council convoked by Pope Alexander III at the Lateran in March 1179 is, in part, remembered as an ecumenical council because it came at the end of the struggle between Alexander and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. As Somerville noted, it was very carefully planned and administered, "despite some protests against the inherent legalism that some churchmen saw usurping the true function of Christian ministry."

The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 under Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) has been justly described as the high point in medieval ecclesiastical legislation. The canons were incorporated into the *Compilatio quarta* and later passed almost entirely into the *Decretales* of 1234. The invitations to clergy and laity from the eastern church (Constantinople had been taken by the crusaders in 1204) and the western church had been sent out more than two years earlier; the attendance of 412 prelates was a result of the careful preparation. The themes of the assembly were many; foremost among them were crusading efforts, a response to Albigensian and Waldensian issues and to the heretical opinions on the Trinity expressed by Joachim of Fiore. Two dogmatic constitutions resulted. The first, *Firmiter credimus*, was a profession of faith including the term *transubstantiatio* in the doctrine on the eucharist. The second was a specific condemnation of the propositions of Joachim and of Amalric of Bene. There were an additional sixty-nine disciplinary decrees.

The thirteenth-century general papal councils—Lyon I (1245) and Lyon II (1274)—followed essentially the same pattern. In 1245, Innocent IV (r. 1243–1254) had to deal with the threat represented by Emperor

Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (r. 1212-1250), a new crusade, aid for Constantinople, and measures against the Mongols. In 1274, Pope Gregory X (r. 1271 – 1276) focused successfully on a union with the Greek church and ecclesiastical reform, requesting testimonials from the church at large in preparation for the council. Over the opposition of some of the cardinals, the pope enacted at Lyon II the constitution *Ubi periculum*, instituting the conclave for papal elections.

The Council of Vienne of 1311-1312 is an oddity because it was entirely overshadowed by the events of Anagni and a response to the pressures exerted on the pope by Philip the Fair of France (1285-1314).

In many respects the councils held after the beginning of the Great Schism in 1378 were also different. Their attempts to heal the schism and to reform the church "in head and members" resulted in an effort to limit and control the papacy in the interest of reform through periodic general councils. The decree *Haec sancta* of the Council of Constance (1414-1418), the sixteenth ecumenical council, defined general councils as superior to the papacy in the matters of faith and as holding "power immediately from Christ" (Oakley 1983). The structure of the councils of the conciliar period differed substantially from the structure of the papal general council as it had historically evolved, eventually creating a confrontation between council and papacy. The Fifth Lateran synod (1512-1517) finally returned to the pattern of the old papal general councils.

See also Constantine the Great; Gregoii VII, Pope; Gregory X, Pope; Leo IX, Pope; Innocent III, Pope; Innocent IV, Pope; Nicholas II, Pope; Papacy; Sylvester I, Pope; Urban II, Pope

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Counts of Romena



Castello di Romena, Casentino. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The Romena were a branch of the illustrious Guidi family, whose counts were among the most powerful in Tuscany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Romena took their name from their castle in the Casentino, the mountainous region east of Florence where the Arno has its source. Remains of the castle are still standing today, near Pratovecchio in the modern province of Arezzo. The first of the *conti* Guidi to live there was Aghinolfo (d. 1247), son of Guidoguerra III. It was to Aghinolfo's son, Guido I da Romena, that the poet Guittone d Arezzo addressed one of his vernacular epistles (*Conte di Romena*).

Guido I had four sons: Guido II, Aghinolfo, Alessandro, and Ildebrandino. In Dante's *Inferno* (Canto 30.73-79), Master Adam, burning with thirst and revenge among the falsifiers in the tenth *bolgia* of circle eight, denounces three of the brothers for whom he had counterfeited the gold florin:

There is Romena, where 1 falsified the currency stamped with the Baptist...
if I could see here the miserable soul of Guido or of Alessandro or of their
brother, I would not give the sight for Fonte Branda. One of them is here
within already.

(Singleton's translation)

The one "within already" is generally taken to be Guido II, who died in

1291. On Alessandro's death in 1304, Dante composed his second epistle (*Patruus vester Alexander*) to console Aghinolfo's sons.

See also Casentino; Dante Alighieri; Guittone d'Arezzo

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Crema

The Lombard city of Crema, in the province of Cremona, is perhaps remembered chiefly because in 1159-1160 it held out for six months against a siege by Frederick I Barbarossa. In the nineteenth century, Italian nationalists used Crema as an example of civic resistance against tyranny and foreign domination. Images and stories from the siege of Crema—the *assedio di Crema*—entered into the culture of the emerging Italian nation-state, and the town became a symbol of the centuries-old tradition of resistance against the German Hohenstaufen and Hapsburg emperors.

Crema is also distinguished by the fact that as a new settlement—and unlike many other such settlements—it rapidly achieved a position of importance more characteristic of Lombard cities which had been inhabited since antiquity. The city's location in *Insula Fulcheri*, a wet but fertile zone between the Adda and Oglio rivers, made it an object of conflict from its earliest days. It was situated within the diocese and *contado* (hinterland) of Cremona, and at the intersection of several other powers: the considerable landholdings of the counts of Bergamo

or the Giselbertinger family; the growing area of influence of the Milanese families; and the area of authority of the counts of Canossa. Intensive land reclamation c. 1000 made this region increasingly attractive for farmers migrating from the northern Po Valley, and for feudal aristocrats from Lombardy. Crema's economic advantages explain its rapid growth. The settlement, mentioned first in documents from 1074, was quickly expanded and was fortified by a town wall built between 1082 and 1084. This *castrum* (fortified site) survived attacks in 1098 from the neighboring city of Cremona. The campaign of 1098 was probably connected to a privilege granted by Matilda of Canossa, in which she donated the rights of Insula Fulcheri to the church and Cremona.

Although it was a new entity, Crema had surprising military might. This was because it was settled by members of Lombard feudal aristocracy who organized themselves as a "republic of *milites* (Menant 1992). Crema oriented itself toward a system of stable alliances that divided the Po Valley into two camps: Milan and Piacenza on the one hand, and Cremona and Pavia on the other. Crema was a Milanese foothold in the diocese of Cremona and as such could depend on the support of Milan— Lombardy's main city—in resisting a siege by Emperor Lothar III in 1132 and an attack by Cremona in 1138.

During the first half of the twelfth century, Crema took on the characteristics of an autonomous city. For example, it acquired authority over the *contado*, and its citizens organized themselves into a commune under the leadership of consuls. However, it was not a bishopric, and so it was designated a *castrum* rather than a *civitas* throughout the medieval period.

Crema's close dependence on Milan had disastrous results in the 1150s, when Frederick Barbarossa attempted to strengthen his claim to the Italian sections of the empire and encountered resistance from the Milanese. In July 1159, Frederick's troops encircled Crema, as Milan's ally. This was the famous and brutal *assedio di Crema*, which resulted in the capture and destruction of Crema in January 1160. The emperor then handed Crema over to Cremona, with the provision that it was not to be refortified. His stricture effectively meant that Crema ceased to exist for the next twenty-five years. After the peace of Constance there was a change in alliances that prompted Frederick to allow Crema to be

rebuilt and fortified in 1185; however, the effects of the intervening quarter-century on the city's social and institutional continuity have not yet been studied.

After 1185, Crema shared much of its history with other northern Italian cities. Internal factions threatened to divide the citizens and repeatedly attempted to obtain support from Milan and Cremona. In 1338, Crema lost its autonomy to the Milanese state governed by the Visconti; it remained under the control of this state until the death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in 1402. In 1449, Crema became a Venetian enclave in Lombardy. Eventually, in 1579, Crema gained its own bishopric.

Surviving from Crema's medieval period are the cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta and remains of the convents of San Domenico and Sant' Agostino.

See also Cremona; Frederick I Barbarossa; Holy Roman Empire; Milan; Visconti Family

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Cremona

Cremona was founded on the banks of the Po River near its confluence with the Adda River. The city's strategic location in the center of the Po Valley, the great northern Italian plain, made it ideally suited for commercial traffic, which converged on it from every direction. Trade going north and south went along the Adda and the Oglio rivers, both of which flow from the foot of the Alps into the Po; trade going east and west moved along the Po itself, which crosses the northern plain and empties into the Adriatic. Cremona also lies near the most fertile agricultural land in the valley: the lowlands northwest of the city, known as *la bassa*. In the Middle Ages, this land was used for raising livestock, foodstuffs, and industrial crops.

The Romans established Cremona along with nearby Piacenza in 218 B.C. According to the Greek historian Polybius (c. 200-118 B.C.), the two cities were founded for strategic reasons: Piacenza on the south bank of the Po and Cremona on the north bank were frontier outposts, part of the Romans' defensive system against Hannibal in the second Punic war (218-201 B.C.). Cremona's inhabitants became citizens of Rome in 89 B.C. Little remains of the Roman period; it has been impossible, so far, to find traces of the temples, forums, arenas, theaters, and baths that the Romans built in their other major cities. However, a few intricate floor mosaics survive, suggesting that great wealth did exist in Cremona. Other than the mosaics, what can still be discerned is the Romans' rectangular arrangement of streets, with a *cardo* and *decumanus*. The sparse surviving literary evidence suggests that Roman Cremona developed a certain reputation for the quality of its schools: Virgil (70-19 B.C.) is said to have come to Cremona from his paternal home in Mantua to pursue his studies.

History and Municipal Institutions

Early Middle Ages (sixth-tenth centuries). Virtually nothing is known about Cremona during the fifth and sixth centuries, and historians continue to debate the extent of a Byzantine presence in the city during

the second half of the sixth century. However, it is known that in 603 Cremona was partially destroyed by the Lombards, whose control over northern Italy lasted until their final defeat at the hands of Charlemagne in 774. The Carolingian period witnessed the city's first economic revival since the fall of Rome. During the ninth century many of the major towns in the Po valley, including Cremona, grew in size, as trade with neighboring communities increased and as luxury goods brought from the east aboard Venetian ships reached the northern plain. Cremona, since it was on the Po River, was well positioned to serve as one of the most important entrepôts in the region.

Another factor contributing to the prominence of Cremona was its episcopal see. Cremona had a bishop as early as a.d. 451, if not earlier; and the bishop's power and prestige began to grow when the Carolingians granted bishops throughout their empire special responsibilities and privileges and turned over more and more political and economic power to the bishops. The Cremonese bishops received new lands and the power to collect revenues from people navigating the Po River, docking at the city's port, and entering the city, as well as from fishermen, grain millers, and people buying and selling at local markets. The bishops were also exempt from the feudal obligation to provide horses, wagons, food, and lodging to imperial troops or imperial officials passing through the city. The close tie between Cremona's bishops and the empire is exemplified by the most eminent figure of this early period, Bishop Liudprand (962-972), who was the author of several historical works and a trusted emissary of emperors Otto I and Otto II.

It should be noted that the citizens of Cremona were vexed by some of these developments, and particularly by the duties that all merchants, including local merchants, had to pay when docking at Cremona's port. In 924, the city's merchants attempted to avoid paying docking fees to the bishop by constructing their own port. To their dismay, however, the emperor intervened on behalf of the bishop and halted the project.

High and Late Middle Ages (eleventh century—1402). A significant development during this period was the rise and eventual fall of the commune (1098-1334). As early as the tenth century, as we have seen, Cremonese bishops came into conflict with the citizenry, who, although

they were not not yet politically organized, nonetheless demanded to be allowed to conduct their economic affairs peacefully and freely, without episcopal interference. The citizens first adopted more active, even violent, means against their overlord in the early eleventh century, when they drove Bishop Landulf (r. 1004-1030) from Cremona and laid waste to many of the episcopal buildings. They allowed Landulf's successor, Bishop Ubaldo (r. 1031-1073), to return, but they refused to pay him the customary taxes and tolls.



Duomo and bell tower, Cremona. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.



Baptistry, Cremona. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Cremona's commune developed slowly between 1030 and the end of the century. The commune first appears in a document of 1098, in which Countess Matilda of Canossa grants a piece of land to "the representatives of the church and of the commune." Matilda's reference to both church and commune indicates that the bishop still retained considerable power. The earliest organ of communal government was an assembly of all the citizens (*arengo*). How much actual authority the *arengo* exercised in the Italian communes is still unclear. In all

probability its power was greater in the early years, before the introduction of regularly elected consuls and other permanent institutions of government. The main purpose of the *arengo* was to deliberate on and ratify important matters of state. At Cremona, the *arengo* assembled either in the cathedral or in the public square just outside it. As communes began to develop permanent government offices, a primary responsibility of the *arengo* was to confirm the election of consuls. Cremona was among the earliest cities to elect consuls on a regular basis; the first extant record of Cremonese consuls dates from between 1112 and 1116. There is no apparent pattern in the number of consuls elected—two men were elected in 1130, seven in 1151, and ten in 1170—or in the length of their terms in office. Candidates for the office of consul were always selected from the city's oldest, wealthiest, and most powerful families. These families were so frequently at war with one another that in 1182 it became necessary to introduce a new executive office, the *podesta* (podesta, or city magistrate); but when this solution proved unsatisfactory, consuls and podestas took turns governing the city. Advising the consuls or the podestas were two small secret councils: the *sapienti* and the *consiglio del comune* (also known as the *consiglio di credenza*).

Between 1169 and 1187, the Cremonese expanded their walls, making the city four times larger than it had been and incorporating some suburbs. The incorporation of the suburbs brought new social and political tension, as the city became divided into two antagonistic camps. Within the *città vecchia*—the part of Cremona encircled by the ancient Roman walls—lived Cremona's oldest families: knights (*militi*), large property holders, judges, and merchants. In the *città nuova* lived the *popolo*: petty merchants, artisans, and small property owners. As in many other Italian communes, the *militi* and the *popolo* each created their own separate associations. By 1201, the *militi* of the *città vecchia* were organized into a *societas militum*, which included all those who performed military service on horseback for the commune, and, in 1292, this society built its own meeting place, the Loggia dei Militi.

The inhabitants of the *città nuova* tried repeatedly to gain acceptance as full citizens of the commune, arguing that, having been incorporated within the city's new walls, they had the right to participate in its government. Over time, as their requests for inclusion were repeatedly

denied by the residents of the *città vecchia*, the most powerful members of the *popolo* (merchants and perhaps also notaries and judges) began to assert their autonomy. In 1229, having produced their own statutes, they formed the *societas populi* (a military as well as a political body); thereafter, they elected their own officials, organized a separate government, refused to acknowledge the commune's jurisdiction, and, in 1256, began to construct their own headquarters, the Palazzo Cittanova.

As serious as these divisions were, it must be said that there were strong ties among members of the city's elite. Marriages between merchants and nobles were not infrequent; some wealthy commoners were members of the *societas militum*; and some nobles belonged to the *societas populi*. In the Italian city-states—in contrast to the situation in northern Europe—the distinction between aristocrat and plebian was not always sharp, and there was considerable social mobility.

The most famous and most beloved figure of the communal age was Bishop Sicardus (r. 1185-1215), who worked tirelessly to heal the city's divisions and to ensure that a third of the civic offices would be filled by members of the lower classes—the real *popolo*—so that the municipal government would not be dominated by the nobles and wealthy commoners who formed the two warring factions (*societas militum* and *societas populi*). A learned man, Sicardus was the author of a universal chronicle, a liturgical treatise, and a *summa* of canon law; and it is thanks to his efforts that the first layman who was not a noble, Homobonus Tucenghi (d.l 1197), was canonized by Innocent III in 1198.

In the course of the thirteenth century, the local dispute between the two Cremonese factions was absorbed into the larger conflict between the Guelfs and Ghibellines. Up to the mid-thirteenth century, the commune of Cremona was strongly proimperial. The empire not only protected and fostered the economic activities of the Cremonese but also served as an ally against Cremona's principal rival, Milan, Henry V's privilege of 1114 granted Cremonese merchants the right to navigate and trade freely along the Po River (from the Adriatic all the way east to Pavia) and throughout the entire kingdom of Italy. In 1155, Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1155-1190) tried to punish Milan, which was defying him, by transferring its minting rights to Cremona. Relations between Frederick I and Cremona soured briefly in the middle of the century,

when the heavy hand of imperial rule provoked Cremona to side with the emperor's enemies in the formation of the first Lombard League (1167); but by 1176 Cremona was no longer participating in this anti-imperial alliance, and having made peace with the empire, it took no part in subsequent revivals of the league. In 1176, Frederick I pledged never to betray Cremona by negotiating peace with its foes, and he also promised to station imperial troops in Cremona whenever the city needed protection. During the reign of Frederick II (1215-1250), Cremona remained the emperor's steadfast ally against the Lombard League. Frederick II made Cremona his military headquarters and lived there during several periods. The honor of being the residence of the Holy Roman emperor and the advantages of having such a powerful ally should not, however, overshadow some of the less positive aspects of the relationship, notably the fact that the commune incurred large debts in supporting Frederick's military ventures.

Ghibelline rule continued from the death of Frederick II until 1266. During this time, Cremona was chosen as the capital of Uberto Pelavicino, vicar-general of all imperial lands in Lombardy. Originally elected *podestct* of Cremona, Pelavicino went on to establish Cremona's—and Italy's—first *signoria*. Now the Ghibelline capital of Lombardy, Cremona became a refuge for opponents of the church and for Cathar heretics from as far away as southern France. One incident from Pelavicino's rule illustrates how prominent a role religion played in the political life of the city. On hearing that a large group of flagellant penitents was approaching Cremona and Milan, Pelavicino had 600 gallows erected along the borders of his territory. This grim spectacle was meant as a warning to the flagellants not to proceed further. According to a contemporary chronicler (who was also a Ghibelline and hence sympathetic to Pelavicino), Pelavicino feared that the secret aim of these penitents was to incite the Cremonese to overthrow him. His harsh tactics worked: at the sight of the gallows, the flagellants retreated. Whether or not this chronicler was correct about the intentions of the flagellants, Pelavicino was certainly justified in fearing the worst from his religious opponents in general. When his downfall came, in 1266, it was at the hands of the papacy and its Guelf supporters. Pelavicino's immediate successor was, however, not a Guelf but another Ghibelline—Buoso da Dovara, the leader (*podesta*) of the

universitas mercatorum, or merchants' guild, and therefore a man who had the trust of the merchant class. Dovara, moreover, was acceptable to the church because, unlike Pelavicino, he did not openly tolerate suspected heretics.

Guelfs controlled Cremona from Dovara's deposition in 1275 until 1311, and in this new political and religious climate the commune reversed its former policy of tolerance toward heretics. Many local heretics were burned in Cremona, while French heretics were sent back to their own country in chains. To facilitate the work of the inquisitors and to ensure that Cremona would remain an ally of the papacy, the papal legate created a confraternity of laymen loyal to the Guelf cause, known as the *Consortio di Fede e di Pace* (Consortium of Faith and Peace).

The decade following 1311 witnessed continued violence between Cremona's Guelfs and Ghibellines. Not surprisingly, this internal turmoil encouraged outside powers to intervene. In quick succession Cremona succumbed to Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan (1322-1323), Emperor Lewis (Louis, Ludwig) the Bavarian (1328-1330), and King John of Bohemia (1331 — 1333). Finally, in 1334, Azzone Visconti conquered Cremona and annexed it to his Milanese state, and Cremona thus ceased to be an independent commune.

The demise of the commune did not, however, mean that all communal institutions disappeared. For administrative and fiscal purposes, medieval Cremona continued to be divided into four districts, each named after one of the city's oldest gates (*forte*). Each *porta* was composed of smaller neighborhoods, known as *vicinie*. Most *vicinie* were named after parish churches and encompassed only a street or two, but the largest *vicinie* were further divided into *quartieri*. During the communal period the system of *vicinie* reached its greatest extension, numbering sixty-five sometime before 1283. It has been estimated that Cremona had some 25,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, making it second only to Milan in wealth and population among the cities of Lombardy, and a natural target for an expansionist Milanese state.

From the fall of the commune in 1334 until 1402, Cremona was ruled by the Visconti of Milan, who introduced some immediate changes in its legal and administrative structure. In 1339, the city revised its statutes in accordance with the wishes of the Visconti. Further revisions

were made in 1349, 1356, and 1388, when not only the municipal statutes but also those of the merchant and artisan guilds were rewritten by order of the Visconti. The main thrust of these revised statutes was to preserve the Visconti's rule and to avoid the factional fighting that had plagued the commune. To those ends, the new statutes limited the communal liberties that the Cremonese had previously enjoyed, such as political autonomy, free and open assembly, and the right to bear arms. The statutes and other legislation emanating from Milan also promoted the economic agenda of the Visconti.

Economic Life

Although the revisions of Cremona's municipal statutes in the fourteenth century brought an end to the city's political independence, the effect of the Visconti on the city's economy appears to have been largely beneficial. In the municipal statutes of 1339, the Visconti offered financial incentives to anyone who would move to Cremona and help revitalize the city; and Cremona, now no longer at war with its most powerful neighbor and rival, became Milan's main port on the Po. A network of navigable canals and irrigation ditches built by order of the Visconti throughout their territory significantly improved agricultural production and facilitated transportation and communication. Cremonese merchants and artisans could now expect not only to profit from increasing local consumption and production but also to trade with the much larger Milanese market.

Throughout the Middle Ages the production of fustians constituted the leading industry in Cremona, although the manufacture of linen cloth and cotton and linen thread always remained important to its economy. Fustians were coarse cloths made of cotton only or of cotton with a linen warp; they were produced or purchased by the lower classes to make inexpensive winter clothing. The linen was grown locally, but the raw cotton was imported from Egypt. Unlike many neighboring cities in the Po Valley, Cremona never produced great quantities of woolen cloth.

In addition to being one of the greatest producers of cotton and linen cloth in Lombardy, medieval Cremona was also one of the area's

greatest commercial cities. Its central location on the Po River made it an ideal landing port for commodities destined either for local consumers or for reexport. In addition to cotton thread and Egyptian cotton, other bulk goods were imported or exported, including salt (from Venice) and flax (or linen) and foodstuffs from the surrounding countryside. Imported luxury items included raw silk, silk cloth, gold cloth, saffron, furs, and dyes. By the end of the twelfth century, merchants, bankers, and representatives of Cremona's artisan guilds had formed the *universitas mercatorum* mentioned above, an exclusive guild to protect their economic interests and ensure that the policies of the commune did them no harm. It is appropriate to note here that the city's patron saint, Homobonus, had been a Cremonese merchant.

Architecture

The heart of Cremona—its glory during the communal age— is the splendid complex of Romanesque and Gothic edifices bordering each side of the main square, the Piazza del Comune. These are all built of the red brick so typical of medieval Lombard architecture. The cathedral, originally designed as a Romanesque basilica, was begun in 1107 and was consecrated by Bishop Sicardus in 1190; Gothic transepts were added in the fourteenth century. The alternating bands of red and white marble on its facade make it one of the most striking cathedrals in Lombardy. To the right of the cathedral stands the Romanesque baptistery (1168), a massive octagonal building, also partially faced in red and white marble. To the left of the cathedral is the soaring Gothic Torrazzo, which was begun in the mid-thirteenth century; this is the tallest medieval bell tower in Italy. Facing the cathedral across the piazza is the Palazzo Comunale (1206), a visible sign of the commune's success in freeing itself from archiepiscopal rule. Between the baptistery and the commune's headquarters is the Gothic Loggia dei Militi (1292), which served as the meeting place of the *societas militum* and which, by virtue of its location in the main square, symbolized the prominence of the knightly class within the commune.

See also Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Fustians;

Liudprand of Cremona; Lombard Leagues; Milan; Urban Development

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Crescentii Family

Several men whose name, Crescentius, appears in tenth- and eleventh-century documents from the vicinity of Rome are grouped together as a family, the Crescentii. As Toubert (1973) has indicated, the term Crescentii was not used by the medieval sources, and the "family" called by that name is a creation of modern historiography. But while the degree of consanguinity and of clan solidarity between the various Crescentii, or Cres-centiuses, has yet to be ascertained by scholars, there are clear lineage relationships between some of the most powerful men in and around Rome between 900 and 1050. These men shared policies as well as a name.

In modern studies the Crescentii are grouped into two main lineages: the Ottaviani and the Stefaniani. These names derive from the founders of the lineages. The Tusculani—who, like the Ottaviani and Stefaniani, were descended from the influential papal official Theophylact—competed with the Crescentii rather than cooperating with them. The Ottaviani tended to dominate the city of Rome, while the Stefaniani were formidable in the Sabine region. Several other Crescentii (the Stilluti, the Picti, and the Sandalarii) are named in charters and appear to have been lateral branches of the main lineages.

Although a Crescentius (whose relationship to the clan is uncertain) appeared at a trial in Rome in 901, the clan's apogee came in the last third of the tenth century. In that period the Crescentii produced one pope (John XIII, d. 972) and controlled most of the others; they held the

secular offices of Rome, and they exploited this combination to obtain lucrative donations from the papacy. Exerting influence on the popes and gaining territorial and jurisdictional concessions from them were an important part of the strategy of the clan; the counties of Terracina and Palestrina and the county and rectorate of Sabina were considered crucial. Even when a pope of non-Crescentian origin ruled, the Crescentii held on to the decisive secular offices in Rome. The Crescentian system depended on monopolizing Roman secular posts rather than the papacy itself and has been styled "Alberician" by Toubert. Despite direct interference by the Saxons in the workings of this system after 961, and despite a notorious period of repression under Otto III in 998 (when Crescentius Nomentanus made an unlucky stand at Castel Sant Angelo and was slain), the Crescentii maintained control until the virtually simultaneous deaths of "their" pope Sergius IV and the patrician John II in the spring of 1012.

The Crescentii also promoted the system of *incastellamento* in the second half of the tenth century. This involved creating population clusters in defensible locations which reinforced the hold of the Crescentii on the land and thus settled and augmented their agricultural income. Opportune marriages were another tool by which the Crescentii enlarged their spheres of influence, their territories, and their clientele.



Detail of neoclassical elements, house of the Crescentii, Rome. Photograph

courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The pontificate of the Tusculan Benedict VIII and his alliance with the Saxon Henry II began the dissolution of the Crescentian system. The Crescentii, deprived of influence over the popes and deprived of secular authority in Rome, fell back on their Sabine fastnesses. They proved unable to organize a comeback, and within a few years they had relinquished Palestrina and numerous Sabine castles to papal forces. The collapse of Crescentian power was not total or sudden, however, for a Crescentius was urban prefect (a judicial office) in Rome until at least 1017, and another held that post in 1032. The Stefaniani lost most in the fray with the Tusculani but fared quite well in the 1020s, to the extent that Abbot Hugh of Farfa was obliged to make a pact with the Ottaviani for protection from incursions by the Stefaniani. The Ottaviani used this pact to appropriate several Stefaniani strongholds in the Sabine hills and then refused to return them to Farfa. During this period, the solidarity of the clan reached a low point. The competition between the branches of the clan may even have contributed to the Crescentii's loss of power after 1012. Although Abbot Hugh protested vehemently against thefts and usurpations suffered by Farfa, throughout the eleventh century, land and fortified sites passed from the Crescentii to the monastery. A loss of political preeminence, underscored by the Crescentii's support of the unsuccessful antipopes Sylvester III (1045) and Benedict I (1058), accompanied the loss of property and jurisdiction. After 1058, the Crescentii were dormant politically, but they remained wealthy landowners in the Roman region as it was subsumed into the patrimony of the reformed papacy.

The Crescentii, including Crescentius Nomentanus, were opponents of foreign imperialism, but they were not ideologically motivated. Rather, they resented interference in Roman politics by German emperors because it often brought the advancement of rival local dynasts and the deposition of popes who favored the clan. As the "ins" when the Saxon rulers first intervened in Roman affairs, the Crescentii naturally resisted this innovation. Various "outs," the most successful of whom were the Tusculani, latched onto the German cause as a means of improving their fortunes in Rome. The Crescentii appear to have welcomed non-Italic interference in Rome, in its Byzantine form, when

this helped perpetuate their own power (that is, in the risings of 965, 974, and 984). The peculiarly Crescentian use of archaic titles (the patrician "of the Apostolic Lord," "of the Romans," or "of the Roman Senate"), and the continuation of the "senatorial" nomenclature of Alberic imply no desire cast off the barbarian yoke. The Crescentii used epitaphs, names, and dwellings inspired by ancient models as a signal of their allegiance to local traditions, the traditions of the city on which their ambitions were focused. Similar romanizing is detectable in Crescentius Nomentanus's scheme to drain the Pontine marshes, reviving a project which had been dear to the ancient emperors.

Charters referring to transactions by the Crescentii and place-names with Crescentian origins are found in Gregory of Catino (1883, 1888, 1892, and 1903), and in *Regesto Sublacense* (1887). Narratives (all hostile) in which various members of the family play prominent roles are found in Hugh of Farfa (1903).

See also Farfa; Otto III; Rome

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Crime and Punishment

The relationship between crime and punishment changed over the course of the Middle Ages. In every system, the seriousness of the crime was related to the severity of the penalty, but during certain periods other factors were also taken into account.

In the early medieval Germanic system, the only important redress for crimes, including assault and murder, was compensation to the victims' kin. There was no concept that crime hurt society and the public sphere as well as the private parties; nor was there any concept that the state had a responsibility to protect society by repressing crime and punishing criminals. The Germanic system had a weak sense of definitive judgment, and the major aim of the system was conflict resolution—not punishment. Thus for even the most heinous and violent crimes, only pecuniary penalties were meted out.

During the early Germanic period, there were few public penalties; vengeance for crime was left to the offended party and did indeed take the form of a vendetta. As Germanic society became more settled, it enacted pecuniary penalties to compensate for giving up the right to take vengeance. This was an intermediate stage between state punishment and private punishment, in that the state regularized and

enforced private punishments, formulating scales of pecuniary penalties for various crimes. Germanic peoples also developed some idea of crime as disrupting society; to symbolize this concept, a certain portion of a compensation—that is, of a pecuniary penalty—was paid to the state. Actually, the proportion paid to the state as punishment for breaking the peace might be substantial: for instance, it was half the total compensation in the Lombard state, and a third in the Carolingian state. The pecuniary compensation to victims or their kin was called a *wergeld* and could be substituted for a blood feud: the victim or the family could retaliate themselves or accept the money. The compensation consisted of the capital or *manwyrð*, which restored the value of the victim; the *faida*, an equivalent sum to pay the offended party for giving up the right to retaliate; and the payment to the state. The amount of the compensation, or the punishment, usually depended on the crime, the status of the culprit, and the status of the victim. In the Lombard codes, pecuniary compensations were graduated so that a member of a lower class would pay less than a member of an upper class, proportional to income; but this was not the usual arrangement. Some classes of people were entitled to higher compensation for crimes committed against them; this was true, for example, of the clergy, although the Lombards did not give special protection to the clergy until the time of Liutprand (r. 712-744). To take another example, a state official, a *missus*, of Charlemagne was entitled to as much as nine times the normal *wergeld* of a free man. It should be noted that for some crimes, under Germanic codes, the culprit would be given in slavery to the offended family; and that offenders from the servile class received corporal rather than pecuniary penalties.

As Germanic tribes came into contact with Roman law, they became aware of the concepts of criminal intent and involuntary damage, and these concepts affected their scale of penalties. Rothari, as king of the Lombards (r. 636–652), had made no distinction between voluntary and involuntary homicide, but Liutprand, who came later, did make the distinction. Thus for involuntary murder the *wergeld* was still paid, but it did not include the *faida*. Also, under the ancient German rule of blame, an owner was completely responsible for acts of his animals. However, later Salic law stated, "When an animal kills a man and this fact is proved by witnesses, the master of the animal will pay half the

wergeld and will cede the animal for the other half," but "the master can rid himself of guilt and will pay nothing in the case where he was ignorant that his animal was into mischief."

Germanic society was reluctant to impose capital punishment or mutilation, because such penalties diminished the fighting force. However, according to Tacitus the Germans did punish treachery, desertion, cowardice, and sexual perversion with death.

The Christian concept of sin would eventually change the character of criminal law. Murders and rapes were no longer regarded as private wrongs that could be compensated for by giving money to the victims or their families; rather, such acts were considered sins requiring penance—that is, punishment. Saint Augustine believed that the state could use repressive measures to control the sinful nature of man and bring about a Christian society which would foster the efforts of individual Christians to perfect themselves. Christians did not need secular law, but the law should act against people who were predestined to be excluded from the heavenly city.

Christianity also brought new crimes, such as heresy and the practice of any other religion. Thus people caught talking to trees or fountains in the pagan way were punished; and bodies could no longer be burned but had to be interred. The banning of paganism did not put an end to superstition, from which Christianity itself was hardly immune. According to Salic law, "If a female witch has eaten a man and this can be proved, she will pay 200 *sous*." Often, if someone was suffering from an internal disease, a witch presumed to have eaten his insides would be sought. The church also influenced criminal law by making the penalties for rape, incest, and fornication very severe. In general, with the advent of Christianity, the people—who had once been considered the repository of customary law and thus a source of good—begin to be seen as a source of evil that needed to be molded so as to conform to a standard of goodness.

Despite the influence of Christianity, however, both the vendetta and compensation continued. The vendetta persisted in the Lombard and Lombard-Frankish states, because these states were not able to re-create Roman coercive mechanisms; and punishment remained half private in nature for a long time beyond the Germanic period. Even during the communal period, many serious crimes could be still compensated for

by monetary payments, and victims' kin could still execute the law to a significant degree. Conflict resolution remained an important part of the law. As late as the thirteenth century, under the statutes of communes, debtors were given to the creditor to work off their debts; in the Genoese statutes, not only debtors but also their sons were turned over to a creditor in this way. For cases of assault, "instruments of peace" were commonly allowed to take the place of, or quash, a public trial. In Florence, victims' kin continued to be involved in that these kin would decide who had been the captain, or main culprit, in a homicide committed by a group. Under both Roman law and Christianized German law, a husband could kill his adulterous wife and her lover on the spot (according to Roman law, adultery constituted a provocation to violence). The community was often called on to aid in the apprehension of criminals.

However, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with the advent of the communal state, Roman concepts of public crime— and of the state as responsible for suppressing crime—were revived. Crime came to be considered public because it offended society and disrupted the peace; the state came to be responsible for punishing public crime in order to protect society; and with the founding of communes in late medieval Italy, the state gained the power and the institutions to do this. In consequence, the nature of punishment began to change. The belief arose that gruesome penalties would deter crime; that such penalties were therefore necessary; and that in order to serve as a deterrent, a penalty had to be public. In the late medieval period, legal systems also operated under the principle that a penalty should not only suit the crime but demonstrate or symbolize the crime. Thus a woman who talked in public about unfeminine subjects or insulted someone might have her tongue cut out in a public piazza; and a thief might have his right hand cut off in the place where he had stolen and then be paraded through the streets with the severed hand chained around his neck. Sometimes social factors determined a punishment; for instance, decapitation was considered a more "noble" punishment than hanging, even though it was more certainly fatal. There was no concept that criminals could be reformed.

This philosophy of punishment led to bad situations—not surprisingly, we might now suppose, but in fact the results were

unanticipated at the time. For example, cutting off a thief's hand might make it impossible for him to work, so that he had no recourse but to persist in crime. Similarly, large numbers of people considered contumacious (roughly, in contempt of court, or fugitives from justice) were "banned": they were considered outside the law and could be killed by anyone. Banning swelled the number of professional highway robbers. Some criminals were branded or otherwise marked so as to warn others that they might be dealing with a dangerous person; this had the effect of making branded criminals unemployable and, again, gave them no other recourse than crime.

One factor that made such severe penalties acceptable was a changing attitude toward the poor. During the early Middle Ages, the attitude toward the poor had been benevolent, because the poor were considered necessary (as an object of charity) to help the rich get into heaven. In the later Middle Ages, however, the poor came to be demonized: in the new urban environments, rich and poor were in close proximity, and the poor were viewed as a threat—a criminal element to be suppressed. In Venice, poverty was sometimes equated with infamy.

Compensation became far less important as a penalty for crime. Most of the serious crimes now incurred corporal punishment, with smaller pecuniary penalties, if any. In Florence, the most serious crimes could still often be compensated for; but in Venice corporal punishment was the predominant form. In practice, when pecuniary compensation still existed, there was often a choice: those who could pay might avoid capital punishment or mutilation. For example, under a Florentine statute of 1295 homicide could be punished by a fine of 2,000 *libra* and six months in prison, or by decapitation. Families scrambled to come up with cash in time. As always, the poor were the most likely to be tortured and to receive corporal punishment. Also, the new concept of punishment as a deterrent led to more terrible corporal punishments, applied to an expanded range of crimes.

A great deal of ingenuity went into devising horrible and painful public punishments. Capital punishment could take the form of hanging (this was most common), suffocation in mud, drowning, decapitation, stoning, quartering, burning, or breaking the criminal on the wheel. Criminals could also be put into cages hung outside the palace of the *podesta*, where they were left to starve and decay in public view; or

they might be hanged from a wall of the palace, special trapdoors and platforms being installed for this purpose. Being drawn, hanged, and quartered was considered an especially ignominious death, intended not only to punish the culprit but also to make a deep impression on the viewer. The culprit was "killed" three times: first by being dragged by a horse, either on a pallet or without one (this depended on whether the court wanted him dead or alive for the next stage), then by being hanged, and finally by being cut to pieces. Such desecration of the culprit's body had a profound effect on medieval viewers religiously as well as psychologically, because they were accustomed to Christian burial in holy ground, accepted the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and practiced prayers of intercession connecting the living with the dead. As we have noted, mutilation was another form of punishment: not only the hands but also the feet, ears, and nose might be chopped off, depending on the seriousness of the crime. Sometimes mutilation was in effect a death sentence, if the wound became infected.

"Publication" was achieved by public executions, by leading criminals to execution through the public streets, and by marching mutilated criminals through the piazzas. For defaulting and fleeing debtors, publication was done by painting their portraits on a wall—in Florence, on a wall of the Palazzo della Signoria or the Podestare.

In addition to corporal punishment, there were the ordeal and torture. Neither of these was actually a punishment (although that may have seemed a fine point to those being subjected to them); rather, both were parts of a defendant's trial. Torture was intended to elicit a confession; the outcome of an ordeal was considered proof. The main method of torture was *strappado*, or the rope hoist, which was also used at times as a punishment. The defendant's hands were tied behind his back up above his head and then to a rope hoist, by which he was lifted into the air. To intensify the pain and dislocate the joints, the rope was jerked a specified number of times.

Some penalties for less severe crimes were meant merely to shame. For example, prostitutes might be chased through a town nude. Some people were put into stocks in the middle of town, sometimes with their tongues in a *giova*, where they could be degraded and ridiculed by their compatriots. People who had broken the Lenten fast by eating meat

might be paraded around town with a ham strung around their neck. Heretics would be marched around wearing a miter on the head. Community chastisement was apparently also considered an effective deterrent.

For all the serious public crimes, an accompanying penalty was the status of "infamy." The infamous were not eligible for political office and could not bring an accusation or give testimony in court. Infamy counted as a presumption against a person charged with a crime. Another common penalty involving status was "banning." This was applied when a person accused of a serious crime was deemed contumacious—i.e., in contempt of court or a fugitive from justice—despite repeated citations and grace periods. (Infamy did not apply to people condemned through contumacy.) When a person was held to be contumacious and banned, he was considered to have confessed to the crime and thus to have been condemned. He was then declared outside the law, was said to be "wearing the head of the wolf," and could be killed with impunity by anyone.

Contumacy posed a grave problem for medieval judicial systems. Innocent and guilty defendants alike fled from a judicial system in which they were likely to be tortured or put to an ordeal during the proof stage; as a result, the contumacy rate in Florence was 58 percent during the years 1352-1355, and 56 percent in 1380-1383. By the time of the Renaissance, this problem was so acute that a sort of bounty or amnesty system arose: one banned criminal who captured and brought in others would be excused from his own penalty. This measure appears to have encouraged crime.

Forms of exile were also imposed on criminals. Relegation involved sending a criminal to a certain part of the state or to another state where he was expected to stay and check in regularly with the authorities. Relegation was used to prevent a vendetta by separating a man from his enemies; in the communes, it was used to avoid insurrections by separating a magnate from the rest of his family (*consorteria*), with whom he had engaged in lawless behavior. Another form of exile, deportation, was possible only for cities, like Venice and Genoa, that had overseas possessions.

During the late Middle Ages, prisons were intended not as places of punishment but rather as places of detention for people awaiting trial

and for criminals who could not pay their fines. However, prison apparently came to be considered in effect a penalty in itself, because after a culprit had been in prison for a long time without paying his fine, he was considered to have suffered enough and would be released. Prisons became deliberate places of punishment in the ecclesiastical court system before they were so used in secular systems. But the idea of reforming or retraining people in prison was not conceived until centuries later, in the workhouse movement.

Prisoners were not maintained at public expense; the cost of keeping them in prison was expected to be borne by their families, although sometimes religious confraternities came to the aid of prisoners. In a prison, amenities could be purchased from the guards or supervisors—a system that led to considerable corruption and extortion. Such amenities included lighter chains, better food, illumination, windows, visitors, and the privilege of wandering about the prison. On religious holidays, certain people who had been imprisoned for a long time were released as an offering to God, or oblation.

In the nascent communes, a disproportionate amount of crime was committed by violent prepotent nobles, who saw themselves as above the law and were thus a threat to safety within the commune as well as to its political stability. The communes forbade these nobles to ride through the town with armed retainers or to congregate at the houses of important magnates. The poor were exposed to greater temptations in the new commercial cities, and for the sake of social control severe laws were enacted against theft; an example is the Venetian *promissio*. Temptation was especially strong in the putting-out system, whereby expensive fabrics were left in the hands of lower class cloth workers.

Certain crimes were particularly prevalent or were taken especially seriously. In Florence during the fourteenth century, the most common crime was assault (one-fourth to one-third of all condemnations were for assault); the next most common crime was theft. During the fifteenth century in Florence, the leading crimes for which people were executed were theft, homicide, theft and homicide together, counterfeiting, rape, sodomy, arson, and treason. The most serious crimes in Siena during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were homicide, treason, arson, kidnapping, rape, poisoning, mutilation, torture, highway robbery, perjury, wounding and drawing blood, and

breaking into a home for purposes of theft. Highway robbers, professional criminals, and recidivists of any kind were punished very severely. Sodomy was often punished severely in the communes; the accuser would be a warded part of the fine; and even suspicion of sodomy was sometimes sufficient for a condemnation. The crimes for which torture could be applied in Florence during the late medieval period were robbery by a habitual thief, robbery at night, falsification, fraud, arson, devastation at night (usually, this meant destruction of crops), kidnapping, transmitting letters to the enemy, and homicide.

See also **Law: Canon; Law: Criminal; Law: Roman; Lombard Law**

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Crusades

The crusades were a centuries-long series of military-religious expeditions, beginning in 1095, in which Europeans attacked the enemies of western Christendom and attempted to establish Christian outposts on Europe's frontiers. The expeditions were proclaimed by, although seldom under direct control of, the papacy and served in part as instruments of papal foreign policy. Although the crusades were originally directed at securing control of the sacred shrines in the Levant, crusades were soon proclaimed against other targets as well: they were used to attack Muslims in Spain and North Africa, pagans and Russian Orthodox Christians in the Baltic, Christian heretics and other opponents of the papacy in western Europe itself, and the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Successful crusades often resulted in the establishment of colonies of western settlers in the conquered regions and served as instruments for the expansion of Christendom into numerous regions of the non-European world.

Crusades in the Near East

The First Crusade, proclaimed in 1095 by Pope Urban II, was the most successful of all these expeditions and set a pattern that later generations attempted to emulate. French knights, noblemen, and common folk predominated in this expedition. Notable Italian participants included Prince Bohemond of Taranto, son of Robert Guiscard; Bohemond's nephew, Tancred; and a small band of followers from southern Italy and Sicily, who figured prominently both in the military engagements and in the political intrigues of the crusading forces. In addition, merchant ships and crews from Genoa joined the crusaders at Jaffa and played a crucial role in the final assault on Jerusalem, which culminated in the capture of the holy city by the crusading army on 15 July 1099. A Pisan fleet, commanded by the papal

legate, Bishop Daimbert of Pisa, also participated in the last phases of the First Crusade.

Both the Genoese and the Pisans quickly planted commercial colonies in the coastal cities of the Levant in the aftermath of the First Crusade, and Italian merchants soon became and long remained a vital element in the Latin states that crusading armies organized to control conquered territories. During the two centuries of Latin settlement on the mainland of Syria and Palestine, from 1099 to 1292, Italian merchants profited from and contributed heavily to the stability and economic viability of the crusading states.

After the resounding victories of the 1st Crusade, the rulers of the Latin states in the east faced the major challenge of finding and retaining sufficient military manpower to control their new conquests and to establish defensible frontiers against potential Muslim foes, who surrounded and vastly outnumbered them. An early attempt to bolster the defenses was made by Archbishop Anselm of Milan, who in 1100 recruited a substantial army of Lombard troops to reinforce the garrisons that the First Crusade had established in the east. With ample financial resources, drawn largely from a subsidy collected from the clergy of Lombardy, Anselm and his forces marched overland to Constantinople, where they were joined by further military contingents from French- and German-speaking lands in the spring of 1101. The large and well-equipped crusade of 1101 ended in disaster, however, when its forces were ambushed and virtually annihilated by the Seljuk Turks in eastern Anatolia. A small fraction of the army survived, but only a handful of these survivors ever reached the Holy Land.

The success of the First Crusade and of the initial stages in the formation of western colonies in the near east resulted in large part from the inability of the Muslims to unite in opposition to the western invaders. That situation began to change in the mid-twelfth century, especially after the rulers of Aleppo succeeded in bringing neighboring Muslim states under their control. Under the *atabeg* Zengi (d. 1146) and his successors, Nur ad-Din (d. 1174) and Salahad-Din ibn Ayyub (or Saladin, as westerners commonly called him; 1137 or 1138-1193), the Muslim states of the region slowly, grudgingly united and began to put increasing military pressure on the Latin outposts. In 1144 Zengi captured Edessa, the easternmost outpost of Latin expansion.

Pope Eugenius II (1145-1153) responded to the call for Edessa by summoning the rulers and noblemen of Europe to a major new crusade, one that would not only attack Christendom's enemies in the Middle East but also push the frontiers of Christendom outward against other foes. The pope also called on Europe's warriors to take the field against the Muslim rulers of Spain and Portugal and against Slavic pagans on Germany's eastern frontiers, as well as against the Zengid princes of Aleppo, the Seljuk Turks in Anatolia, and the Fatimid caliphs of Egypt. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, whom the pope entrusted with primary responsibility for recruiting the forces to implement this grand design, was able to raise substantial armies from northern Europe, but he spent little effort on recruitment south of the Alps. Although Genoese and Pisan fleets joined the attacks on Spanish and Portuguese targets, Italy's participation in the middle eastern campaigns of this crusade was extremely modest. In any event, the massive western armies that eventually reached the east were plagued by dissension, disaster, and defeat; and all the effort expended to mount the expedition produced negligible improvement in the situation of the Latin outposts of the Levant.

In consequence of the failure of the crusade of 1147-1148, Nurad-Din, who had succeeded Zengi, was able to continue the process of political and military consolidation that gradually drew a noose around the remaining Latin states in Syria and Palestine. Toward the end of his life, Nur ad-Din's armies succeeded in occupying Egypt and displacing its Shiite rulers with a Sunni government dependent on him. When Saladin succeeded Nur ad-Din in 1174, the links that bound Egypt to Aleppo and Mosul were tightened ever more firmly; they were still further clinched when Saladin occupied Damascus and incorporated its territories into his empire. At this point Saladin's domains pressed against the Latin states on three sides, while his control of the formidable navy that the Fatimids had built gave him a major presence at sea as well. The threat of an attack by the Muslims on the Latin states became a grim reality in 1187. The campaigns of that year resulted in the Muslims' reoccupation not only of Jerusalem but also of nearly all the other cities that the Latins had held since the First Crusade. The Latin states were very nearly wiped out in one season's campaigning; they retained control only of Antioch and Tyre on the Levantine coast

and a few castles scattered through the interior.

In reaction to this catastrophic reversal, Pope Gregory VIII called for a new crusade. The response to the pope's appeal was impressive. Both the English king, Richard I (the Lion-Hearted), and the French king, Philip Augustus, took the cross, and so also did the German emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. Frederick was the first to embark on the crusade, accompanied by a powerful force, in May 1189, but on 10 June 1190 he accidentally drowned while campaigning in Asia Minor; the greater part of his army subsequently returned to Europe without ever reaching the Holy Land. The French and English kings departed by sea for the east on 4 July 1190, landed at the strategic port of Acre, and after a long siege captured it on 12 July 1191. Shortly thereafter Philip Augustus returned to France, leaving the English king, Richard, in command of the remaining crusaders. Further campaigns in 1191 — 1192 resulted in the reestablishment of a Latin kingdom on a much reduced scale along the Levantine coast, before Richard's departure for the west on 9 October 1192.

Although thirteenth-century popes proclaimed numerous crusades, none of them secured the broad popular response that had greeted the First Crusade and the subsequent expeditions in the twelfth century. The crusade of 1202-1204, in which the Venetians played a leading role, resulted in the conquest of Constantinople and the establishment of a short-lived Latin empire, which for a few decades supplanted Byzantine rule in much of Greece. In 1261, however, a Byzantine army reoccupied Constantinople, and the Latin empire soon disappeared altogether. Another crusade in 1217-1219 gained a foothold in the Nile delta and threatened to march on Cairo before Egyptian forces rallied and drove the crusaders out. The crusade of Frederick II, king of the Two Sicilies as well as German emperor, in 1227-1229, regained control of Jerusalem and held it for a decade, until it surrendered to the Ayubids in 1239. The crusade of the French king Louis IX in 1248-1254 once more attempted to gain control of lower Egypt, but after some initial successes Louis was forced to abandon the footholds he had secured.

The following three decades saw a steady erosion of the Latin states in Syria and Palestine in the face of attacks by the Mamluks. Acre, the last major city in Latin hands, surrendered to the Mamluks on 18 May 1291, and the remaining strongholds fell within the next three months.

The crusaders retreated to Cyprus and later established strongholds on Rhodes and Malta, but never again did they successfully reoccupy positions on the Palestinian mainland.

Through all these military triumphs and reverses, Italian merchants constituted a mainstay of the crusading settlements in the east. The growing trade in oriental luxury goods—especially spices, aromatics, dyes, and fabrics—was firmly in the grasp of the merchant colonies that had been established in the crusader states by cities such as Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. The Levantine colonies also gave Italian entrepreneurs access to profitable eastern markets for European manufactures, notably woolen and linen cloth, as well as furs, timber, and iron. The fall of the Latin states in Syria and Palestine put a temporary crimp in this commercial activity, and successive popes attempted to embargo direct trade between the Italian cities and the Muslim merchants with whom they had established relations during the heyday of the crusader states. The merchant cities soon adapted to the new situation, however, and found ways around the ban. The loss of the crusader states brought new risks and expenses to commercial life but failed to halt the lively trade with the east that the success of the early crusades had done so much to promote and that had brought extraordinary prosperity to successful Italian entrepreneurs.

See also **Bohemond of Taranto; Robert Guiscard; Urban II, Pope**

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Customs Duties

See Revenues

D

Daddi, Bernardo

The Florentine Bernardo Daddi (fl. c. 1320-1348), "an artist of rare and exquisite gifts" (Offner and Steinweg, 1930-1947), may have been trained in Giotto's workshop. Daddi's early panels, such as the triptych from the church of Ognissanti in Florence (signed and dated 1328), are strongly influenced by Giotto; but as Daddi matured, he began to diverge from Giotto's weighty forms and developed a style that united the Florentine heritage with the Sienese affinity for graceful figures, decorative settings, and more spontaneous interactions between the Madonna and child. The large number of panels executed in a Daddesque idiom indicates that Daddi himself had a large and productive workshop in Florence.

In his best works—such as the San Pancrazio Polyptych (c. 1340), now thought to have been commissioned for the cathedral of Florence; and the Madonna and Child of the Berenson Collection (Florence, I Tatti, c. 1340)—Daddi's figures are imbued with emotional tenderness and grace, in contrast to Giotto's more massive and somber mode of expression. The intimacy between the Madonna and child is characteristic of Daddi and his school; often, the Madonna holds up an index finger to present the child with a bird or a flower, or in some examples to admonish him.

Daddi appears to have been partly responsible for the popularization of the triptych in Florence. The portable hinged triptych, derived from Byzantine prototypes, could be closed to protect the image and opened for times of private devotion. During the 1320s and 1330s, painters including Daddi and Taddeo Gaddi developed a Gothic format for the panel type. Daddi's Bigallo Triptych (dated 1333, although the last digits have been repainted), a relatively large and richly decorated example that is closely related to a similar triptych by Taddeo Gaddi (1334, now in Berlin), may have been intended as a votive offering.



Bernardo Daddi (1290-1350), *Madonna delle Grazie*. Or San Michele, Florence.
Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Daddi had close stylistic affinities to painters of the "miniaturist tendency" such as the Saint Cecilia Master, and his intimate, lyrical style was best suited to works on a small scale. The only frescoes attributed to him are those depicting the martyrdom of saints Lawrence and Stephen in the Pulci-Berardi Chapel of Santa Croce in Florence (c. 1330). A Madonna and Child with Angels painted for the confraternity of Or San Michele in 1347 was meant to recall a miracle-working image of the *Duecento* that had previously been in Or San Michele. Daddi's panel, which was eventually set into Andrea Orcagna's imposing marble tabernacle (1357), attracted many survivors of the plague and accelerated the transformation of Or San Michele from a granary into a church. The Gambier-Parry Polyptych (signed and dated 1348), with its

pronounced compression of space and form, provides further evidence that by midcentury Daddi had moved away from the spacious monumentality of the Giottesque tradition.

Like many other artists of his time, Daddi died during the black death of 1348.

See also Florence; Gaddi, Taddeo; Giotto di Bondone; Orcagna, Andrea di Cione; Painting: Panel

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Damian, Peter

Peter Damian (1007-1072) was a leading advocate of church reform. According to his biographer, John of Lodi, he was born in Ravenna to a family which was respectable but had many mouths to feed. Fearing that one more heir would deplete the inheritance of all, his mother

refused to suckle him. When he was black and nearly dead with hunger and cold, a priest's concubine took him and restored him to health. Other adversities followed, though. Orphaned early in childhood, Peter was left to the care of a married brother; the brother and his wife subjected the boy to extreme privation, lodging him with the swine. From this wretchedness he was rescued by a second brother, Damian, who cared for him with fatherly affection and saw that he was carefully educated in the liberal arts. Peter took this brother's name, Damian, in gratitude.

Peter Damian's studies took him to Faenza and Parma. For a short time, he taught rhetoric in Ravenna. But when celebrity and wealth seemed within his grasp, a disposition to austerity, acquired through the harsh experiences of his childhood, asserted itself. He took monastic vows in the eremitic community of the Holy Cross, at Fonte Avellana, later the nucleus of the order of Camaldoli.

For Damian, the term "spiritual militia" was not metaphorical. He practiced asceticism militantly, always fighting against unseen evils by voluntarily subjecting himself to mortifications, by zealously expanding the physical resources of the community when he became prior of Fonte Avellana (after 1043), by encouraging the foundation of daughter houses, and by preaching. His earliest treatises, which date from this period, express a combination of intellectual and rhetorical brilliance with merciless zeal that remained his signature: these were *Counterblast against the Jews* and a *Life of Saint Romuald*, the founder of Fonte Avellana.

As a deeply learned, resourceful, and tireless advocate of reform, Peter Damian was taken into the circles of the Emperor Henry III and of others who wished to bring about the reform of the whole church from the head down, beginning with the papacy. He attended the synod of Sutri (1046), at which three papal claimants were removed and a new pope was installed; he also attended reform synods held by popes Clement II and Leo IX. For Leo IX, Damian wrote his first major treatise, the *Book of Gomorrah*, against forbidden sexual practices among the clergy, including homosexuality.

Although Damian was always reluctant to leave the rigors of monastic life, he was forced by Pope Stephen IX to enter the college of cardinals, as bishop of Ostia (perhaps in 1057). He then became a

fervent advocate of papal primacy, which he enforced in an important legation that he undertook to settle disputes in the church of Milan (1059), subordinating the alleged privileges of that church to Roman norms. In support of the pope's universal powers, he encouraged the making of an early collection of canonistic texts. Yet among reformers he was a moderate, as he showed in his conciliatory attitude toward the imperial court and in his treatise *Liber gratissimus*, in which— contrary to the opinion of Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida— he defended the validity of sacraments performed by clergy who had committed simony or lived in concubinage.

In 1067, after making several requests, Damian was allowed to abdicate his bishopric and return to Fonte Avellana. Throughout his career, he had continued to practice spiritual devotions, instituting liturgies in honor of Christ's passion and of the Virgin Mary, attending to the needs of the poor, and inflicting on himself every rigor of spiritual warfare, including hairshirts and flagellation.



Peter Damian. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 192v.

In the last years of his life, the papacy called him from monastic retirement for other diplomatic missions: to Florence (1066-1067), to

adjudge charges of simony against the archbishop; to Frankfurt (1069), to persuade King Henry IV to abandon an intended divorce; and to Ravenna (1072), to release the city and its bishop from an excommunication they had incurred through adherence to the antipope Honorius II (Cadalus of Parma). Returning from Ravenna, Damian died in the monastery of Santa Maria foris Portam in Faenza.

The exceptional range of Peter Damian's learning and achievement is plain in the large body of his extant writings. These include 180 letters (some of which are actually treatises on ascetic and mystical theology) and about fifty sermons, as well as legal briefs and devotional works such as prayers, hymns, and accounts of the deeds of saints.

Miracles had been ascribed to Peter Damian during his lifetime, and from the moment of his death he was venerated as a saint. In 1828, he was proclaimed a doctor of the church.

See also **Camaldoli; Humbert of Silva Candida; Leo IX, Pope; Milan; Monasticism; Ravenna; Romuald of Ravenna, Saint**

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Dandolo Family

The important Dandolo family of Venice produced four doges: Enrico (r. 1192-1205), Giovanni (r. 1280-1289), Francesco (r. 1329—1339), and Andrea (r. 1343—1354). These doges led Venice's territorial expansion,

codified its laws, and struck new Venetian coins. Among the many Dandolo who served Venice, a second Enrico was patriarch of Grado (1129-1188), and the third Enrico completed an influential Venetian chronicle in the vernacular c. 1362. The Dandolo were most powerful before 1380; they contended with the Tiepolo for leadership in Venice.

Enrico Dandolo, the doge of the Fourth Crusade, was elderly and blind when he was elected in 1192. Earlier, he had been ambassador to Constantinople and an organizer of the Great Council of Venice in 1172; as doge, he made peace with Verona and issued two new silver coins—the *grosso* and the *quartarolo*. He was instrumental in leading Venice to agree to transport the crusaders on the Fourth Crusade. When the crusaders could not completely pay for their transportation, they assisted Venice in recovering its rebellious Croatian colony, Zara. Thereupon, they redirected their voyage to Constantinople to depose a Greek emperor in return for help from the Byzantines. The ninety-year-old doge led the assault on Constantinople by sea, personally scaling a ship's ladder up the city walls. When the new Byzantine emperor proved false, the crusaders and Venetians reconquered and sacked the city in May 1204 and divided the booty. They chose Baldwin of Flanders rather than Dandolo as Latin emperor of Constantinople and determined that the Latin patriarch of Constantinople should be Venetian. In 1205, they agreed to partition the Byzantine lands. The Venetians under Enrico Dandolo thus began acquiring an overseas empire. Venice placed the four horses from the Hippodrome in Constantinople, a prize of conquest, on the facade of San Marco. Enrico died in the east and was buried in Hagia Sophia. Meanwhile, Ranieri Dandolo, Enrico's son and vice-doge in Venice, directed the first codification of Venetian civil law. Ranieri later died in the Venetian conquest of Crete.

Giovanni Dandolo, Enrico's great-grandson, doge from 1280 to 1289, extended Venetian influence on the Adriatic and joined with Charles of Anjou in planning another crusade against Byzantium. However, the crusade evaporated with the war of the Sicilian Vespers. Like Enrico, Giovanni struck a new coin, the gold ducat, or *zecchino*, which continued to be issued at approximately the same weight and fineness from 1284 to 1797. Giovanni also began to collect the deliberations of the Great Council. During his reign, in 1285, Venice was devastated by

disastrous earthquakes and destructive flooding. His son Andrea commanded the Venetian fleet at the battle of Curzola in 1298 and committed suicide after being captured by the victorious Genoese.

Francesco Dandolo, doge from 1329 to 1339, began Venice's expansion on the mainland. As the Venetian ambassador to Avignon in 1313 before becoming doge, he had persuaded Pope Clement V to lift an interdict imposed during Venice's war with Ferrara. According to legend, Dandolo chained himself under the pope's table—thereby earning the nickname Francesco il Cane ("the dog")—until Clement V promised to relent. While he was doge, Venice joined a coalition against the eastward expansion of Mastino della Scala, lord of Verona. After Mastino's defeat Venice gained Treviso. Francesco Dandolo also issued new coins, the base silver *soldino* and *mezzanino*.

Four years after Francesco's death, the Venetians chose as doge his distant relative Andrea Dandolo, then age thirty-seven, who was a legislator and Latin scholar. Andrea held office from 1343 to 1354. His friend Petrarch characterized him as "good, noble, patriotic, intelligent, well-bred, eloquent, and refined." Andrea wrote two of Venice's most authoritative Latin chronicles and a practical legal manual. He also codified a book of Venetian civil law, supplementing the five books codified a century earlier, and collected Venice's foreign treaties in *Liber albus* and *Liber blancus*. In the basilica of San Marco, Andrea renovated the Pala d'Oro and constructed the chapel of Sant' Isidoro. Like the previous Dandolo doges, he issued new coinage—a finer *soldino* coin for domestic use and a *tornesello* coin for Venetian dependencies in Greece. These positive achievements were made, however, at a time when Venice was suffering several calamities. In 1345, a severe famine caused Venice to send state galleys to Sicily and Constantinople to buy grain. In January 1347, a devastating earthquake rocked the city. In 1348, the black death swept through Venice, killing about half of the population. The war with Genoa was resumed; Venetian fleets, encouraged by Aragon and by England, battled the Genoese throughout the Mediterranean. Andrea Dandolo died on 2 September 1354, when news came that Venice had suffered a disastrous defeat at Portolongo, in Greek waters. He was the last Dandolo doge, and the last doge to be buried in San Marco, resting in his chapel of Sant' Isidoro.

See also Byzantine Empire; Charles I of Anjou; Clement V, Pope; Coins and Mints; Crusades; Della Scala Family; Genoa; Grado, Patriarchate of; Pala d'Oro; Petrarca, Francesco; Sicilian Vespers; Tiepolo Family; Venice

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Dante Alighieri

The *Divine Comedy* or *Divina commedia* of Dante (Dante Alighieri, 1265-1321) is a classic of western literature. Generations of readers have valued it as much for continuing and transforming the epic tradition of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid* as for initiating the Renaissance tradition of the long poem. From Dante's poem to Milton's *Paradise Lost* unrolled a single cycle of European literature that fused the forms and structures of the classical epic, the theology and religious passion of Christian belief, and the forces of contemporary experience in stunning poetic achievements.

Because Dante's great poem became recognized a classic, it continued to enter into the lives of readers even when the epic cycle that it had helped initiate lost impetus and was replaced by other forms of literary expression. In fact, Dante's *Divine Comedy* has the kind of power and appeal unique to a classic: successive eras have found reflected in it their own intellectual concerns; and just as a river takes on the coloration of the many terrains through which it passes, so Dante's poem has accumulated the tones of many successive readings.

Yet although Dante has become, as Ben Jonson said of Shakespeare, a figure for all time, he was still of a time. The *Divine Comedy* may have taken on the attributes of a living, growing organism, but it was nevertheless a product of medieval Italian culture. This masterpiece needs to be considered in light of the evolution of Dante's own poetic practice and theory, his attitude toward the newly emergent Italian language, his own acquisition of scholastic philosophy, the new

mediating role of the lay philosopher, the vicissitudes of Dante's own political career both within and outside his native Florence, and the crucial changes in the large public forces that fashioned Dante's own life and times and the Italian culture of his day.

One factor that makes this larger frame so necessary is Dante's own nature and temperament—his willing engagement with the most powerful forces of his time. Although in the *Divine Comedy* he chastises himself for heedlessness, he makes the dominant historical events of his day and the major elements of his culture not the background but the foreground of his poem: in fact, its very substance. Like many of the poets who would follow him over the next three centuries, Dante himself was a considerable public figure.

Dante was born, as he tells us, under the sign of Gemini (21 May-20 June). He passed his youth in an ascendant, triumphant Guelf Florence, which, in league with the papacy and France, had finally, after nearly fifty years of intermittent strife, succeeded in defeating and permanently banishing the Guelfs' adversaries, the Ghibellines. As a young man Dante was a loyal son of the commune, imbued with the civic humanism of Brunetto Latini, who after his return from exile in 1266 became the spiritual mentor of an entire generation of young Florentines. In two instances in the *Commedia*, Dante personally recalls battles fought by the Florentine commune at Campaldino and Caprona, indicating that he himself was present. In many respects Dante belonged to a *jeunesse dorée*, a group of golden youths—as he indicates, for example, in *Paradiso* 8, when he records the favor shown to him by Charles Martel when Charles made a princely entrance into Florence. At age eighteen, already possessed of remarkable self-confidence, Dante sent his first poem to the most famous writers of the day, including Guido Cavalcanti.

Early in the 1290s, Dante collected the poems, mostly sonnets, that he had been writing over the preceding decade and brought them out as a little book (*libello*) that was to become famous: *Vita nuova* (*The New Life*). Here he made his first gesture toward a lifelong endeavor that itself would undergo some twists and turns, praise of the lady Beatrice. *Vita nuova* contains forty-two brief chapters with commentaries on twenty-five sonnets, one *ballata*, and four *canzoni*; a fifth *canzone* is left dramatically interrupted by Beatrice's death. The prose commentary

provides the framing story, which does not emerge from the poems themselves. The story is simple enough: Dante's first sight of Beatrice when they both are nine years old; her salutation when they are eighteen; Dante's subterfuges to conceal his love for her; the crisis he experiences when Beatrice withholds her greeting; his anguish at the thought that she is making light of him; his determination to rise above anguish and sing only of his lady's virtues; his experiences that anticipate her death (a young friend dies, Beatrice's father dies, and Dante has a premonitory dream); and finally the death of Beatrice, Dante's mourning, his temptation by a sympathetic *donna gentile* (a young woman who temporarily replaces Beatrice), Beatrice's final triumph and apotheosis, and in the last chapter Dante's determination to write at some later time about her "that which has never been written of any woman." Beatrice thus became one of the most famous unknowns in history.



Dante's tomb, Ravenna. Photograph courtesy of Teresa Gualtieri Clarke.



Paradiso, 1. Danthe Alighieri, *Fiorentino historia do*. Venice: Bartholomeo de Zanni da Portese, 1507. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

It was in accordance with the opinion of Guido Cavalcanti that Dante had decided to write *Vita nuova* in Italian; therefore, he dedicates it to his "first friend," whose brilliant and haughty spirit he memorializes most adroitly in *Inferno* 10. A second contemporary figure who influenced Dante was Guido Guiniz-zelli, the poet most responsible for altering the prevailing local, or "municipal," poetry. Guido's poems were written in praise of his lady and of *gentilezza* (nobility), the virtue that she brought out in her admirer. The concept of

love that Guido extolled was part of a refined and noble sense of life; and his influence was responsible for the poetic and spiritual turning point of *Vita nuova*. In chapters 17–21, Dante experiences a change of heart, and rather than write poems of anguish he determines to write poems in praise of his own lady, especially the *canzone* *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore* ("Ladies who have understanding of love"). This *canzone* is followed immediately by the sonnet *Amore e 'l cor gentil sono una cosa* ("Love and the noble heart are the same thing"), in which the first line is clearly an adaptation of Guinizzelli's *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore* ("In every noble heart love finds its home"). This was the beginning of Dante's association with a new poetic style, the *dolce stil nuovo* ("sweet new style"). He dramatically explains the significance of this style—the simple means by which it transcended the narrow range of more regional poetry—in Canto 24 of the *Purgatorio*.



L'amoroso convivio di Dante. Venice: Niccolo di Aristotile detto Zoppino, 1529. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Another significant change was Dante's more active involvement in the political affairs of the commune. As a philosopher, Dante was eligible to join one of the guilds that constituted the main entry into Florentine political life, and in 1295 he became a member of the guild of physicians and apothecaries. This was a perilous time, as the triumphant Guelfs had fallen into vehement strife among themselves;

thus in *Inferno* 6, Dante refers to the *città partita*, the divided city. Later, Dante was forced to recognize, bitterly, that the antagonism between Guelfs and Ghibellines had been replicated in the division within the Guelfs. This factionalism gave birth to the Black Guelf party, which was more or less intent on imposing severe restrictions on the defeated aristocrats; and the White Guelfs, who were more conciliatory. Dante was elected prior in the fateful bimester (two-month period) of 1300, and he became an active opponent of intrusions by the papacy in communal matters. These political activities heralded a significant change: Dante was gradually becoming opposed to the basis of Florentine hegemony, the alliance among the Guelf party, the papacy, and France. In time, he would oppose all three; in fact, in his later political prose work and in the *Commedia* his voice expresses a lofty, if qualified, Ghibel-line—that is, imperial—idealism.

DANTIS
ALIGHERII
FLORENTINI
MONARCHIA.



COLONIÆ ALLOBROGUM,
Apud HENR. ALBERT. GOSSE & SOCⁱ

MDCCXL

Henryson

Dantis Aligherii florentini Monarchia. Coloniae Allobrogum, apud H. A. Gosse, 1740. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

The alliance of the Black Guelfs with the papacy and France, the alliance that had been responsible for the defeat of the Ghi-bellines a generation earlier, effectively became a deceitful conspiracy responsible for the ejection of the White Guelfs from Florence. Thus in 1302, Dante himself became an exile. The course of his peregrinations remains somewhat obscure. At first, he may have made temporary league with remnants of the exiled Ghibellines in Tuscany, who had never

relinquished their strong though illusory hope of staging a military return to Florence; but if so, he soon wearied of these false allies and became a party unto himself. For the remainder of his life he moved from court to court, mainly in the principalities of northern Italy.

Of one thing we can be relatively sure: Dante would not have written his *Commedia* without the bitter experience of exile. This is one reason why the poem is fictionally dated as taking place in 1300—that is, at the time of Dante's most active political involvement, which led to his exile—and why its central plotline is his growing awareness, through a series of cryptic prophecies, of an impending disastrous blow. It also helps to explain the values of divine comedy itself: along his way, Dante the pilgrim acquires the spiritual strength and courage he needs to cope with the tragedy of history. As a result, when he receives the clearest indication of his fate (*Paradiso*, 17), he already possesses the means to surmount it. Exile is the pivotal event and the central spiritual struggle of the poem. It becomes in fact a fortunate fall, without which Dante would not have been moved to appropriate the actual meaning of the philosophy of Christ. This explains why, beyond the classical prototypes of a visit to the underworld, the grander background of Dante's journey is Christ's passion and, particularly in the *Inferno*, Christ's descent into hell.

Early in his exile, however, in order to clear his name of whatever slander may have been spread about him as a fugitive, Dante set about composing *Convivio* (*The Banquet*), a work of high seriousness that was intended to restore his reputation not only as a poet but as a moral philosopher. There is every indication that when he began writing *Convivio*, he was committing himself to a major undertaking. He projected a work of considerable length: fifteen books, fourteen of which would be extended commentaries showing the philosophical arguments of his poems. *Convivio* is, like *Vita nuova*, largely a collection of the poems he had written during the preceding decade, but in this work the poems are held together by more elaborate commentary. Apparently, Dante was never content with the experience of a single poem; rather, he was ever ready to place the poetic experience in a frame of larger coherence and meaning. Dante completed only four of the books he had projected for *Convivio*, but they are valuable by themselves, detailing his ideas about philosophy,

allegory, and nobility (*gentilezza*). His arguments about *gentilezza* appear in Book 4, which is his greatest work before the *Commedia*; he interrupts Book 4 to insert his first extended argument for the necessity and legitimacy of the empire.

Dante's career took another crucial turn while he was in exile. The hopes of all the Florentine exiles were revitalized in 1308 by the emergence of a new emperor, Henry VII. Stirred by new possibilities, Dante began addressing epistles in Latin to the nobles of Italy, urging them to support this great hope. These epistles are evidence of the high esteem in which Dante was held throughout Italy, and of his personal authority. But Henry delayed unaccountably, as Dante saw it, and also fell victim to deceit on the part of the papacy; shortly after the emperor arrived in Italy in 1310, his appeal began to fade and the French pope, Clement V, turned against him. It was in the midst of this activity and controversy that Dante wrote one of the important polemical works of the late Middle Ages in Italy: *Monarchia* (*Monarchy*, c. 1313). Here, particularly in the third book, Dante uses his philosophical training to good advantage. Formerly, he had argued that there was a need for imperial rule but had avoided alienating the papacy. In *Monarchia* he disputes the papacy's various arguments that imperial power is derivative and hence subordinate. Dante's arguments—clear, incisive, and logical—show that his philosophical training in making rational distinctions had become a very powerful tool. The arguments he makes here are those he would also make throughout the *Commedia*: that secular authority itself has a concern with justice and a power derived from the deity independently. Dante's position is actually more complex than this, however, because he tries to steer a course between secularism and theocracy. On the one hand, he is well aware of the disadvantages of theocracy, and he feels confident in attributing the origins of Italy's troubles to intrusions by the papacy in the affairs of the empire. The result, which he deplores again and again, is that the empire is frustrated, and also that the papacy is tainted by its own worldly interests. The victims of this confusion of roles are the people of Italy, who have no social order, since the arm of the state is unable to impose such order and the church cannot inspire them to follow the teachings of Christ. On the other hand, neither is secularism the answer. Dante argues that somehow there is a connection between the

vision of the earthly city and that of the heavenly city, and an emperor must have some vision of the heavenly city. Dante's problem is, of course, that he is trying to present a theoretical solution for what is a highly nuanced and delicate relationship. He is at his best when he cites historical examples of what cannot be theoretically ascertained; thus he refers to Charlemagne's goodwill toward the church, and to the fact that Justinian could not codify Roman law until he had been disabused by Pope Agapetus of a theological error. It was a sore disappointment for Dante when young Henry VII died before being able to complete what had seemed to be a divinely appointed mission. In the lofty circles of paradise, however, Dante reveals his own philosophical vision: he sees a seat reserved for the "great Harry" (*alto Arrigo*) who, tragically, came to save Italy before Italy itself was ready to be saved. In all of his divine comedy, Dante sadly and judiciously records such historical tragedies.

As we try to locate Dante in relation to late medieval Italian culture, we can see that he led the way to creativity in several critical areas. A fundamental area is his lifelong defense of the Italian vernacular as an effective language for literary and philosophical expression. This concern first appears in *Vita nuova*, where Dante informs the reader that what drew him and Guido Cavalcanti together was their agreement that this work would be written entirely in the vernacular. Dante's interest in the vernacular grew into one of its first great defenses—in *Convivio*, which was also written in Italian; and in *De vulgari eloquentia*. He also developed a corollary: that the poetic powers of the vernacular needed to be enhanced through imitation of the ancients. These motives and arguments would be echoed in the literary renaissance of France and England.

Dante's defense of the vernacular is a confident and forthright defense of the validity of his own culture and experience. In particular, Dante disputes the poetasters who try to excuse their own deficiencies by denigrating their native language and holding up the Provençal *langue d'oc* as its poetic superior. Dante invokes a parallel situation, Latin versus Greek literature, arguing that if the Romans had acquiesced in the purported natural superiority of Greek, there would never have been a Latin literature. The analysis is remarkable, as is its conclusion—Dante's quite accurate prophecy of an entirely new literary culture. Dante predicts that the Italian vernacular:

. . . shall be the new light, the new sun, which shall arise when the worn-out one shall set, and shall give light to them who are in darkness because of the old sun, which does not enlighten them.

The sociological implications of this statement are no less astonishing than its literary implications. The Italian language will be used to bring learning and lessons in virtue to people who have until now enjoyed no such benefits. Dante is describing a revolution: the twilight of Latin culture and the emergence of an urban lay culture. Through Dante's promotion of the vernacular, and his own example, Italian was soon to become the leading literary language of Europe, a position it would continue to hold for more than 300 years.

Still, this defense of the Italian vernacular did not satisfy Dante's purposes: his real, abiding aim was to enhance it. Thus *De vulgari eloquentia* is a natural complement to the arguments in Book 1 of *Convivio*, the one defending the vernacular and the other showing how the vernacular can become a vehicle for superior literary expression. Although the formulations here are quite specific, it should be remembered that this impulse to elevate poetic practice beyond the local and the municipal had already been present in *Vita nuova*. Dante's own ambitions aspired to the level of the classics. The lesson he devises in *De vulgari eloquentia* is clear, and it would be repeated by all the ambitious writers of the Renaissance. To become true poets, Dante insists, those who write in the vernacular must abandon chance and acquire doctrine: that is, they must themselves adopt a conscious poetics. The best way to achieve this higher skill is by imitating the ancients; the more closely we imitate them, the better poets we will become (*quantum illos proximius imitemur, tantum rectius poetemur*). Thus when Virgil returns in *Inferno* 1, he brings with him the larger poetic vision and practice of the classical world as well as its moral wisdom. In an even more memorable reunion in *Inferno* 4, Dante himself joins the circle of five classical poets, bridging the gap between them and becoming the sixth of their company (*sesto tra cotanto senno*, 102).

These astonishing changes in society, in language, and in poetics that Dante announces require a new personage: the philosopher as mediator, the lay philosopher—someone who might today be called an

intellectual. This person moves with skill and understanding between the technical philosophers in the schools and the newly enfranchised lay readership. Dante casts a new role for himself, a role he has inherited by adhering to the civic humanism of Brunetto Latini. But Dante went one step farther. In 1292, as he tells us in *Convivio*, to console himself for the death of Beatrice, he began attending lectures in philosophy. His concept of poetry thus came to include a notion of the poet as teacher and even as seer, a figure combining art and learning. Separating him even farther from his Florentine teachers and his compeers was his later insistence on Italy's need for a single ruler—an emperor. In all these ways, Dante separated himself from much of contemporary Florentine opinion. Indeed, we can see that Dante's evolving attitude toward politics, philosophy, and poetics was setting the stage for the *Commedia*. At the same time, though, we can also see that little in Dante's earlier career prepares us for the scope and poetic reality of the *Commedia*; it has the sheer unpredictability that is a prime quality of any work of genius.

The *Commedia* uses a relatively simple storytelling device: an extraordinary visit by a living human being to the three realms of the afterlife. There is much that is fantastic in this conception, and much that shows Dante's extensive powers of invention as he works out its details. But what is even more important is that this fiction allows an extraordinarily rich panorama, the fullest imaginable account of the people, manners, ways, issues, and thought of his time. One of the earliest critics of the *Commedia*, Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370-1444), who had himself inherited and shaped Florentine civic humanism, praised the freedom and range that Dante's structure permitted. Bruni doubted that anyone else ever "took a larger and more fertile subject by which to deliver the mind of all its conceptions through the different spirits who discourse on diverse causes of things, on the different countries, and on the various chances of fortune."

Within this larger structure, the primary unit of the poem is the canto—itself a major poetic device and one of Dante's most important inventions. The cantos are powerfully condensed segments varying in length from about 115 to 150 lines, and they allow Dante to do two things: vary his landscapes and engage a remarkable array of different individuals in discourse. In fact, the meaning of a canto derives partly

from an interaction between landscape and personal exchange. The canto has scope and yet compactness, so that it is a dense, complex dramatic unit in which simple or sometimes elliptical phrases can have extraordinary powers of reference. In modern times, the study of individual cantos—*lettture dantesche*—has become a favored and rewarding approach to the poem.

In fact, the study of individual cantos has become so valuable that it has had the unfortunate side effect of hindering fuller study of another quality of Dante's imagination: his network of imaginative-cross references. There are larger connections between cantos, startling juxtapositions, suites of cantos, and parallel placements of individuals in the various canticles, all of which invite comparison. Appreciating Dante's architectonics is one of the genuine pleasures of reading his text. The superabundance of Dante's imagination gives his enormous poem some of the qualities of a medieval cathedral; but we can also see that the *Commedia* reveals the higher function of literature—its coherent power—that Dante had tried to make his own as early as *Vita nuova*.

All great poets discover their own forms, and another important invention in the *Commedia* is the canticle, a set of cantos. *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso* are surprisingly similar in structure. Each has a prologue (in *Inferno*, introducing the entire poem, there are two such cantos), followed by preliminary cantos: in *Inferno* the cantos preceding the city of Dis; in the second canticle, the *ante-Purgatorio*; and in *Paradiso*, those under the shadow of the earth. Approximately one-third of the way through, the purpose of the canticle is intensified. In these long middle sections, the heavy work is done. The canticle culminates in the fuller meaning of its experience in the nadir of hell or at the heights of Purgatory and paradise. In *Inferno*, after the Malebolge, this climax is the Cocytus, beginning in Canto 31; in *Purgatorio*, the climax is the Earthly Paradise, beginning in Canto 27; in *Paradiso*, a new tone and intensity of experience are gained beginning with the address to Mary in Canto 23.

In the mysterious and miraculous circumstances of *Inferno* 1, the long-absent spirit of Virgil returns to prevent Dante from backsliding and to redirect his energies. The specific itinerary involving this change of direction brings back to western literature a central theme of

classical epics, the visit to the underworld. However, this itinerary is itself revised: Dante quite consciously alters the pattern of the classical epic. In classic examples such as *The Odyssey* and *The Aeneid*, the visit to the underworld occupies the middle books (Book 11 in *The Odyssey* and Book 6 in *The Aeneid*), and these episodes are central not only in placement but also because they communicate essential wisdom. Dante's Christian itinerary is different. Hell is not the pivot but rather a preliminary episode, in which Dante encounters not the true values of his culture but rather the gods that failed. Dante's motive is not to take on the wisdom of the place but rather to unlearn the values that failed to serve him in his travail. He must be disabused of false notions, and consequently hell is a place of disaffection. For this reason, hell is the initial experience, not the median (in this schedule, Dante and another Christian poet, Milton, are perfectly in stride).

To be sure, we encounter in hell imposing and memorable characters such as Francesca, Farinata, Brunetto Latini, Ulysses, and Ugolino. Their stories, their fates, and their agonies are so inventive and so powerful that it was almost natural for the Romantics of the nineteenth century—the post-Napoleonic age—to identify with these doomed characters, to see them as icons of dismay, and to take them as the significant heroes of Dante's poem. In the twentieth century, a time when readers cast a more ironic eye on such projections of the self, these characters lost some of their allure. Indeed, some twentieth-century counter-Romantics called Francesca a Madame Bovary and regarded Ulysses merely as a footloose adventurer. Twentieth-century critics tended to be more conscious of the totality of the poem and considered it appropriate to put some distance between the reader and the characters of the *Inferno*. They also discerned a distance between the author, with his full understanding, and the naive narrator—the pilgrim who is only on the way toward gaining the fuller comprehension that has been in the author's possession from the beginning.

The intermediate but central and pivotal poem in Dante's trilogy is *Purgatorio*. Here the painful process of reconstruction begins. In *Inferno*, the characters have distinct identities, but in *Purgatorio* they adhere to the central motif of pilgrimage. In this sense, *Purgatorio* is dominated not by individualism but by spiritual brotherhood. Poetically, the cantos are not devoted to grand individuals but consist of

a medley of forces and figures.

Purgatorio includes abundant discussions of art, poetry, philosophy, which are notably absent from *Inferno*. Nevertheless, *Purgatorio* is a canticle of stringent exclusions: any forces that do not contribute directly to salvation must be abandoned. For this reason, the summary plot of *Purgatorio* involves a rejection of Virgil. Virgil, the father to whom Dante gave himself for his salvation, the embodiment of the poetry and wisdom of the classical world, is now himself found to be deficient. Because he did not present in his own poetic works the kind of fullness that Dante discovered in the philosophy of Christ, Virgil must now succumb to the historical vision that was his own. Virgil must give place to Beatrice, who will now be Dante's mentor and his guide to the possibilities of the Christian vision.

Dante was heir to a heroic Roman culture and was convinced of the Tightness of the creative design for the universe; therefore, it would not have been fitting for him to rest his poem on the straitened consolations of the purgatorial way. The purpose of the original divine creation was not restraint but fulfillment. Appropriately, then, Dante's trilogy is capped by *Paradiso*, where the original human instinct to return to God finds its rightful, heroic fulfillment in the lives of the saints. *Paradiso* brings to completion the triptychs of the poem. But while the vision of *Paradiso* is transcendent, it does not obscure the preceding books; rather, it asks us to look back, to consider its exemplars in relation to their antecedents. In this sense, although the *Corn-media* is a poem in process, its vision is retrospective. The meeting with Piccarda Donati in *Paradiso* 3, which creates a powerful impression, is intended to recall the meetings with Francesca in *Inferno* and La Pia in *Purgatorio*; these meetings are an ensemble of cross-references and mutual commentary. We cannot fully assess Francesca until we have experienced La Pia, and each of these two is incomplete until we have known Piccarda. This method implies freedom as well as divine trust. We are not confined to Francesca's powerful appeal; the essential life-force and motives of love that are misdirected by Francesca are redirected by La Pia and find their fulfillment in Piccarda's sublime faith: "In his will is our peace" (*E 'n la sua volontade è nostra pace*, 3.85).

These motives—freedom and fulfillment—are realized in an even greater triptych controlling the central cantos of each canticle. Imitating

and transforming the pivotal episode in Book 6 of *The Aeneid*, where Aeneas receives the message of his life from his own father, Anchises, Dante constructs the central encounter of each of his books around a father figure: Brunetto Latini in Canto 15 of *Inferno*; a composite of Guido del Duca and Marco Lombardo in Cantos 14-16 of *Purgatorio*; and his own great-great-grandfather in *Paradiso* 15–17. Each meeting addresses the central topic of the *Commedia*, Dante's preparation for the coming blow: for exile. Although each provides essential information, it is from Cacciaguida that Dante acquires the clearest idea of the impending tragedy; and as we have noted, at the same time he receives (as he has been receiving all along) the resources to cope with that catastrophe. Christian realism encompasses the tragedy of history and also provides the means for transcending history; this is why, in its fullest meaning, the poem may be regarded as a divine comedy. Brunetto Latini is a worthy man but a marred exemplar; Guido del Duca and Marco Lombardo are sustaining figures along the way; but it is in the presence of Cacciaguida, Dante's biological as well as spiritual source, that he discovers the intimate meaning of his life. He transcends the need for consolation: "You are my father, you give me all boldness to speak, you uplift me so that I am more than myself" (*Paradiso*, 16.16-18). These lines manifest the purpose of the poem, heroic paideia (or ultimate education). In *Inferno*, paideia is dysfunctional: the exemplars are false figures, parts of the mind of hell and aspects of the problem rather than of the solution. In *Purgatorio* there are no heroic figures at all; all the figures partake of a penitential discipline and a spiritual brotherhood. In *Paradiso*, heroic paideia functions rightly as Dante finds his own true nature and expression in the models of Christian history. Not even Virgil offered these intimate, personal, and yet transcendent possibilities for redemption.

Dante's poem is the fullest and most imaginative appropriation of Christian salvation. Within the confines of the Christian scheme, the *Commedia* stretches from the first day to the last night, from the creation to the crucifixion and the resurrection. Its greatest distinction is that it embodies this scheme in significant, distinctive historical types. In fact, these lively, realistic individuals rescue the Christian sense of history from certain monochromatism. Dante is an incarnationist, imbued with the sense that the Christian calendar is

always being relived, relearned, and reengaged. When it vividly realizes religious passion, Dante's poem is part of its own age and a prelude to another age. It stretches from heaven to hell, which are points or coordinates in Dante's fundamental faith that humankind has an innate purpose to return to God, to redeem itself from nothingness. When it is realized, this innate drive leads to the fullness of the saint, whose life bespeaks an absolute dedication to a worthy ideal; but when it is misdirected or defeated by poor educational models, it leads to frustration and obsessive attachments, which are the primary evidence of hell. In this passionate world of manic extremes, such misdirection must result in the terrible thought that it is better not to have been born. A long line of modern western literature, originating in the late Middle Ages in Italy and realized in the Renaissance, rests on these principles: the grand scheme of Christian salvation, expressed by individuals and presented aesthetically in imaginative fiction; and religious passion that stretches humankind between the poles of salvation and damnation. Dante was the first master of this great cycle of literature.

Dante's exile was a difficult time of wandering from one place to another. Throughout these years he was sustained by work on his great poem, which he may have begun before 1308 and completed just before his death in 1321. In his final years, Dante was received honorably in many noble houses in northern Italy, most notably by Cangrande della Scala in Verona and by Guido Novello da Polenta, the nephew of the remarkable Francesca, in Ravenna. Dante died in Ravenna; his burial was attended by the leading men of letters, and the funeral oration was delivered by Guido himself.

Dante's *Commedia* did not have to wait long for recognition and honors. By the year 1400, no fewer than fourteen commentaries devoted to detailed expositions of its meaning had appeared. Giovanni Boccaccio wrote a life of Dante and in 1373–1374 delivered the first public lectures on the *Commedia*. Dante became known as the *divino poeta*, and in a splendid edition of the *Commedia* published in 1555 the adjective *divina* was applied to the poem itself; thus the simple *Commedia* became *La divina commedia*.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Boniface VIII, Pope; Brunette Latini;

Cangrande della Scala; Canzone; Cavalcanti, Guido; Cino da Pistoia; Clement V, Pope; Dante Commentaries; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Florence; Ghibelline; Guelfs; Guinizzelli, Guido; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Ovid; Ovid in the Middle Ages; Scuola Poetica Siciliana; Sonnet; Virgil; Virgil in the Middle Ages

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Dante Commentaries

Over time, the critical and public fortunes of Dante (1265-1321) and his work have been uneven. However, there is little doubt that the years of his greatest impact and authority are the fourteenth century—which will be discussed here—and the twentieth.

Dante's reception during the fourteenth century is highly complex. The many commentaries that were written to accompany his *Commedia* constitute only the most important and most lastingly visible aspect of the earliest reactions to the poet and his work. The first two canticles of the *Commedia* (*Inferno* and *Purgatorio*), and possibly batches of cantos of *Paradiso*, began to circulate in Italy during the last decade or so of the poet's life. The poem's success was immediate and its reputation wide-ranging. The *Commedia*, unlike any earlier work in the vernacular, reached the whole of the Italian peninsula; its prominence is confirmed by the fact that commentaries on it were written in places as far apart as Milan, Naples, Pisa, and Verona. Furthermore, as the manuscript evidence demonstrates, in fourteenth century Italy the *Commedia* was the most popular book after the Bible. Its penetration is all the more remarkable because medieval Italy was fragmented, linguistically, into many regional vernaculars, and the Florentine dialect in which the poem is written would have been far from familiar to the majority of its readers. The influence of the *Commedia* ranged from schools to pulpits to the street. What is striking and unique about the first generations of its readers and listeners is precisely the diversity of their backgrounds and social origins.

This diversity accounts, in part, for the variety of the critical responses that the *Commedia* elicited, which differed markedly in form,

language, and content. The *Commedia* was the focus of in-depth, organically structured commentaries in Latin and in Italian, ranging from analyses of all its one hundred *canti* to interpretations of individual canticles or even of just a single canto; and it and its author inspired a plethora of other texts in both prose and verse. These include public lectures, summaries, pseudo-biographies, short stories, and discontinuous and connected glosses. The most important are the so-called Anonymous Lombard (before 1325); the *Chiose selmiane* (before 1337), named after their editor, Francesco Selmi; the *Chiose ambrosiane* (1355); and the *Chiose cassinesi* (possibly 1360). *Chiose cassinesi* and *Chiose ambrosiane* are called after the libraries, the Ambrosiana of Milan and the abbey of Monte Cassino, which respectively house the single manuscripts that conserve them. Many other glosses still await editing. No author since classical antiquity had generated such interest, and so Dante's fourteenth century reception marks a significant moment in the history of literary criticism. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the primary effect of the *Commedia* during the *Trecento* was on the development and character of vernacular culture in general, to which it gave tremendous confidence and energy.

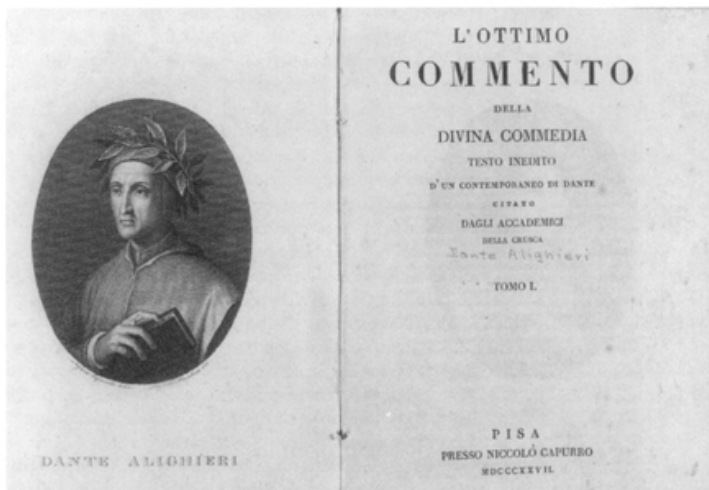
Despite, or perhaps because of, its popularity, the *Commedia* engendered negative as well as positive reactions among intellectuals. Early criticism of the poem, which came from both secular and religious circles, centered on its language (Dante's choice of the vernacular over Latin), its philosophical ambitions, its theological orthodoxy, its political sympathies, and its doctrinal leanings. Indeed, as recent scholarship has begun to demonstrate, all the works Dante wrote after he began the *Commedia* in 1306-1307—namely, *Monarchia* (c. 1316-1318), the *Eclogues* (1319-1321), and *Questio de aqua et terra* (1320)—can be seen as rebuttals to attacks. Many of the commentaries also seem intended to counter efforts to discredit the poem and its author: these commentaries defend, for instance, the orthodoxy, style, and erudition of the *Commedia*. What unites all the extant commentaries is their overt desire to celebrate and monumentalize Dante and the *Commedia*. They constitute the most sophisticated and lasting expression of the fascination with the poem which swept through Italy at the time, and which today can help us contextualize and appreciate the commentators and their works. For too long, and

anachronistically, Dante scholars have considered the commentaries simply as appendages to the *Com-media*—useful primarily for unraveling the poem's many cruxes—rather than as independent texts in their own right.

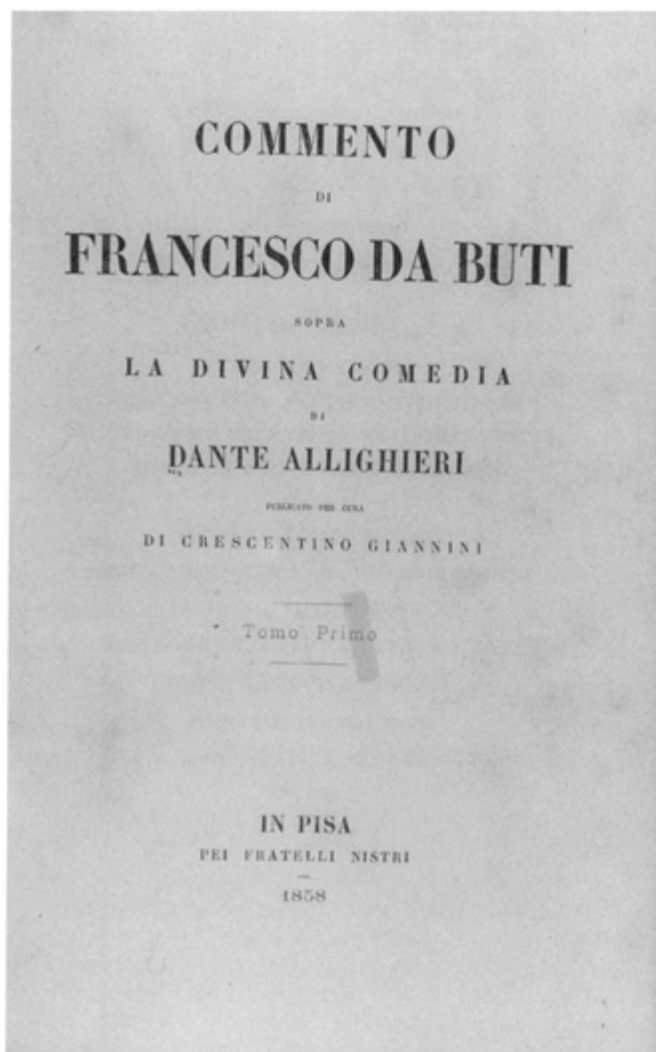
The commentaries are products of their environment in other ways. As has been mentioned, Dante was ever ready to vindicate his great poem. This attitude stemmed from his clear awareness that critical discourses surrounding literary texts were weighty and significant. Before he wrote the *Commedia*, Dante had composed *Vita nuova* (c. 1292-1294) and *Convivio* (c. 1303-1307) in order to highlight the importance of his own lyric poetry and his own status as a poet. In both *Vita nuova* and *Convivio* he provided detailed prose commentaries of his own to elucidate his verse, and both works are closely modeled on the structural conventions of the kind of manuscript that combined a poetic text and its commentary. To establish the canonical standing of his *rime*, Dante deliberately imitated a textual and critical form that for centuries had normally been restricted to the works of the great Latin poets, although some sporadic and limited exegesis of more recent literature, including vernacular texts, had begun to be written from the twelfth century onward. In *Convivio*, in addition, he drew on the interpretive conventions of scriptural, philosophical, and theological commentary. The commentators on the *Commedia* follow in Dante's wake, not least because in this poem, although Dante did not establish any overt links with the conventions of exegesis as he had done in *Vita nuova* and the *Convivio*, he did fashion a complex system of self-reflective critical allusion that emerges from the action and its poetic representation. Dante's aim was to explain and justify the *Commedia's* experimentation and to establish himself not only as an *auctor* (author) but also, and more significantly, as a vernacular *auctor*, the equal of the great authoritative writers of antiquity. He was successful in this ambition, as is demonstrated by the fact that almost immediately commentaries began to be written on the poem which carefully imitated the conventions of the exegesis on the classical *auctores*: in particular, the division between the introductory *accessus*—the academic prologue to an *auctor*—and the actual analysis of the text's literal and allegorical meanings. The commentators recognized and confirmed Dante's "authoritativeness." For the first time in centuries, a

new *auctor* had entered the canon; indeed, Benvenuto da Imola (1320 or 1330-1387 or 1388), the most incisive of the *Commedia*'s fourteenth-century exegetes, declared that Dante was the greatest of all poets (1.8).

To date, Dante scholarship has found it far from easy to trace a precise history of the fourteenth-century commentators. There are several reasons for this. The nineteenth-century critical editions of most of the commentaries are defective, and it has proved difficult to establish precise dates for many of the original works (the most commonly accepted dates are given in the present essay). Also, several commentaries exist in different versions (those by the *Ottimo*, Pietro Alighieri, and Benvenuto). This has made it especially hazardous to try to establish relationships between different commentaries—a problem which is especially acute as regards the so-called *Epistle to Cangrande*. That work examines the *Commedia* in general by assessing its allegorical structure and by considering it under the six headings typical of one of the standard *accessus* models ("the subject, the author, the form, the aim, the book's title, and the branch of philosophy to which it belongs," 6), before offering a detailed literal reading of the opening twelve lines of *Paradiso*. Scholars continue to disagree as to whether the *Epistle* was written by Dante or not. If it is genuine, the *Epistle* is the key commentary on the *Commedia*, and a fundamental influence on nearly all the subsequent commentaries, since these appear to follow several of its interpretive schemes. However, the philological evidence for its authenticity is far from compelling; and its links to the other commentaries are very few and involve matters, such as the wording of the *accessus* headings and of the poem's ethical definition, which were commonplace at the time. In any case, it is not at all clear from these verbal repetitions whether the commentators depended on the *Epistle* or vice versa. The *Epistle*, in fact, is mentioned only in the *prefatio* (preface) of the last of the fourteenth-century commentaries (c. 1400), by Filippo Villani (1325-1405); thus some scholars hypothesize that it is a late fourteenth-century compilation of several earlier texts. The idea that the *Epistle* is a forgery would also seem to be supported by its conservative exegesis. It fails to assert the radical novelty of the *Commedia*—the issue at the heart of Dante's own commentary—but instead treats the *Commedia* as an ordinary work of fiction with an ethically useful message.



L'ottimo commento della Divina commedia. Pisa: N. Capurro, 1827. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.



Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina comedia di Dante Allighieri.
Pisa: Fratelli Nistri, 1858. Reproduced from original held by Department of
Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

The history of the fourteenth-century commentaries to the *Commedia* can be divided into two main phases: 1322-1340 and 1373-1400. The thirty-year hiatus between them signals a crisis in the large-scale systematic interpretation of Dante under pressure from humanist poetics and is filled by the less ambitious glossing mentioned

above.

The two earliest commentaries conveniently fix the two principal areas of exegetical concern for the whole tradition: the allegorical and literal senses of the poem. Jacopo Alighieri (before 1300-c. 1348), the poet's eldest son, composed his Italian commentary on *Inferno* c. 1322. His intention is almost exclusively to offer an allegorical reading which highlights the universalizing morality of his father's verse. Jacopo is uninterested in matters of history, biography, or language. His commentary is the antithesis of that of Graziolo Bambaglioli (1291-before 1343). Graziolo's Latin reading of the first cantic (1324) was meant to counter the anti-Dante sentiments of the Bolognese political and intellectual establishment. Graziolo, while not entirely ignoring allegorical interpretation, concentrates on explaining the literal values of the *Commedia*, giving special attention to the political, poetic, and intellectual dimensions of the figure of Dante.

The first commentary (c. 1324-1328) on the entire *Commedia* was written in Italian by another Bolognese, Jacopo della Lana, for whom we have little if any reliable biographical information. Jacopo's commentary, which became very popular, marks a growing recognition of Dante's importance within Florence; and it is noteworthy not only for its breadth but also for its pragmatic attempt to bring together a literal and an allegorical exposition. This approach permits Jacopo to display his encyclopedic knowledge and, at the same time, to see in the *Commedia* an allegory of humanity's loss of innocence.

The Carmelite friar Guido da Pisa (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), writing in Latin, gave a highly original interpretation (1327-1328) of the *Commedia* in its entirety, although his actual *expositio*, based on a complex analytical scheme, covers only the *Inferno*. Guido considers Dante a prophet and the poem an inspired vision: beneath its poetic surface lie divinely inspired truths. In assessing the intimate relationship between the "letter" and its interpretation, Guido makes valuable observations regarding Dante's poetic language.

The *Ottimo commento* is also sensitive to the literary qualities and techniques of the *Commedia*. The title of this commentary, which means "best," was applied in 1612 by linguistic purists who were impressed by the authenticity of the Florentine vernacular in which it is written. The *Ottimo commento* embraces the whole poem and is

apparently an attempt to synthesize contemporary exegeses of the *Commedia*. It was probably written by the Florentine notary Andrea Lancia (c. 1280-c. 1360), who claimed to have known Dante; and it exists in three redactions (1333-1334, 1334-1337, 1337-1340).

Another of Dante's sons, Pietro Alighieri (before 1300-1364), gave a commentary in Latin on the *Commedia*; he prepared three versions of this commentary (1340, 1350-1355, c. 1358). Pietro—in contrast to Guido's religious reading but in keeping with a growing trend of poetically oriented analyses—lays great stress on the fictional nature of his father's masterpiece. He highlights the organic interrelationship between letter and allegory which determines how a *fictio* such as the *Commedia* conveys its meanings. In broad terms, and rather conventionally, he interprets the journey through the afterlife as an allegory of the acquisition of virtue and knowledge, but many of his specific elucidations are distinguished by their flexibility and their avoidance of dogmatism. In addition, his commentary is marked by a wide literary and doctrinal erudition that allows him to examine Dante's sources with considerable sensitivity.

Pietro's was the last major commentary until Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) began his vernacular *Esposizioni* in 1373. Boccaccio's great *Commentariurn*, not least because of its proto-humanism, marks the moment when the more specifically medieval reception of the *Commedia* began to be modified by new interests. With the onset of humanism, new ways of writing and reading began to emerge; inevitably, they led to a fracture between Dante and his fourteenth-century audience, although many concerns and methods of the first commentators continued to exert an influence well into the fifteenth century. It was fitting that Boccaccio was the one who revived the tradition of commentaries on the *Commedia*, because throughout his life he had dedicated himself to celebrating Dante. Boccaccio composed a life of Dante, copied Dante's works, and took Dante as his literary model. The very structure of Boccaccio's commentary—which is unfinished (at the time of his death, he had reached the opening lines of *Inferno* 17)—underscores its distance from the works of previous commentators. Boccaccio rigorously separates literal from allegorical exegesis, so that each canto is interpreted twice. In general, however (as might be expected, given his erudition and his literary propensities),

Boccaccio concentrates on the "letter" of the *Commedia*, an approach which he bolsters with a committed defense of the value of poetry.

Boccaccio's *Esposizioni* began life as public lectures in Florence, which were attended by Benvenuto da Imola, the most original and sophisticated of Dante's commentators. The three versions of Benvenuto's Latin *Comentum* were composed between 1375 and 1380, and the final redaction proffers a highly detailed and learned exegesis that meshes literal and allegorical explication. The commentary is based on school lectures, a form of Dante criticism which was becoming increasingly popular and which confirmed the poet's status as an *auctoritas*. Benvenuto was the first commentator to make serious efforts to explain the poetic originality of the *Commedia*. The protagonist's journey is not only a journey of knowledge, as it was for other exegetes, but also a poetic journey during which Dante establishes his artistic superiority over other writers. Benvenuto's interpretation is remarkably close to Dante's own commentary in the *Commedia*. Indeed, Benvenuto, like Dante, stresses the close links between poetry and theology. At the time, there was an increasingly intense debate on the functions of poetry—a debate in which Dante was assigned a crucial role—and Benvenuto's contribution to it is one of the most eloquent and intelligent expressions of faith in the value of literature. He makes his case in a commentary that reveals his strong awareness not just of the commentary tradition (besides Dante, Benvenuto elucidated several classical *auctores*), but also of the novel exegetical structures he was applying. His *Comentum* was born of a new sense of the worth and importance of commentary and of the commentator, in harmony with contemporary views on the independent status of learning. Not surprisingly, Benvenuto's work exerted a strong influence in the early fifteenth century—the commentary of 1416-1417 by Giovanni da Serravalle (1350 or 1360-1445) is heavily dependent on it—and has been the preferred commentary of present-day Dantists.

Francesco da Buti (c. 1315-1406), who lectured on Dante in Pisa, came under Benvenuto's sway. Francesco, writing in Italian (1385-1395), glosses with enormous precision the bulk of every canto of the *Commedia*; and even though he prefers to focus on its allegorical meanings, his scholarship allows him to elucidate many of the poem's doctrinal passages very skillfully.

The fourteenth century came to a close with two further notable commentaries. The commentary by Anonimo Fiorentino (c. 1400) seems to summarize different interpretations of Dante. By contrast, the commentary of Filippo Villani proposes a radically new allegorical treatment of the *Commedia*. Of Villani's commentary, only the *prefatio* and the *expositio* of *Inferno* 1 survive; nonetheless, it is clear that his aim is to establish close links between the *Commedia* and the Bible: in particular, he believes that Dante's poem, since it has the incarnation at its center and is divinely inspired, reveals Christian doctrine.

During the fourteenth century, Italian intellectual life was inextricably entwined with Dante. The commentators, in their various readings, not only highlighted the complexity of the *Commedia* but, more valuably, demonstrated the possibility and the desirability of a hermeneutics of vernacular writing. They contributed to a debate of such importance that it attracted the attention of the two main cultural figures of the time: Petrarch (1304-1374), who was drawn in with considerable reluctance; and Boccaccio, who displayed excited enthusiasm. There was no major literary question in which Dante's authority was not invoked: he was considered relevant to the relationship between Latin and the vernacular, the function of poets and poetry, and the doctrinal character of literature. Indeed, increasingly, the Latin *auctores* were glossed with the aid of the *Commedia*.

There is little doubt that Dante owes his standing as a classic not just to his own genius but also to the energy and loyalty of his first readers. During the fifteenth century, Dante's reception, despite some continuities with the concerns of the previous century, was determined by the critical interests of the early Renaissance, for which the poet and the *Commedia* no longer played a central role.

See also Benvenuto da Imola; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri

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Dante Da Maiano

The poet Dante da Maiano (probably b. mid-thirteenth century) was influenced both by Guittone d'Arezzo and by the *dolce stil nuovo*. Almost all his extant poetry comes to us in a single manuscript known as the Giuntina (1527). The scarcity of biographical data related to the poet led Borgognoni (1882) to hypothesize that he was an invention of Renaissance philologists; this theory, however, was convincingly disproved by Debenedetti (1907). Many scholars now identify the poet as Dante Magalante di ser Ugo da Maiano (a neighborhood in modern Fiesole), who appears in city records of 1301.

The literary production that can, despite some apparent editorial interventions, be certainly attributed to Dante da Maiano comprises some four dozen sonnets (including two in Provençal), five ballads, and two *canzoni*. His style has been described as a pastiche of his chief poetic models: Bernart de Ventadorn among the troubadours, Giacomo da Lentini, the Sicilian school in general, and Guittone. Dante da Maiano seems to have achieved a certain local renown in Florence with the distribution of his best-known sonnet, *Provedi, saggio, ad esta visione*, in which he describes a dream vision and appeals to his contemporaries for an interpretation. Among his respondents are Chiaro Davanzati, Guido Orlandi, and Dante Alighieri. What doubtless contributed more than anything else to Dante da Maiano's reputation was a subsequent exchange of *tenzoni* between him and Dante

Alighieri. In all, this poetic interaction consists of eight additional poems: Dante da Maiano's answer to the first sonnet of Dante Alighieri's *Vita nuova*; a five-sonnet exchange known as the *duol d'amore* (three sonnets by Dante da Maiano, and Dante Alighieri's responses to the first two); and Dante da Maiano's *Amor mi fa sì fedelmente amare* and Dante Alighieri's response, *Savere e cortesia, ingegno ed arte*.

See also Bernart de Ventadorn; Chiaro Davanzati; Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Giacomo da Lentini; Guittone d'Arezzo; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Orlandi, Guido; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Datini, Francesco Di Marco

Francesco di Marco Datini (c. 1335–1410) was among the most successful and ambitious merchants in Tuscany during the late medieval period. He was born in Prato and in 1350 moved to Avignon, where he probably served as an apprentice in an established Florentine trading firm. Around 1358, Datini entered into business with some Florentine associates in Avignon; by 1361, however, he was operating as an independent merchant. Datini remained in Avignon until 1382, when he and his Florentine wife, Margherita di Domenico Bandini, returned to Prato. From 1382 until his death, Datini devoted his considerable energy to managing his main office in Prato and branch offices in Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Avignon, Barcelona, Valencia, Majorca, and Ibiza. An enormous quantity and variety of goods passed through Datini's main and branch offices from all over the Mediterranean basin and beyond. Origo (1957), Datini's principal modern biographer, notes that his goods included "lead, alum and pilgrims' robes from Romania, slaves and spices from the Black Sea, English wool from London and Southampton, African or Spanish wool from Majorca and Spain, salt from Ibiza, silk from Venice, leather from Cordova and Tunis, wheat from Sardinia and Sicily, oranges, dates, bark, and wine from Catalonia."

Datini kept careful records of these and other business transactions, and he also instructed his branch managers to keep all their records. In his will, Datini left his sizable fortune of 70,000 gold florins to the poor of Prato, and he stipulated that all his business papers were to be kept at a palace which he had built in Prato for his family. Clearly, his will was respected, for in 1870 most of these documents were discovered under a staircase in Palazzo Datini, where they are still preserved today. This vast archival collection comprises ledgers and account books, partnership deeds, insurance policies, bills of lading and exchange, and thousands of letters of which some 11,000 are from Datini's personal correspondence. The many letters exchanged by Datini and Margherita are particularly informative regarding domestic life in the late Middle Ages. As a whole, the Datini archive constitutes one of the most valuable caches of documents on business and personal life in Italy during this period.

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De Contemptu Mundi

Contemptus mundi, scorn for the world, was a popular theme among monastic writers during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. *Contemptus mundi* poems reflect on the evils of pride, the transitory nature of the material world, the permanence of heaven, and the spiritual and corporeal suffering of fallen human-kind. Two renowned examples include *Apologeticum de contemptu mundi* by Peter Damian in the eleventh century and *De miseria condicionis humane* by Lotario Dei Segni (later Pope Innocent III) in the twelfth.

It was also in this period that Bernard of Cluny (also called Bernard of Morlaix), who was a monk during the abbacy of Peter the Venerable (1122-1156), composed a poetic satire of twelfth-century mores entitled *De contemptu mundi*. This work, nearly 3,000 lines in length, represents one of the most thorough treatments of the theme. The elaborate tone of the poem is complemented by its unusual meter, *tripartiti dactylici caudati*, which uses hexameter lines with both tailed (final) and internal rhyme.

The primary sources of Bernard's *De contemptu mundi* are contemporary events and classical literature, including the Roman satirists Horace, Perseus, and Juvenal. Bernard is set apart from other authors of *contemptus mundi* works by his distinct imitation of the Roman satirists. His critique of medieval life includes a diatribe against Rome, a lengthy attack on women, and a sharp assault on vice and crime. Bernard also provides a highly detailed account of human depravity that includes an invective against ecclesiastical abuses as well as a comprehensive catalog of moral laxity in secular society. Bernard mocks and derides human vices and vanity, but he praises the virtues of

the golden age and exuberantly depicts the celestial city.

See also **Damian, Peter; Innocent III, Pope; Latin Literature**

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Decretals

See **Gratian; Law: Canon; Papacy**

Della Bella, Giano

Giano Tedaldi Della Bella (died c. 1311), a Florentine popular leader, is generally credited by historians with shaping the Ordinances of Justice of 1293. He was born into a noble Florentine family that had been knighted c. 1000; according to the chronicler Giovanni Villani, this family was a branch of the Scolari. The family tower, Boccadiforno, was located near Dante's house; and some of the family's ancestors had served as Florentine consuls of merchants and of the commune. Giano Delia Bella himself held land near Empoli and along the upper Arno, was a member of the Calimala guild, and represented the family's business interests in France and Burgundy. He later became a business partner of Chierico de' Pazzi and conducted financial business for the pope.

For reasons that are now unclear, Delia Bella developed strong

partisan sympathies for the *popolo* and became a leader during the 1290s. The *arti minori*, or minor guilds of Florence, developed a military organization that threatened the interests of the upper classes, or magnates; and in 1289 Delia Bella had gathered a following of citizens who shared his open antipathy for the magnates. His role in the passage of the Ordinances of Justice (on 18 January 1293) is obscure, but his mark seems clear. During his priorate, from 15 February to 15 April 1293, the ordinances were radicalized under his leadership. Under the Ordinances, magnates were barred from high office and were to be punished severely for crimes against the *popolani*; and the office of *gonfaloniere della giustizia*—standard-bearer of justice, a kind of popular tribune—was established in Florence.

A natural demagogue, Delia Bella led the mob but was not of it. He seems to have been motivated by a genuine sense of justice and of a need for reform. In 1294, since he had to wait two years before he could reenter the priorate in Florence, Delia Bella became *podestà* (city magistrate) of Pistoia, which was torn by factions. His contemporary and friend Dino Compagni tells us that "he ruled them honestly but harshly, for he burned the houses outside the city where they received exiles in violation of the decrees." Pistoia had enacted laws similar to the Ordinances in Florence, and Delia Bella treated the Pistoian clergy as magnates and prosecuted them accordingly; for this, he was excommunicated by Bishop Tommaso of Pistoia.

In December 1294, Della Bella served on a commission to revise the Ordinances, and several of its members plotted his downfall. Since Dino Compagni recounts several other conspiracies, there seems to have been a pattern of innuendo and character assassination that undermined Delia Bella's effectiveness. In January 1295, a popular riot broke out against the Florentine *podestà*. Although Delia Bella tried to calm the crowd, his enemies accused him of leading it, and even many of those who knew the truth resented his interference; thus his star began to fall. Elections held in February brought several of his enemies to the priorate, and on the first day of the session they ordered his arrest. His relatives, the Magalotti, "advised him to leave the city for a few days to calm the furor of the *popolo*. He left, trusting their false advice; and without delay he was banished [on 5 March] and his goods and person condemned" (Compagni, p. 19). Discord followed, as Delia Bella's

supporters and opponents clashed; but in any case he never returned to Florence.

Delia Bella remained in Tuscany for several months and was excommunicated in October 1295. In January 1296, Pope Boniface VIII also condemned him, and he then left for France. During all this, and for twenty years thereafter, his wife Saracina remained in the partially ruined family tower in Florence. In Paris, Delia Bella he went back to work for the Pazzi. He was about seventy when he died.

See also Compagni, Dino; Florence; Guilds; Ordinances of Justice; Pazzi Family; Pistoia; Villani, Giovanni

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Della Scala Family

The Della Scala (or Scaliger) family, lords of Verona from 1277 to 1387, played a significant political role in the Veneto before the rise of the Venetian *terraferma* state. The most militarily gifted member of the family, Cangrande I (1311-1329), built a territorial dominion that

included Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ceneda, Feltre, and Belluno. His successors attempted to extend their domination southward into Emilia and Tuscany, but this provoked an alliance between Florence and Venice that demolished the Delia Scala *signoria*.

Persons identifying themselves as Delia Scala can be found in notarial acts from the mid-eleventh century, but no clear lineage can be traced until the second half of the twelfth century. The family was of modest origins, part of the notarial and judicial class that was a key constituent of the Veronese commune. Some of the Delia Scala did acquire landed fiefs from urban ecclesiastical institutions, but they were not part of the signorial class holding public rights and castles in the *contado* (countryside). Nor was the family notable in the early politics of the commune. Balduino I was a consul in 1147, but not until the end of the century did members of the family appear again in communal office.

In the 1230s, the Delia Scala abandoned their support of a faction called the Del Conte and with the help of another faction or party, the Quattrovinti (or Quattroviginti), helped bring Verona under the dominion of Ezzelino da Romano. During this period, Ongarello II Delia Scala was rector of Quattrovinti faction and rector of the commune. The tyrant Ezzelino executed and exiled members of leading noble Veronese lineages so ruthlessly that his regime came to depend increasingly on lesser families like the Delia Scala.

When Ezzelino died in 1259, Mastino I Delia Scala was *podestà* (city magistrate) of the *popolo* in Verona. Mastino received more powers as the city struggled to confront serious external threats. From 1260 to 1272, Verona was under constant attack from nobles who had been exiled under Ezzelino. It also faced a threat by Charles of Anjou, but Charles's incursions into northern Italy came no farther east than Brescia. Mastino held several key offices—including *podestà* of the merchants and captain of the *popolo*—and became in fact, if not formally, lord of the city.

The assassination of Mastino in November 1277 brought the *signoria* to fruition. In the climate of fear and insecurity gripping the city after the assassination, Mastino's brother Alberto I (d. 1301) was acclaimed "captain and rector of the *gastaldade* of the arts and of the entire *popolo*." He was given not only full administrative and judicial powers

but also the authority to promulgate and reform city statutes. The entire apparatus of the communal republic remained, but its constituent councils could not meet without license of the Scaliger *signore*, and its officials and soldiers were under his direct command.

Whereas Alberto had been content to rule Verona, his three sons—Bartolomeo, Alboino, and Cangrande—had broader ambitions and preferred military force to patient politics. Bartolomeo succeeded Alberto but was himself soon succeeded by Alboino in 1304. From 1308 on, Alboino ruled with Cangrande, and their offer of support on the eve of Emperor Henry VII's descent into Italy won them the imperial vicariate for the city in 1311. Alboino died later in 1308, leaving Cangrande sole ruler of Verona.

Cangrande immediately moved to expand his lordship. He was made imperial *vicarius* of Vicenza in 1312 and waged the first of many wars against Padua. He kept his army constantly in the field for the next seventeen years. Cangrande gained Feltre in 1321 and Belluno in 1322. The conquest of Padua was finally accomplished in 1327-1328 and was sealed with the marriage of Cangrande's son Mastino II to Taddea da Carrara. Treviso fell in 1329, giving Cangrande dominion over the entire mark (march, or borderland) of Verona-Treviso. He enjoyed it only briefly, however; he died of an illness only days after this final conquest.

Cangrande was succeeded by his brother Alboino's two sons, Mastino II and Alberto II. They continued his expansionist policy, conquering Brescia in 1332 and both Parma and Lucca in 1335. The venture of the Scaliger into Tuscany, however, brought the Florentine republic into an alliance with Venice. By October 1338 the Venetian-Florentine armies had reduced the Della Scala lordship in the Veneto to Verona and Vicenza. In the summer of 1341, the Visconti seized Parma without opposition, and in 1342 Lucca fell to Pisa.

With the deaths of Mastino II (1351) and Alberto II (1352), the Della Scala lordship deteriorated markedly. Cangrande II, who succeeded them, was assassinated by his younger brother Cansignorio in 1359. Cansignorio had his other brother, Alboino (who had already been imprisoned for a decade), murdered in 1375 in order to secure the lordship for his own two illegitimate sons, Bartolomeo and Antonio (1362-1388). Following the family tradition, Antonio had Bartolomeo

assassinated in 1381. When the Visconti sought to take Verona in 1387, Antonio abandoned the city, bringing the Delia Scala *signoria* to an end. Although there was one brief attempt in the fifteenth century to reestablish the rule of the Scaliger in Verona, the family chiefly sought its fortunes across the Alps in Bavaria (where it was known as the von der Leiter) until it died out at the end of the sixteenth century.

During the heyday of the *signoria*, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the Delia Scala developed a significant center of courtly culture in Verona. Alberto built and expanded a family palace next to the palace of the commune, just off the central square of the medieval city, Piazza d'Erbe. The finest artists of the time, including Giotto and Altichiero, contributed to its decoration. Only the church patronized by the family, Santa Maria Antica, and the exuberant family tombs (the *arche Scaligere*) today attest to the Delia Scala influence in this quarter. The Scaliger lords rebuilt most of the city's fortifications and were responsible for Verona's two great compilations of communal statutes: the redaction of 1276 under Mastino I and the statutes of 1327 of Cangrande. The poet Dante received the patronage of the Scaliger court for six years (1312–1318); he wrote *Monarchia* during this sojourn, and he dedicated *Paradiso* to Cangrande.

See also Cangrande della Scala; Dante Alighieri; Ezzelino III da Romano; Padua; Popolo; Verona; Vicenza

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Della Torre Family

The Della Torre or Torriani, a Guelf family, were originally counts of Valsassina. Martino di Iacopo Delia Torre (c. 1200-1263) became sole ruler of the city-state of Milan in 1259 and energetically opposed the plans of the pope to frustrate its expansion. From 1265 until 1273 Milan was ruled by Napoleone (Napo) di Pagano Delia Torre (d. 1278). At that time Milan represented the main support for the Angevin cause in northern Italy, but in 1273 Napo turned to the newly elected king of the Romans, Rudolph of Hapburg, in order to limit the influence of the Angevin king of Naples. At the battle of Desio in 1277, the Delia Torre were defeated; they were thereupon exiled from Milan, and their old enemies the Visconti took over the lordship of the city.

In subsequent decades the Delia Torre family—thanks especially to the resourcefulness of Raimondo di Pagano Delia Torre (c. 1230-1299), patriarch of Aquileia from 1273 to 1299— consolidated their international position, and they succeeded in reconquering Milan from Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti in 1302. Guido di Francesco Delia Torre (1259-1312), as lord of the city-state, managed to establish his family's control over the Milanese church when his kinsman Cassone di Corrado (d. 1318) was appointed bishop of Milan in 1308. Guido, however, soon began to suspect Cassone of conspiring with the Visconti and had him exiled in 1309. Cassone, supported by the pope and persuaded by Henry of Luxembourg, king of the Romans and future emperor, became an ally of Matteo Visconti in 1310. Guido had to consent to Cassone's and Matteo's return to Milan, upon which the Visconti took power. The Visconti sent both Delia Torre factions into exile in 1311.

See also **Guelfs; Milan; Visconti Family**

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Della Tosa Family

The Della Tosa or Tosighi were a Florentine Guelf family, particularly important in the politics of Florence during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The Delia Tosa belonged to the lineage of the Visdomini (in Latin, Vicedomini), who from the eleventh century on had the very lucrative right to administer, as lay guardians (*vicedomini*), the estate of the episcopal see of Florence during any vacancy.

The remarkable ascent of the Delia Tosa family started at the end of the twelfth century and culminated c. 1300 with Rosso di Gottifredo Delia Tosa (1234-1309). He and Corso Donati were leaders of the Black Guelfs, and in 1302 they sent their White Guelf enemies (including Dante) into exile; thereafter, however, Rosso and Corso, each very conscious of his own importance, started to drift apart. Rosso's kinsman Lottieri, bishop of Florence (1302-1309), along with some other members of the Delia Tosa family, took Corso's side. The efforts of Pope Benedict XI to reconcile the two factions in 1304 proved fruitless, and the pope's death in that year gave free rein to the little group lead by

Rosso. Until his own death, Ross had complete control of Florence. His sons, however, were not able to maintain his position. Their kinsman Simone di Baldo Delia Tosa (c. 1300-1380), was the author of *Annali* covering the period 1115-1346.

See also **Benedict XI, Pope; Chronicles; Compagni, Dino; Florence; Guelfs; Villani, Giovanni**

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Desiderius

Desiderius of Brescia (r. 757-774) was the last of the independent Lombard kings (757-774). At the time of the death of his predecessor, Aistulf, Desiderius was serving as a royal representative in Tuscany; he succeeded Aistulf by successfully challenging an attempt on the part of a former king, Ratchis, to regain the Lombard throne.

Aistulf had been humiliated at the hands of the Franks in 755 and 756, and when Desiderius became king the Frankish threat still hung over the Lombards. Desiderius had eased that threat for the moment by obtaining the support of the papacy for his candidacy for the kingship; in return, he promised to surrender a number of contested places in the former exarchate of Ravenna. Although the position of the Lombard kingdom remained precarious, Desiderius offered strong leadership. Taking advantage of the vacillating policies of the Franks and the papacy, he resumed control over the Lombard dukes, including the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, and entered into diplomatic negotiations with the Bavarians and Franks. A daughter of Desiderius married Charlemagne.



Desiderius. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 166v.

Desiderius's success aroused the same resistance as before: the Lombard dukes (especially those of Spoleto and Benevento) followed policies dictated by their own interests, and the Lombards' effective pressure against the boundaries of the exarchate led the pope to appeal once more to the Franks. By this time, the Franks' policy had changed, and Charlemagne had repudiated his Lombard wife. In response to the pope's appeal, Charlemagne and a Frankish army invaded Lombardy in 773-774. Many of the dukes failed to support Desiderius, and only Pavia and Verona put up significant resistance to the Frankish invaders. Desiderius was deposed by Charlemagne (who himself took the title king of the Lombards) and was sent to a monastery in Francia.

See also Aistulf; Benevento; Charlemagne; Exarchate of Ravenna; Frankish Kingdom; Lombards; Spoleto

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Desiderius of Monte Cassino

Desiderius (Dauferius or Dauferi, 1027-1087) became Pope Victor III but is especially famous for his abbacy of Monte Cassino. He was born to the ruling family of Benevento and entered three monasteries: first La Cava near Salerno; then Saint Sophia at Benevento (where he took the name Desiderius); and finally, in 1055, Monte Cassino.

In 1058, Desiderius succeeded Frederick of Lorraine as abbot of Monte Cassino when Frederick was elected pope (Stephen IX). As abbot, Desiderius worked toward a reconciliation between the Normans and the papacy. In 1059, he was named a cardinal and papal vicar for the monasteries of southern Italy. Desiderius was present at the death of Pope Gregory VII in Salerno in 1085, and a year later he himself was elected pope, taking the name Victor III. As pope he maintained the policies of Gregory VII concerning lay investiture. Seriously ill, he returned to Monte Cassino, where he died on 16 September 1087.

Desiderius made Monte Cassino a political force to be reckoned with and an outstanding center of monastic life, culture, and the arts. He initiated a great renovation of the abbey's buildings in 1066; fostered the development of the *scriptorium*; and wrote a treatise, *Dialogus de miraculis Sancti Benedicti* (*Dialogue on the Miracles of Saint Benedict*).

Desiderius's beatification was confirmed by Pope Leo XIII in 1887; his feast is observed on 16 September.

See also **Benedict of Nursia, Saint; Gregory VII, Pope; Monasticism;**

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Dialectic

See Liberal Arts

Dies Irae

The words *dies irae*—"day of wrath"—begin the sequence from the mass for the dead in the rite of the western (Roman Catholic) church and are

commonly used to refer to the sequence itself. In its present form the text dates from the mid-thirteenth century and is traditionally, though imprecisely, attributed to Tommaso da Celano (c. 1190-1260), who was the first biographer of Saint Francis. However, its origins are in twelfth-century Benedictine spirituality, and the earliest known version of the text is a late twelfth-century exemplar from the area of the Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino. In seventeen rhymed Latin tercets of extraordinary linguistic vigor and emotive power, it describes the day of judgment and gives voice to the plea of the sinful soul to Christ for mercy and salvation. Even though the attribution to Thomas of Celano appears to be unfounded (at best, he may have edited an existing text into its final form), the apocalyptic intensity of the text is unquestionably in tune with the spirit of early Franciscanism. The *Dies Irae* was a mainstay of the liturgy throughout the Middle Ages and later; it was a required part of masses for the dead until 1969. There have been innumerable musical settings and vernacular translations.

See also **Franciscan Order; Latin Literature; Liturgy; Thomas of Celano**

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Dino Del Garbo

Dino del Garbo (d. 30 September 1327) was the most prominent member of a dynasty of physicians who practiced in Florence through the eighteenth century. He was the son of the Florentine surgeon Bono del Garbo and the father of the famous physician Tommaso del Garbo. Although Dino was somewhat overshadowed by his more renowned teacher at Bologna, the physician Taddeo Alderotti (d. 1295), he was himself one of the most accomplished academic practitioners of the northern Italian tradition.



The Last Judgment. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 265v.

Dino was born in Florence; his birth date is unknown, but he appears to have studied medicine at the University of Bologna in the late 1280s or 1290s. According to his early biographers, he studied for a year under Taddeo Alderotti, who was Bologna's most noted medical professor. Siraisi (1981), Dino's most recent and most thorough biographer, suggests that Dino may have studied logic as well as medicine with Taddeo, and perhaps also philosophy. Dino was then forced to leave Bologna, for reasons that are now unclear but were probably related to the recurrent factional struggles which disturbed the city toward the end of the century.

During his career as a teacher and medical practitioner, Dino frequently migrated between Italian cities, achieving both wealth and fame. After a brief medical practice in Florence, he returned to Bologna to lecture in medicine beginning c. 1305. After that, civil disturbances forced him and some of his students to move to Siena, where the municipality paid him a handsome sum to fill a chair in medicine. He subsequently taught medicine in Padua, again in Siena, and in Perugia, all the while gaining important patrons such as Albertino Mussato and King Robert of Sicily.

Dino's written works include a number of commentaries on medical and surgical texts, especially on the *Canon* of Avicenna and the works of Hippocrates and Galen. He also wrote a Latin commentary on a well-known love lyric of Guido Cavalcanti (*Donna me prega*). Dino died in Florence.

See also Albertino Mussato; Avicenna; Bologna; Cavalcanti, Guido; Florence; Medicine; Taddeo Alderotti; Universities

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Diocese

See Church Organization and Functions

Dionigi Di Borgo San Sepolcro

Dionigi (c. 1300–1342) was born in Sansepolcro, near Arezzo. He entered the Augustinian order at a young age and immediately distinguished himself by his keen intellect and piety. He studied theology at the Sorbonne in Paris and received his doctorate c. 1324. In addition to his theological studies, he was also greatly interested in classical learning and judicial astrology, and he was even reputed to possess psychic powers. After his studies at the Sorbonne, he moved to the papal court in Avignon, where he first met the young poet Petrarch in 1333. Dionigi's meeting with Petrarch was the beginning of a close friendship that proved crucial in Petrarch's spiritual and intellectual maturation. Dionigi is believed to have given Petrarch a copy of Saint Augustine's *Confessiones*, and henceforth he acted as Petrarch's spiritual mentor. In 1337-1338, Dionigi moved to the Angevin court at Naples. The young Giovanni Boccaccio studied canon law at the *studio* in Naples, and Dionigi became his unofficial tutor, introducing him to the works of Augustine, Petrarch, and the classical authors.

Almost all of Dionigi's own writing has been lost. His most famous work is his commentary (probably c. 1339-1342) on Valerius Maximus's *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri*. This commentary, with its many citations of classical authors, became a template not only for subsequent commentaries on Valerius Maximus but also for several of Boccaccio's nonfictional works, such as *Esposizioni* and *Genealogia*

deorum gentilium. Dionigi's other writings include a commentary on the first book of the *Sententiae*, a treatise on logic, and a commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomia*.

Dionigi and Giovanni Colonna organized Petrarch's poetic coronation, which took place on 8 April 1341; and when Dionigi died—less than a year later, on 31 March 1342—Petrarch wrote his epitaph. Dionigi remains one of the most influential and important figures in *Trecento* humanistic studies.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Naples; Petrarca, Francesco**

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Diplomatics

The etymology of the term "diplomatics" refers primarily to "diplomas," i.e., documents, of emperors and kings; here, however, the term will be applied to medieval documents in general. Documents—in Latin, *carta*, *diploma*, *littera*, *pergamena*, *pre-ceptum*, *privilegium*, and so on—record important legal proceedings in adherence to certain formalities (Bresslau 1912-1931). For purely practical reasons, documents are classified under two categories: public and private acts. Public documents are diplomas issued by public authorities (strictly speaking, royal, imperial, and papal documents; but documents emanating from municipal and princely chanceries would be included in this category as well). Private documents refer to and regulate the legal actions of those not in power.

In public documents (with the exception of treaties), a hierarchical relationship between the issuer and the recipient of the document is

usually expressed. These documents are of fundamental importance for medieval studies, because they govern a considerable number of legal transactions. In the early Middle Ages these transactions concerned the conveying of real property (donation, sale, exchange, lease, etc.), the granting of privileges or immunities, and the recording of legal proceedings (*placita*); and the use of documents was basically limited to churches, monasteries, the aristocracy, and secular landowners. From the twelfth century on, however, the general use of documents spread to wider sections of the urban and the rural population, and at the same time the content of documents became much more extensive. Now, communal and private legal matters of any type—pacts of alliance, subpoenas, loans, wills, employment contracts, wagers—were placed on record. Consequently, of all the written sources that have come down to us from the Middle Ages, documents form the largest group; and they are of great value for historical surveys because, unlike historiography or literature, they bear witness to medieval reality in direct and simple ways, i.e., without attempts at interpretation.

It is probably true that more documents have come down to us from Italy than from any other European country. This is connected with the fact that diplomatics in medieval Italy derived from its Roman past. The administrative work of the late Roman empire suffered severely during the period of confusion in the course of the barbarian invasions, but a few important elements of the ancient culture, such as literacy among laypeople and the function of notaries, remained; furthermore, the Latin language prevailed in documents.

Although it can be proved that late Roman documents persisted into the sixth century (especially papyri from the Ostro gothic capital in Ravenna), hardly anything is known about the production of documents and other records in the seventh century. During this period, ancient cultural traditions continued and churches and monasteries became the new carriers of written culture; but the documentary tradition as we know it today did not begin in Italy until the eighth century. The documentary scene in Italy in the early Middle Ages presents a very complex picture. The forms adopted in imperial and the royal diplomas followed the traditions of the respective regional authorities. Thus Lombard and Frankish royal charters each have their own features. Byzantine-Greek and Arab territories

continued to exist in southern Italy and Sicily. Papal documents assumed a particular, unmistakable character. When the Normans conquered southern Italy and Sicily in the eleventh century, they borrowed elements of the documentary practice in Italy.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the production of documents increased, and one factor in this increase was the enormous urban growth and renewal in northern and central Italy. Urban centers required more legal regulations, and soon this need was also felt in rural areas. The greater number of documents resulted primarily from a huge increase in private deeds, beginning particularly in the last third of the twelfth century. For larger Italian cities, such as Genoa, Lucca, Pisa, and Florence, the annual output of private documents from the end of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been estimated in the tens of thousands. Moreover, the autonomous city communes now had their own documentary administration (e.g., in foreign policy, jurisdiction, and taxation).

The expansion of private as well as communal diplomatics is closely linked with the profession of the notary. According to a contemporary statement, there were more than 1,500 notaries in Milan, the largest city in Italy, during the second half of the thirteenth century. As the person who drew up documents, the notary (called a *tabellio* in Roman antiquity) had enjoyed public esteem since the early Middle Ages. However, during this early period the authenticity of a document recording a legal transaction had been based on the witnesses to it—their rank and their number—rather than on the authority of the notary. North of the Alps, where literacy was limited to the clergy, the most important method of authentication was seal impression; in Italy, by contrast, the use of seals in private documents never gained general acceptance. During the twelfth century in Italy, documents drawn up by notaries came to be preferred. Together with a few witnesses or colleagues, or (exceptionally) even alone, the notary guaranteed the authenticity (*fides publica*) of a document drawn up by him; in the legal studies that began to flourish at this time, such a document is called an *instrumentum publicum*. The new authority of the notary becomes apparent in the use of an individual notarial seal to adorn each document. The rising demand for notarial services is evident in the fact that many documents were no longer written as single diplomas and

handed out to a *mandator* but were only recorded in a register, the *imbreviatura*, that remained with the notary. This development is best seen in Genoa, where *imbreviature* are assumed to have existed as early as the 1120s, and where the oldest copy has been preserved—the *imbreviatura* of Giovanni Scriba, beginning in 1154.

The commune regulated the activity of the notaries, and every now and then it would intervene directly in their work. This was the case in Bologna: the Bolognese *libri memoriali* are a series of *imbreviature* kept by communal notaries on the initiative and under the supervision of the commune. They convey an idea of the vast production of notarial acts at the time. Some 3,600 volumes from the mid-thirteenth century to the mid-fifteenth still exist; and for the period from 1265 to 1300, more than 250,000 entries of private legal transactions are recorded on 37,000 pages.

See also **Bologna; Bookmaking and Book Production; Paleography**

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Disease

See **Medicine**

Disticha Catonis

Disticha Catonis (or *Dicta Catonis*), a collection of Latin aphorisms in prose and verse, was put together by an unknown author, probably in the third century after Christ. The oldest extant manuscript (Verona, eighth century) suggests that Cato the Elder (also known as Cato the Censor, 234—149 B.C.) was the author, but later medieval commentators recognized that this ascription could not be correct, because the work refers to Lucan and Virgil, who lived long after Cato's time. The transmission of the text to the Middle Ages probably took place in Spain.

Throughout the Middle Ages, *Disticha Catonis* was an essential part of elementary training in Latin grammar, and since the aphorisms conveyed worldly wisdom, they could simultaneously serve as a basis

for moral instruction. Accordingly, in medieval tradition the aphorisms were arranged in four books, which were said (not altogether convincingly) to correspond to the four cardinal virtues: prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. The *breves sententiae* (short maxims) in prose that precede these four books of verses, as well as the metrical *praefationes* (prefaces) that introduce Books 2 to 4, are probably later interpolations.

The broad educational significance of *Disticha Catonis* is reflected in the widespread and often allusive use made of it throughout medieval literature; clearly, authors could count on their readers' thorough knowledge of this work. Further evidence for the pedagogical importance of the work is the large number of commentaries, glossed editions, and translations in various vernaculars that began to appear in Italian toward the end of the thirteenth century and continued well into the fifteenth.

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Doge

See **Titles, Official; Venice**

Dolce Stil Nuovo

Dolce stil nuovo designates the third and culminating phase of Italian lyric poetry before Petrarch. After the Sicilian school (phase 1) and the polycentric Tuscany of Guittone and his followers (phase 2), the *stilnovo* originated in Bologna with Guido Guinizzelli and was developed in Florence by Guido Cavalcanti, Dante, Lapo Gianni, Dino Frescobaldi, and Gianni Alfani, with an important outpost in Pistoia, represented by Cino. Chronologically, it covers several decades on either side of 1300, although the last twenty years of the thirteenth century, which encompass the bulk of Cavalcanti's and Dante's lyrical productions, can be considered its core.

Since the term *dolce stil nuovo* was coined by Dante (*Purgatory*, 24.57), we must first determine what it meant for him. When we do, we can appreciate that our connotation is quite different from the original one, in being less specific and more inclusive. Furthermore, although the English equivalent "sweet new style," by now traditional, may still be accepted for the current and generalized meaning of the label ("from Guinizzelli to Cino da Pistoia"), it is not an appropriate translation for the term used by Dante in the *Comedy*, only "new sweet style" can render Dante's idea.

What Dante thought of the development of the lyrical genre in Italy can be reconstructed from some chapters of his treatise *De vulgari*

eloquentia (especially l.xii, xiii, xv) and, more definitely, from two episodes of *Purgatory* (24, Bonagiunta; and 26, Guinizzelli; but see also 11.94–99). Dante's retrospective view was elitist and self-centered. He, too, discerned three periods, but his division does not coincide with ours. In his reading, there was apparently no reason to draw any significant line between the Sicilian poets and their Tuscan continuators. With their respective leaders, or *capiscuola* (Lentini and Guittone), both groups could be considered representatives of a "first style," which was neither sweet nor new. A second style arose when Guinizzelli, whom Dante hailed as his own father and also the father of other excellent poets (*Purgatory*, 26.97-99), brought out *dolci detti* (sweet sayings) and *rime dolci e leggiadre* (sweet, graceful verses; *Purgatory*, 99 and 112)—that is, a "sweet style." Dante assigned much of his own work, and the work of Cavalcanti, to that style. (The two *Guidi* in *Purgatory* 11.97, should be identified as Guittone and Guinizzelli—not, as received opinion has it, as Guinizzelli and Cavalcanti, since there is no other evidence that Dante ever considered the latter a *caposcuola*.) Dante was sure that in the nineteenth chapter of his *Vita nuova* he had renewed Guinizzelli's sweet style. In that chapter, the subject switches from a mournful account of the poet's agony to jubilant praise of his lady as a personal redeemer; and here Dante felt that he was ushering in the third and final era of love poetry: a *dolce stile* totally *nuovo* ("new sweet style"), transferred to the sphere of the sacred. Behind all this there is a religious archetype. Bonagiunta's utterances in *Purgatory* 24 are reminiscent of old Simeon's testimony (*Nunc demitte servum tuum*, "Now let thy servant depart"), suggesting that Dante has revealed a kind of poetic New Testament. In fact, Dante's proud definition of *dolce stil nuovo* is given not in terms of style or even content (either of which might have been assumed to be the real point) but in terms of inspiration. This inspiration is not romantic; it is, rather, religious or Davidic (see *Paradise*, 20.40-42), as though the new rhymes of praise had been written with the god of love as coauthor. For the Dante of the *Comedy*, the god of love could mean only the God who is love. The concept of a direct confrontation between the first style and the third (Bonagiunta versus the Dante of *Donne, ch'avete* and beyond) shows how in Dante's view Guittone and Bonagiunta were wrong and he himself was right; it also creates a

remarkably dramatic effect and undoubtedly adds to the poetic merits of the canto. However, something is missing between the first and the third styles: no mention has so far been made of Guinizzelli's sweet style, a style that stretched from the Guittonian outposts to *Vita nuova* 19 and included Cavalcanti. Because of this gap, a label that Dante had reserved for himself (*dolce stil nuovo*) came to be broadened to its modern connotation, comprising poets from Guinizzelli to Cino da Pistoia.

When *dolce stil nuovo* is defined in terms of this standard, expanded chronology, its thematic range is admittedly rather narrow and repetitive: it consists of a limited repertoire of topics and situations, all pertaining to a lofty sort of love. The lady is praised for her high moral and mental qualities and for her angelic beauty, although her physical attractions are not really described but are only suggested through similes and metaphors of flowers, gems, and stars. Since she is unattainable, the poet's desire for her is excruciating whether she is absent (and he is thinking of her) or present (and his senses are painfully overwhelmed by her glorious epiphany). The lady's own attitude may change from rigorous restraint to sovereign benignity; when it does, the mood of the poet changes accordingly, but in either case he feels privileged and ennobled by the experience. The god of love has an important role in the plot—now showing some mercy toward the poet, now endorsing and even provoking the lady's intransigence. Often, the atmosphere verges on the miraculous, recalling the ecstatic sweetness of certain (especially Franciscan) hagiographic literature. The poets of the *stilnovo* were also interested in the nature and sociology of love: how it might have originated, which human organs and faculties were involved in it, and what kind of nobility—nobility of the heart or of birth—was intimately associated with it. On this subject, they composed important theoretical *canzoni* and circulated *tenzoni* (exchanges) of sonnets.

The two major figures of the movement—Cavalcanti and Dante—reveal very different frames of mind. Cavalcanti is paralyzed by pessimism; his inner struggles (or psychomachias) are expressed with languishing pathos and by dramatic personifications (*prosopopeia*) of his own members and feelings. This pessimism cannot be assuaged by hope, because Cavalcanti has created an unbridgeable chasm between

his own physiological, sublunary notion of love and his Neoplatonic lady, who soars amid heavenly light. In contrast, Dante, inspired by scholasticism, succeeds in reconciling his love with both reason and faith. He is therefore able to regard Beatrice as a personal savior and a mediatrix of grace.

Dante's *Vita nuova*, the lyrical *prosimetrum* that he composed in the early 1290s, is the summit and in a sense the denouement of the *stilnovo*. It served as a sort of collecting station where previous experiments in love poetry were sympathetically processed and standardized, and then, in consequence, as a sort of distribution center. It had a strong influence on other poets, beginning with Cino, who composed a similar story of love and death (with Selvaggia as Beatrice). Petrarch, on the threshold of the Renaissance, was to inherit and develop this strain.

The influence of the *stilnovo* was promptly also felt in other genres, such as allegorical poetry (for example, *Intelligenza*), and, at least on a linguistic level, even in Boccaccio's narratives. In Dante's *Comedy*, the *stilnovo* tradition surfaces, predictably, to provide a halo for the character of Beatrice; but even Dante's wistful idyll with Matelda, in the Earthly Paradise, has a precedent in Cavalcanti's elegant, insinuating *pastorelas*.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Cavalcanti, Guido; Cino da Pistoia; Dante Alighieri; Frescobaldi, Dino; Gianni Degli Alfani; Guinizzelli, Guido; Guittone d'Arezzo; Lapo Gianni; Petrarca, Francesco; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Dolcino, Fra

Fra Dolcino (d. 1307) was the leader of the Apostolic Brotherhood, a heretical sect centered in Parma. Under Dolcino the brotherhood became increasingly violent, and it was eventually suppressed by a crusade.

Dolcino was born in the diocese of Novara, the son of a priest. He seems to have received a good education before joining the Apostolic Brotherhood in 1291. The brotherhood had been founded c. 1260 by Gerardo Segarelli; through preaching and apostolic poverty, it sought to usher in a new age of Christian perfection, which the disciples of Joachim of Fiore had predicted would begin in that year. The brotherhood was tolerated at first, but after 1290 it became a target of the Inquisition.

Segarelli was executed in 1300, and soon afterward Dolcino became the leader of the sect. Dolcino proposed a radical form of Joachism that condemned all his opponents, especially the clergy, as ministers of the devil and declared them worthy of death because they were oppressing the true church. He also claimed that he and Segarelli had been sent by God to restore the apostolic life in preparation for Christ's second coming, and that he spoke with the authority of God.

Dolcino and a band of followers fled to the mountains shortly after he took control of the Apostolic Brotherhood, and soon they were

plundering the countryside from a stronghold in the Alps. Pope Clement V called a crusade against them in 1305; two years later an expedition led by the bishop of Vercelli defeated them and captured Dolcino. He was executed on 23 March 1307.

See also **Apostolic Brotherhood; Clement V, Pope; Heresy and Religious Dissent**

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Dominic, Saint

Saint Dominic (Domingo de Guzmán, c. 1170-1221), the founder of the Dominican order, was born in Castile. He did not come to Italy until he was already the father of the fledgling Order of Preachers, but he spent much of his later life in Italy, and he died in Bologna. His remains rest in the church of San Domenico in Bologna, where they are housed in a great stone monument designed by Nicola Pisano and decorated with scenes from the saint's life and the early years of the order.

As with many saints, Dominic's early life is almost undocumented, but portents were written into it later. His mother was said to have dreamed that she gave birth to a dog holding a torch in its mouth: the dog symbolized Dominic's order, which saw itself as God's watchdogs (*domini canes*) protecting the flock from the wolves of heresy; the torch symbolized Dominic's work of rekindling the fire of charity in a world grown cold. The reality was less dramatic: Dominic became a cleric at an early age and was educated by an uncle. He later studied in Palencia, where he acquired a reputation for devotion and zeal. This led to his appointment as subprior of the cathedral chapter in Osma.

In 1203, Dominic accompanied Bishop Diego d'Acebes of Osma (d. 1207) on a diplomatic mission to Denmark. While the two were returning to Castile, they stopped in Montpellier, where they encountered Cistercians who were discouraged by their failure to win the heretical Cathars back to orthodoxy. Diego and Dominic decided to undertake the challenge of answering error by preaching the truth. So as not to look like worldly prelates, they abandoned all their property and went about unattended by pomp. Here, too, legend would provide miracles befitting the zeal of the saint and his mentor. According to one such legend, there was an ordeal by fire, in which orthodox and Cathar alike committed their writings to the flames; the heretical texts were consumed, but those of the orthodox were spared. The initial results of this apostolate were less spectacular; but when Diego returned to his diocese, Dominic remained to carry on with a few brothers. A house for devout women also was founded at Prouille.

Dominic's young family of preachers continued their work despite the upheavals of the Albigensian crusade. On the invitation of Bishop Fulk of Toulouse, Dominic made that city the seat of his operation. In 1215, he went with Fulk to Pope Innocent III's Fourth Lateran Council in Rome. (Another established Dominican legend, often depicted in art,

was that at this council Dominic met Saint Francis of Assisi. Still another is that saints Peter and Paul appeared to Dominic and presented him, respectively, with a staff and a gospel book.) While Dominic was in Rome, he sought the pope's approval of his order, but since the council had forbidden the establishment of new orders, the pope required him to adopt the rule of an existing community. Dominic and his followers chose the Augustinian rule, which was by far the most flexible of the models available. Innocent's successor, Honorius III, was quick to extend his approval to Dominic's family once their choice had been made. In 1217, Honorius also approved the name Order of Preachers, which supposedly had first been suggested by Innocent III.

On returning to Toulouse in 1217, Dominic announced a decision to scatter his brothers throughout western Europe. He was helped in this effort by someone he had recruited in Rome, Reginald of Orléans. Reginald, a trained canonist, was in turn able to recruit university-trained clerics. This facilitated not just the work of preaching but the establishment of Dominican convents in Paris and Bologna, Europe's greatest seats of learning. One of Reginald's important recruits was Moneta of Cremona, a master of the arts. Moneta, with the theologian Roland of Cremona, later founded the friars' house in Cremona; he also wrote *Summa against the Cathars and Waldensians*, one of the earliest Dominican polemical works.

Dominic now decided that he needed a base in Rome itself. As in France, he founded houses of both men and women. In Rome, he took over an abandoned Gilbertine house for the friary he founded at San Sisto; later, he entrusted this site to a community of nuns, and the friars, except for a few chaplains, eventually went to Santa Sabina. The Dominicans would also establish a friary at Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. In Bologna, Dominic made an enthusiastic convert, Diana d'Andalò; but her noble kin refused to allow her to become a nun. Dominic continued to encourage her through his remaining years; but it was left to his successor, Jordan of Saxony, to house Diana and her sister in the monastery of Sant' Agnese.



Saint Dominic: Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 208r.

There was a good reason why Dominic wanted a presence for his friars near the papal court. The diocesan clergy raised considerable objections to having religious do pastoral tasks like hearing confessions, and tradition reserved preaching for bishops. Dominic did discourage his friars from meddling in the affairs of parishes; but he also sought commendations from the papacy for the work of preaching, and Honorius III gave him warm letters of commendation. Honorius's successors would go even farther, granting the friars privileges and often exempting them from episcopal authority. Dominic also made a friend of the papal vice-chancellor, William of Piedmont, whose clerks drafted these papal letters; he himself reciprocated by traveling from Viterbo to Rome to represent the pope in dealings with the Roman

populace.

Though he was frequently in Italy, Dominic continued traveling to visit the outposts of his young order. A tour in 1218-1219 included parts of Italy, France, and Spain. One of Dominic's principal efforts was to encourage mendicancy; thus he required the houses in southern France to abandon such fixed revenues as they had obtained. Poverty was fused with preaching, and preaching became tied to a network of houses of study. This allowed the Friars Preachers to avoid, for the most part, a drift into radical opinions that could have threatened the survival of the order. Dominic's emphasis on education can be discerned as early as 1215-1216, when he encouraged theologians to settle in Toulouse. By 1217, friars were being sent to study in Paris. In 1218, Dominic took the first steps toward founding a house of study in Bologna. The Dominicans' educational program focused at first on the Bible, but other subjects were added to the curriculum later. Moreover, instruction of nuns in the rudiments of sound doctrine was encouraged.

This emphasis on education helped make the university cities of Paris and Bologna the two poles of the order. For a time, Dominic concentrated on Italy, while Reginald, until his death, worked from Paris. The first general chapter of the Dominicans was held in Bologna in 1220. At this meeting, it was decided to alternate chapters annually between Bologna and Paris, beginning in Bologna in 1221. Provinces were established to group the friars' convents. It is a mark of the order's youth that Jordan of Saxony, who had been a member of the order for less than a year, became the first provincial of Lombardy. All convents within a province were to have teachers of theology. Other constitutions were adopted to supplement the Augustinian rule; some were adapted from the constitutions of the Praemonstratensian canons, who had been involved in public ministry early in their history.

Dominic had suffered from occasional bouts of dysentery, but they had not discouraged him from traveling extensively to preach and to visit his brethren. In 1221, shortly after the second general chapter of the order, he was overtaken by his final illness, near Santa Maria dei Monti outside Bologna. He was housed in the cell of Moneta of Cremona and had to use Moneta's spare gown. On his deathbed, warning against the temptations of the flesh, Dominic admitted that he had always preferred speaking with young women rather than older

ones. According to Jordan's account, Dominic also promised to be of more use to the order after his death than he had been in life. Later, the story was told that at the moment of Dominic's death, Guala, the prior of Brescia, saw a friar being drawn up into heaven on a ladder of gold. Dominic's burial service was conducted by Cardinal Hugolino (later Pope Gregory IX), who was then visiting Bologna.



Church of San Domenico, Bologna, containing his tomb. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Shortly after Dominic's death, stories of miraculous cures began to circulate. The friars of Bologna soon had to move the body to a more convenient place; they reported that when the tomb was opened, a sweet odor arose from the body. Early on, efforts were made to secure Dominic's canonization. Testimony was taken in Bologna and then in France, and the results of the inquiry were reported to Pope Gregory IX. After the evidence had been winnowed, in July 1234, the pope declared Dominic a saint. His feast day was fixed as 5 August, the day before the anniversary of his death. Throughout the later Middle Ages, Dominic would be especially venerated by his order, together with Peter Martyr and Thomas Aquinas.

Aside from the legends already mentioned, Dominic left behind few colorful stories. In this regard he differed from Francis; however, Dominic's memory would soon be paired with that of Francis,

beginning with the story of their meeting in Rome. In *Paradiso*, Dante, responding to tension between the adherents of the two saints, has Thomas Aquinas praise Francis while Bonaventure, the great Franciscan theologian, praises Dominic. In art, Dominic was depicted with a light on his forehead, frequently as he clings to the foot of the cross. Panels depicting Dominic's life include scenes such as the trial of theological writings by fire. Not until much later, in the paintings of Pedro Berruguete (d. 1504), would Dominic be shown presiding at an auto-da-fé.

Dorninic wrote little that has survived. There is one authentic letter to the nuns in Madrid, *The Nine Ways of Prayer of Saint Dominic* is a considerably later text that probably attained its present form c. 1300; however, it achieved a certain popularity. Recently, art historians have discerned its influence in the paintings done by Fra Angelico for the convent of Observant Dominicans at San Marco in Florence.

See also **Dominican Order; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Honorius III, Pope; Innocent III, Pope**

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Dominican Order

The Order of Preachers (Ordo Praedicatorum, OP) is commonly called the Dominican order for its founder, Saint Dominic (Domingo de Guzmán, c. 1170-1221). It comprises a first order, consisting of friars; a second order, of nuns; and a third order (the Order of Penance), of laymen and laywomen. As mendicants, the Dominicans devoted themselves to a humble apostolic life with no fixed income and no material possessions. In their study and clerical preaching the friars were inspired by the canons regular; their practice of liturgical prayer and conventual life linked them to contemplative monastic traditions.

During its early history the order was associated with Toulouse and other parts of southern France where heretical Albigensian sects were prominent. In the early thirteenth century, Bishop Diego d'Acebes of Osma (d. 1207) and his companion, Dominic, as wandering preachers, catechized the heretics in this region—a mission that Dominic continued after Diego's death. Dominic's group of preachers was episcopally approved as a religious order by Fulk, bishop of Toulouse, in 1215. In that same year Dominic traveled to Rome to seek the pope's confirmation for his order. Since the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had just decreed that no new religious rules should be created, Dominic based his own order on the rule of Saint Augustine, which would facilitate its preaching better than the more sedentary Benedictine rule. Pope Honorius III approved the Dominican order on 22 December 1216, in his bull *Religiosam vitam*. In January 1217 Honorius confirmed preaching as the order's specific goal and Order of Preachers as its formal name.

Dominic himself was present at the order's first two general chapters, which met in Bologna in May 1220 and May 1221. The first chapter finalized the constitutions of the order; these constitutions

complemented the rule of Saint Augustine and gave the order its own character. In August 1221 Dominic died in Bologna. His shrine there soon became a popular pilgrimage site, and he was canonized in 1234.

Over the next few decades, influential master generals gave the order its final institutional structure and shaped its devotional practices. In 1241 Raimondo de Penafort (Saint Raymond, c. 1185–1275), the third master general, worked the constitutions into a better juridical format. Particularly notable was the contribution of the fifth master general, Humbert of Romans (d. 1277); he standardized the Dominican liturgy (1256), encouraged historical and hagiographical projects, unified the nuns' constitutions (1259), and defended the liberties of mendicant scholars at the University of Paris (1254). Because of its antiheretical background and its zealous preaching, the Dominican order became a vital ally of the papacy in guarding orthodoxy. Indeed, soon after the Inquisition was created in 1231, the Dominicans were appointed the leading inquisitors. The inquisitor Peter of Verona (c. 1205-1252), who was murdered by two Cathar heretics, is regarded as the order's first martyr and is known as Peter Martyr; he was canonized in 1253.

The Order of Preachers operates on three main levels: conventual, provincial, and general. The issues concerning each operational level are decided in collective chapters, headed respectively by a conventual prior, a provincial prior, and the master general. The highest legislative body, the general chapter, met annually until 1370; since then, it has been convened only once every two or three years. The longer intervals between meetings of the general chapters bolstered the position of the master general, which had already been strong.

The Dominican order grew rapidly from its first sixteen preachers, whom Dominic dispersed to various European cities in August 1217. By 1277 there were 404 Dominican convents in Europe; by 1303 there were 590. As a result of the friars' missionary activities, the order continued to grow steadily throughout Europe, even in the sparsely populated northern and eastern borderlands. Nonetheless, the Dominicans, like other mendicant friars, were particularly successful in urban centers, where they responded to city people's spiritual and social needs. Consequently, two strongholds of the preaching friars were the urbanized regions of central and northern Italy.

In the fourteenth century, the discipline of the order declined: the

convents amassed material possessions, and standards of recruitment relaxed. Also, the Dominicans became divided during the Avignonese papacy (1309-1377) and the Great Schism (1378-1431), when western Christendom was ruled by two or even three competing popes. The black death (1347-1351) took a heavy toll on the order's convents and monasteries, causing a steep decline in membership. A reform was initiated in 1369, but efforts at reform were hampered for several years when the French and some other provinces followed the Avignonese pope at the outbreak of the schism. In 1390 Master General Raymond of Capua (Blessed Raymond, d. 1399) successfully launched a new reform; its goal was that in each province, at least one house should rigorously follow the original precepts of poverty and common life. Under the leadership of Raymond himself and Giovanni Dominici (Blessed Giovanni, d. 1419), who was Raymond's vicar in Italy and later a cardinal, the Italian Dominicans worked actively to restore the primacy of the Roman pope and to secure the dominance of the western church in central and eastern Europe, where new religious groups such as the Hussites were gaining a foothold.

Early on, women had been brought into the sphere of the Dominicans, but the actual incorporation of women into the order was not easily achieved. This was mainly because the friars feared that their pastoral responsibilities toward women (*cura mulierum*) would take them away from their own study and preaching. Yet the very first Dominican foundation had in fact been a female monastery, created in 1206 by Bishop Diego and Dominic at Prouille (in France) for Albigensian converts.

In Italy, the monastery of San Sisto (in Rome) was created by Dominic himself in 1221. Saint Agnes in Bologna was founded by the second master general, Blessed Jordan of Saxony, in 1223; two of its nuns—blessed Diana d'Andald (d. 1236) and Cecilia Cesarini (d. 1290)—were among the first Dominican nuns to be venerated and beatified. Jordan of Saxony's letters to Diana and Cecilia's testimony about Dominic's miracles are important sources regarding the formative years of the Dominican order. Humbert of Romans unified the nuns' constitutions in 1259, but their position in the Dominican family remained unsettled. (The position of nuns in other orders was also uncertain.) On several occasions, individual popes had intervened in

favor of incorporating female monasteries into the order; and eventually, in 1267, Pope Clement IV successfully prescribed that the preaching friars were responsible for the spiritual needs of the order's nuns.

The Dominican nuns also follow the rule of Saint Augustine, and their constitutions echo those of the friars, but their contemplative life is closer to the old monastic ideals than to the mendicant precepts of the friars. In fact, for Dominican nuns liturgical and private prayer superseded any other form of religious life, including learning and charity. From an early point, these nuns led an cloistered monastic life. Their seclusion from the world and their full commitment to communal life were emphasized during a reform at the turn of the fifteenth century; and the first reformed Dominican institution was that of Blessed Clare Gambacorta (d. 1419), the strictly cloistered Saint Dominic in Pisa (founded 1385).

Dominic and his companions had been inspired by the same ideals that characterized the religious lay movements of their time: voluntary poverty, apostolicism, and asceticism. The friars themselves formed a clerical group, but the order continued to attract the laity as well. Initially, the Dominican lay associations were antiheretical organizations for men. By the late thirteenth century, however, the Order of Penance consisted primarily of women, especially widows, who entered it for social stability as well as for solace.

In 1285, a Dominican master general, Munio of Zamora, drafted a rule for these penitents. That rule did not receive official papal approval until 1405, but the order had attracted lay people throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Its members lived mainly in private homes as secular penitents (*sorores saeculares*) until the latter fifteenth century, when convents for regular penitents (*sorores regulares*) become popular. Penitent women were particularly numerous in northern and central Italy, where the most notable women mystics were penitents rather than nuns. Women such as blessed Benvenuta Boiani (d. 1292), Joan of Orvieto (d. 1306), and Margaret of Citta di Castello (d. 1320)—to mention just three examples—were seen as saintly for their asceticism, their visionary mysticism, and their miracles. The most prominent saint in the third order of Dominicans was Catherine Benincasa of Siena (1347-1380), who was canonized in 1461 and

declared a doctor of the church in 1970. Catherine's piety encompassed active charity, teaching, and political missions as well as Christocentric mysticism, and she has come to epitomize the Dominican laity. Her book about Christian perfection, *Il dialogo* (c. 1378), is an early masterpiece in the Italian vernacular.

The Dominicans' emphasis on preaching and learning produced an efficient schooling system for scholars and preachers. Each priory had a lecturer (*lector*) who gave public readings to share his theological learning with the convent's other members. A student who was attracted to this world of learning would proceed gradually from conventual and provincial schools of liberal arts and theology to the order's regional centers for studies (*studium generale*) and to universities. In Italy, the *studium generale* in Bologna (1248) and the later foundations in Florence, Genoa, and Naples spread higher theological learning. The center of Dominican studies, however, was Paris, where the friars held a chair of theology at the University of Paris from 1229 on and where the famous priory of Saint Jacques was located. Numerous Italian Dominicans traveled to Paris to study and teach. One of them was Saint Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274), who in his *Summa theologiae* and other scholastic writings used Aristotelian philosophical principles to clarify theological questions.

During the Middle Ages, the Dominicans were ardent compilers of biblical concordances, encyclopedias, preaching manuals, penitentials, and edifying *exempla*—stories, legends, and translations from Latin to the vernacular. Many of these publications were aimed at facilitating the work of preachers and strengthening the faith of ordinary believers.

Gerald de Frachet (d. 1271), in *Lives of the Brethren* (*Vitae fratrum*, 1259), recorded edifying stories about Dominic and the early Dominicans. Gerald was French, but his work was widely read in Italy as well as France and strengthened the preaching friars' devotion to Mary. The *Golden Legend* (*Legenda aurea*, c. 1260) of Jacobus of Voragine (d. 1298) was a medieval best-seller, as can be seen from the fact that some 1,000 manuscripts survive today. Jacobus's legends of martyrs, confessors, virgins, founder saints, and his own contemporaries shaped the medieval perception of sanctity as ascetic and miraculous. *The Nine Ways of Prayer of Saint Dominic* (c. 1260-1290), by an anonymous Italian Dominican, supported the cult of

Dominic and influenced bodily techniques of prayer. Domenico Cavalca (d. 1357), in his translation (early fourteenth century) of *Lives of the Fathers*, or *Vitae patrum*, championed an eremitical model of ascetic practices and solitary penance. The preacher Jacopo Passavanti (d. 1357) wrote *Mirror of True Penance* (*Lo specchio di vera penitenza*, 1354), a widely read guide to the spirit and practice of penitence. Other Dominicans also gained a reputation as preachers of penance. For example, blessed Jordan of Pisa (d. 1311), Bartholomew of Vicenza (d. 1271), and Venturino of Bergamo (d. 1346) preached in the vernacular throughout the year and especially during Lent, the season of penance. The preaching friars' interest in spoken and written Italian evidently bore fruit, since the laity in Italy was said to be exceptional in its piety and sanctity.

See also Catherine of Siena, Saint; Cavalca, Domenico; Dominic, Saint; Honorius III, Pope; Jacobus da Voragine; Passavanti, Jacopo; Thomas Aquinas, Saint

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Donati Family

The Donati of Florence championed the privileges of the nobility against the growing power of the Florentine merchant class. Yet they themselves were not landed feudal aristocrats but urban consular nobles dating from as recently as the later twelfth century. As a family, the Donati had an antipathy for commerce; nevertheless, Tolosano Donati lent money to Simon di Montfort in 1250 (and was still operating fifty years later), Giacomo Donati was a banker in London in 1256 and a trader in spices at Genoa in 1259, Aldobrandino and Ottaviano Donati had offices and banks in Genoa and Messina by 1270 (and had married into Genoese patrician families), and Donato Donati was among the Genoese trading cloth at Pera in 1281.

The Donati in Florence, several of whom are mentioned by Dante, lived as an urban nobility and married into feudal families such as the Conti Guidi. The betrothal of the nobleman Buon delmonte de' Buondelmonti to the daughter of Forese Donati (in 1215-1216) resulted in Buondelmonte's murder, which is said to have led to the split between local Guelfs and Ghibellines.

The most colorful Donati was certainly Corso di Simone, who led the clan in the late 1200s. Dino Compagni (c. 1241 — 1324) described him as "a knight after the fashion of the Roman Catiline, but more cruel than he, of noble blood and handsome appearance, a perfect orator with finest manners, acute mind, and the worst disposition." Giovanni Villani (1275—1348) gave a similar though more sympathetic assessment: "the most intelligent knight, the most courageous and best orator, the most able and famous politician of his time in Italy, a man of strong passions and great enterprise." Early in his career, Corso di Simone aided the escape of a fellow noble who had been condemned for poisoning his wife. Corso also abducted his own sister Piccarda, a Poor Clare nun, to have her marry Rosellino della Tosa, to whom she had been betrothed (Dante, *Purgatory*, 24.11; *Paradise*, 3.34-120). Corso won renown at the battle of Campaldino (1289) when, as *podestà* of Pistoia, he led a cavalry charge that resulted in a victory for Florence. He opposed the rising tide of the *popolo* in Florentine politics, specifically as it was manifested in the career of Giano della Bella and the passage of the

Ordinances of Justice of 1293.

A bloody split within the Donati clan and a feud between the Donati and the powerful merchant-class Cerchi family weakened the magnates' opposition to popular change, but by 1298 the faction of disaffected nobles led by the Donati gained dominance in Florence. In May 1299, though, the Donati were caught tampering with justice; they were exiled, and Corso went to Rome. Here he obtained the support of the pope for an expedition against the faction led by the Cerchi, which had taken control of Florence and was sympathetic to the Ghibellines. Corso returned in the train of Charles of Valois in November 1301 and headed a violent campaign of banishment, destruction, and confiscation. In consequence of this campaign, Dante was exiled, as were many of the Cerchi, known now as the Whites because they had recently supported a political faction in Pistoia of that name. The Donati and their faction, who had supported the oppressed Pistoiese, were called the Blacks. The Blacks now controlled Florence, but many Black leaders sought to restrict the role that the fiery Corso wished to play. Finally, Corso openly rebelled in 1308; he was arrested, escaped, and died in flight, having either been killed by troopers (according to Villani) or dragged to death by his own horse (according to Dante: "at a beast's tail dragged dying," *Purgatory*, 24.83).

Dante's wife, Gemma, was a Donati, as was his good friend the poet Forese (d. 1296), Corso's brother. Dante places him among the gluttons in *Purgatory* (23.48-24.99) and reserves special praise for Forese's wife, Nella, as an exemplar among Florentine women ("in good works she is so alone," 23.93).

In the wake of Corso's rebellion the Donati were punished, but in 1311 they were given an amnesty, and in 1317 they received indemnities for the destruction of their property. The family continued to be active in Florentine politics as a "powerful and aggressive house, bulwarks of the forces of extreme conservatism" (Brucker 1962, 35). The Donati also continued their opposition to popular government, and various Donati participated in conspiracies in 1323, 1343, 1344, and 1360. The thirteenth century house tower of the Donati still stands in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence.

See also Dante Alighieri; Florence; Guelfs; Ordinances of Justice;

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Donation of Constantine

Donation of Constantine—in the original Latin, *Constitutum Constantini*—is the name applied to a famous document that was probably initiated in the late eighth century in Rome. Supposedly, it was a grant made to Pope Silvester I by Emperor Constantine I, who was grateful to the pope for having baptized him and for his restoration to health. The charter consists of two parts. One part, known as the Confession, is based on *Actus Silvestri*, a fifth-century legend. The other part, known as the Donation, lists the grants made to the pope. This second section in particular underlay the heated debate that surrounded the document until at least the fifteenth century, when Lorenzo Valla, independently of but simultaneously with Nicholas of Cusa, proved that it was a forgery.

According to the Donation, Constantine endows the Roman see with primacy over all the churches of the world, including the patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. The Church of the Savior at the Lateran Palace in Rome is to be the head of the

churches. Constantine's properties in Judea, Greece, Asia, Thrace, Africa, Italy, and various islands, as well as the Lateran Palace, are entrusted to Sylvester and his successors. The pope is granted the imperial insignia, including the diadem and purple cloak. The Roman clergy are elevated to several senatorial ranks. Last but not least, the emperor grants Sylvester and his successors power and authority over the city of Rome and all the provinces, places, and cities of Italy or the western provinces. All of Constantine's successors are obligated to observe the terms of the Donation, which is deposited on the tomb of Saint Peter. Legend has it that as a sign of his veneration of Saint Peter, Constantine leads the pope's horse by the bridle. Constantine then withdraws from Rome to found his new capital at Constantinople, since it would be inappropriate for him to rule in a city where the heavenly emperor had established the head of the Christian religion.

How effective this document was and what use the papacy made of it during the Carolingian period are matters of debate, although the document is known to have been available in Rome. The situation changed with the Gregorian reform, when the Donation was cited in a letter of Pope Leo IX, probably written by Humbert of Silva Candida. Other references are found in the formulary of Pope Gregory VII and in the letters of popes Urban II, Hadrian IV (1154-1159), Innocent III (1198 — 1216), and Gregory IX (1227-1241). The popes reconfirmed the Donation well into the fifteenth century, together with other imperial donations. Still, far greater use could have been made of the forgery. According to Fuhrmann (1981), a dangerous ambivalence or ambiguity surrounded the Donation: papal primacy could appear as the gift of a Roman emperor rather than as divinely bestowed. Several popes, therefore, used the document merely as a secondary proof for their claims.

See also Constantine the Great; Gregory VII, Pope; Gregory IX, Pope; Hadrian IV, Pope; Innocent III, Pope; Rome; Sylvester I, Pope; Urban II, Pope

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Donation of Pepin

See Papal States

Donato Da Cascia

The composer Donato da Cascia (second half of the fourteenth century) is also known as Donato da Firenze. As with many composers of the *Trecento*, little is known of his life; but from his designation as *presbiter de Cascia* it is understood that he was probably a Benedictine monk at the abbey of Cascia near Florence. Donato is placed in the second and central generation of Italian *ars nova* musicians.

Aside from one *virelai*, a simple piece in the French style, Donato's extant works are all Italian secular settings in working forms of the day: fifteen madrigals and one *ballata* (all for two vocal parts), and one *caccia*. Except for the *virelai*, Donato's music survives in the famous Squarcialupi Codex, which also contains his portrait. Donato's style is conservative, following Jacopo da Bologna in technique, but with parallels to the florid vocal writing of Lorenzo da Firenze. One of the surviving madrigals is thought to have been written in connection with a visit of the German emperor Charles IV to Rome (in either 1355 or 1368); and it has been suggested that another madrigal makes a reference to a marriage in the Delia Scala family of Verona in 1378. Among Donato's lost works are two settings of texts by a distinguished poet of the day, Franco Sacchetti.

See also *Ars Nova*; Jacopo da Bologna; Lorenzo da Firenze; Squarcialupi Codex

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Dondi Dell'orologio, Giovanni

Giovanni Dondi dell'Orologio (born c. 1330 in Chioggia) was a physician, astronomer, clockmaker (as his name indicates), and humanist. His father, Iacopo Dondi, also a physician, taught at the medical school at Padua. Dondi dell'Orologio took his degree in medicine there in 1354 and taught at the *studio*, lecturing in astrology and logic as well as medicine.

Dondi dell'Orologio is most famous for his *astrarium*, an astronomical clock which he made for the Visconti palace in Pavia and

which made his name. In addition to the time of day, it showed the liturgical calendar (both fixed and movable feasts), as well as the movements of the sun and moon and each of the seven celestial spheres. It was a marvelous machine, but it stopped working in the *Quattrocento* and was later destroyed. Dondi preserved his plans for the clock in his *Tractatus astrarii*, and several modern reconstructions have been made.

Dondi is also known for his association with Petrarch and other humanists. Around 1368, he became Petrarch's personal physician. This would seem to be a thankless task, since Petrarch's contempt for the medical profession is well documented (for example, in *Invective contra medicum* and *Rerum senilium libri*, 12.1 and 2); but in fact Dondi became a close friend and regular correspondent of the poet. Petrarch showed his own esteem by bequeathing Dondi fifty gold ducats—exactly the same amount that he left to Boccaccio.

An eclectic scholar, Dondi wrote many scientific and literary texts in addition to *Tractatus astrarii*, including a commentary on Galen, *Quaestiones super libris Tegni*; a treatise on the plague, *De modo vivendi tempore pestilentiali*, and a collection of medical remedies, *Experimenta*. His nonscientific writings encompass a travelogue called *Iter romanum*, a Petrarchan epistolary, and a small *canzoniere* of fifty poems in Italian. The variety of Dondi's writings demonstrates the extraordinary intellectual range of this humanist scholar.

See also Petrarca, Francesco; Visconti Family

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Doria Family

The Doria, an old and noble family of Genoa, were Ghibelline rivals of the Guelf Grimaldi family on the western coast of Liguria, while the Guelf Fieschi and Ghibelline Spinola family clans dominated the hinterland of Genoa and the eastern coast. From their feudal domains and castles, these family groups established urban strongholds, or tower societies, in Genoa during the early twelfth century—a process that Lopez (1976) called the "commercial revolution of the Middle Ages." Appropriately, the main burial church of the early Doria clan, with its dramatic series of tombs resembling triumphal arches, was the tenth-century Benedictine abbey of San Fruttuoso, secluded on in a well-protected mountainous inlet of the sea near Portofino.

The first signs of the Doria in Genoa appeared with Martino, who founded the urban family church of San Matteo in 1125, under the Benedictine administration of San Fruttuoso; San Matteo is just to the north of the cathedral of San Lorenzo and the rival Fieschi neighborhood (called an *albergo* in Genoa). The Doria *chiesa di gentilizia* was rebuilt after 1278 in the Lombard Gothic style, which was reserved for four noble clans and was characterized by black-and-white marble facades. The closely clustered towerlike family palaces, enclosed piazza, and *albergo* protected the *consorteria*, or faction: a cross section of related families, middle-class merchants, artisans, and slaves that constituted an insular, heterogeneous, hierarchical social and economic organization.

In the twelfth century, the Doria rose to political power as leaders of the Ghibelline factions in Genoa. They formed a tenuous (and often violently factional) alliance with the Spinola during the period of the consular republic and seigneurial *capi- tani del popolo* (captains of the people) that followed the mid-century wars and crises. The Doria were political leaders, consuls, ambassadors, and *capitani del popolo* (Doria and Spinola *capitani* were usually appointed in pairs, working in concert and competition with each other). The Doria also achieved fame as military captains, and as admirals of the Genoese fleets, often composed of private family armadas, that swept the Mediterranean during the early period of commercial expansion against the Turks,

Pisans, Venetians, and Catalans. A series of famous Doria naval commanders won important victories against rival western powers, even while the Moors were driving Latin crusaders out of the Holy Land and achieving supremacy over eastern Mediterranean ports in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Ansaldo Doria served as consul, ambassador, admiral and military commander in Iberia against the Moors in 1134. An-saldo's descendants formed a major line of this complex family. His son Simone was elected consul six times between 1175 and 1188 and was admiral at the siege of San Giovanni d'Acari, with Latin crusaders. In the late twelfth century Nicolò Doria and others commanded Genoese fleets against the Pisans for control of Sardinia (Sardegna). Branca Doria—who is notorious by being relegated to hell in Dante's *Inferno* (Canto 33.134)— participated in a decisive victory over Pisa at Meloria in 1284 under the *diarchia* (dyarchy) of the *capitani del popolo* Oberto Doria and Oberto Spinola. The famous admiral Lamba Doria defeated the Venetians at Curzola in 1298; this victory was commemorated by an epic triumphal inscription above the loggia of his family palace on Piazza San Matteo, donated to him by the grateful city. Pietro Doria led the siege of Chioggia in 1380, a step toward ending Genoa's Venetian wars and eastern trade expansion. A brother of Lamba, Jacopo Doria, distinguished himself as an annalist of Genoa, continuing the famous chronicle tradition of Caffaro during the late thirteenth century, while also taking on naval commands and establishing feudal and commercial ties with family members in Liguria, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, Tunis, and other parts of the Mediterranean.

With the popular revolt of Simone Boccanegra against the factionalism and tyranny of the Doria and the Spinola in 1339, a perpetual dogeship was instituted. Under this arrangement, the old noble families were excluded from public office, although the city still suffered from violence, civil discord, and intervention by neighboring foreign powers: Montserrat, Savoy, France, and Milan. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, the Doria and other noble families continued to have a strong influence on the popular doges, particularly the Fregoso and Adorno, through their feudal military commands and their ambassadorships as well as their family wealth and social, economic, commercial and religious sodalities.

The situation changed dramatically with the admiral Andrea Doria (1466-1560), the most famous member of the *consorteria*. Andrea came from an obscure, impoverished branch of the family on the western riviera; he was born in Oneglia, near Dolceacqua, the family feudal seat. His role—military, political, and naval—in the Italian wars culminated with his overthrow of the popular doges and French rulers of Genoa in September 1528. He then reestablished an aristocratic republic of noble families (it was the second oldest republic in Italy after Venice, and it survived until Napoleon's invasion in 1797). In gratitude, the aristocratic republic, led by a biennial doge, gave Andrea a palace next to Lamba's on the Piazza San Matteo, firmly placing him within the family line. At his suburban villa at the entrance to the harbor, Andrea initiated a new "Augustan" Renaissance style of courtly display. Andrea Doria allied the Genoese republic of 1528 with the Spanish Hapsburg empire of Charles V and Philip II, setting the stage for the "century of Genoa" as the city of bankers of the Hapsburg empire in the Mediterranean, Europe, and the new world. Andrea's leadership of the Genoese republic continued after the Fieschi conspiracy of 1547 and the assassination of his nephew and heir, Giannettino Doria. Giannettino's son, Giovanni Andrea Doria (1539-1606), commanded the Genoese fleet under the Hapsburg admiral-general Don Juan of Austria at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571—the last major victory of the west over the Ottoman empire.

See also **Fieschi Family; Genoa; Spinola Family**

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Dowry

See Family Structure

Duccio Di Buoninsegna

The painter Duccio di Buoninsegna (c. 1255 or 1260—1319) was born in Siena. He was active largely in Tuscany—and especially in Siena—from the 1270s until he died. Along with a few other artists, including Cimabue, Giotto, and the Pisano family of sculptors, Duccio must be recognized as responsible for taking the arts in a new direction and thereby helping to usher in a new cultural era. Duccio's art has a quality very different from Giotto's but displays the same earnest exploration and experimentation in the depiction of pictorial space and human psychology. Duccio would serve as the touchstone for the Siennese approach to painting for the next 250 years, because he originated a distinctively Siennese type of color, line, composition, and narrative.

The earliest documentary mention of Duccio comes from 1278, when he was paid by the commune of Siena for painting twelve storage chests for official documents. The commune of Siena employed Duccio on numerous occasions. In 1279, 1286, 1291, 1292, 1294, and 1295 he was commissioned by the office of the *biccherna*, the fiscal branch of the government, to paint the wooden panels (known as *biccherna covers*)

that bound the communal registers kept in this office. Duccio's panels (now lost) mark the inception of the commune's practice of commissioning such panels from its leading painters, a tradition that was maintained through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Also in 1295, the commune called on Duccio, along with the sculptor Giovanni Pisano, to be part of a commission to decide where to locate the city's new fountain, the Fonte Ovile.

Duccio's frequent employment by the commune of Siena in what appears to have been the early part of his career must indicate that people had confidence in his ability. However, another side of the artist emerges in some of the documents bound in Duccio's *biccherna* covers: his name appears regularly in the register of penalties levied for offenses against the commune. The first of these, from 1280, does not specify Duccio's crime, but the considerable sum of 100 *lire* suggests that it was serious. (To put this in perspective, Duccio was paid only forty-eight *lire* for one of his largest commissions, a now lost *Maestà* painted twenty-two years later for the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena.) Subsequently, fines were imposed on Duccio for refusing to join a citizens' militia raised to do battle in the Maremma, for being absent from meetings of the town council, for refusing to swear an oath to the ruling *podestà*, and possibly for practicing witchcraft, since one fine originated from the office that was in charge of controlling sorcery. Still, these charges cannot have been taken too seriously, for Duccio continued to be employed by the state and ultimately received the most exalted commission the city could confer on an artist—an enormous *Maestà* for the high altar of the cathedral (*duomo*) of Siena.

Only two of Duccio's documented works survive, but fortunately they are two of the most important. The first is the *Rucel lai Madonna and Child Enthroned*, commissioned in 1285 by the Confraternity of the Compagnia dei Laudesi for its chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence. (This work was transferred to the Rucellai Chapel in the 1500s, and after 1937 it was removed to the Uffizi in Florence.) The other is the *Maestà* for the cathedral of Siena, commissioned by the administrator of the cathedral in October 1308 and brought to the high altar there in June 1311. (Today most of the *Maestà* is in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena; but fragments are scattered in many other collections worldwide). Separated by some twenty-six years, these two

works set the standard for any additional attributions to Duccio and give a clear idea of his stylistic development.

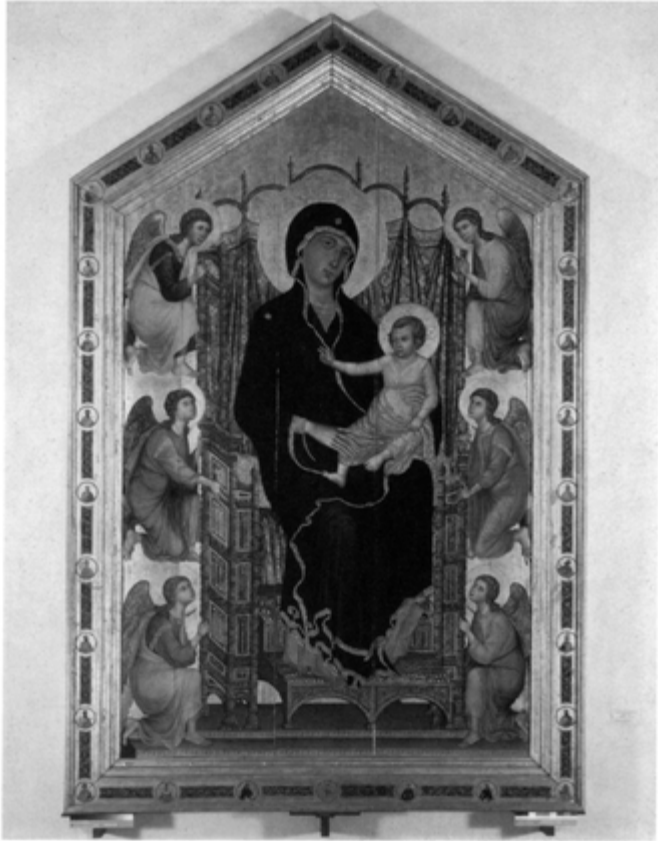
Because his *biccherna* covers are lost, Duccio's artistic training and activity before the *Rucellai Madonna* are shrouded in mystery. The very fact that early in his career Duccio received such an important commission for a monumental and luxurious altarpiece in one of the largest churches in Florence—which was then Siena's archrival—has led to speculation. Some scholars suggest that the Florentines, who were jealously protective of their own civic accomplishments, would commission only artists with connections to Florence, and therefore that Duccio must at one time have been a pupil of or collaborator with the Florentine artist Cimabue. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that until the twentieth century the *Rucellai Madonna* was believed to have been painted by Cimabue. However, the one surviving work by Duccio that critics are unanimous in placing before the *Rucellai Madonna*, the *Crevole Madonna* (Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, possibly 1280), shows little relationship to Cimabue, at a time when any such resemblance should have been strongest had Duccio truly been apprenticed to Cimabue. The *Crevole Madonna* demonstrates Duccio's familiarity with the work of later *Duecento* Siennese artists, such as Guido da Siena, and his fundamental indebtedness to the art of Byzantium. The format of the Madonna pointing to the child as the pathway to salvation and the schematization of the Madonna's nose, eyes, and hands are derived from these sources. But this apparently youthful work already shows a refined, elegant, taut line; polished modeling; and a warm humanity that herald a fresh interpretation of an old tradition.



Duccio (c. 1260-1318), *Maestà*. Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana, Siena. Photo: © Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

Duccio's refinement is seen again in the *Rucellai Madonna*, perhaps the most opulent altarpiece of the *Duecento*. Since it was recently restored, we can fully appreciate the splendid effect of the fields of precious lapis lazuli blue forming the Virgin's gown, set like a gem against a rich variety of tooled gold patterns and delicate hues forming the throne and the shimmering cloth of honor behind her. Everything about the panel conveys ethereal grace and airiness. The gold hem of the Madonna's cloak trickles slowly down in a wandering, sinuous line. Although the angels are kneeling, they seem weightless, hovering one above another, and grasping the throne as if they might otherwise float away into space. The gold itself plays a role in creating this sense of lightness, for every figure and form, including the throne, is enveloped by gold as if in a bubble. Despite its celestial airiness, the *Rucellai Madonna* is full of details drawn from close analysis of nature. Duccio has abandoned the schematic pattern of gold striation in the Madonna's cloak, which was still in use in Cimabue's *Santa Trinita Maestà*, and has taken great pains to model the form of her body beneath her cloak. The Christ child likewise sits believably on the Madonna's lap and,

while giving his blessing, turns his gaze to something at the side that has caught his attention. The accordion folds of the cloth of honor are so carefully modeled that they truly seem three-dimensional. This is an image of exquisite, rarefied elegance, and it must have perfectly fulfilled its function, receiving the hymns of praise sung to the Madonna by the Laudesi before their altar.



Duccio, *Madonna in Maestà* (Rucellai Madonna). Commissioned 1285. Oil on panel, 14 feet 9/8 inch by 9 feet 6 1/8 inches. Uffizi, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Although documents mention a *Maestà*, now lost, painted for the chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena in 1302, we have no sure example of Duccio's activity after the *Rucellai Madonna* until we reach his greatest masterpiece, the *Maestà* of 1308-1311. Commissioned for

the holiest location in the city, the high altar of the cathedral of Siena, the *Maestà* replaced a much venerated image of the Madonna—the *Madonna dagli Occhi Grosst* (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena)—that was believed to have produced the miraculous victory of the Sienese over the Florentines at the famous battle of Montaperti in 1260. Such an important location required a new altarpiece of suitable grandeur; and while it was still intact the *Maestà* was the largest and most complex polyptych up to its day: 15 feet (4.5 meters) high by 16 feet (4.8 meters) long. The *Maestà* was painted on both sides, the rear panel providing an extensive series of narratives for the devotional meditation of the monks seated in the choir during the mass; the polyptych also had narratives in a series of predella panels below the central scene and an upper tier of pinnacles. Duccio's *Maestà* coincided with Siena's hope of achieving economic and political hegemony in Tuscany, and it was an expression of civic ambition and pride as much as of sacred devotion. This is underscored by Duccio's signature at the base of the Virgin's throne, which invokes the special protection of the Virgin for her city: *Mater Sancta DeiSis Causa Senis Requiei-Sis Ducio Vita-Te Quia Pinxit Ita* ("Holy Mother of God, bring peace to Siena, and life to Duccio, as he painted you this way").

The Madonna is shown enthroned in a gold empyrean as queen of heaven, surrounded by a court of saints and angels; Siena's four patron saints, Ansanus, Savinus, Crescentius, and Victor kneel prominently in the foreground, in supplication for their city. Despite the glittering opulence of this celestial panorama, a new degree of realism pervades the scene, derived from a knowledge of Giotto and Giovanni Pisano. The Madonna is firmly described in terms of full round volumes, and her throne is not the spindly wooden design of the *Rucellai* panel but a solidly anchored marble structure with arms opening outward as in Giotto's *Ognissanti Madonna* (1306-1310, Florence, Uffizi). The narrative scenes framing the enthroned Virgin and covering the back of the altarpiece contain some of the most remarkable pictorial advances of the *Trecento*. Beginning with seven scenes of the life of Mary in the front predella, the narrative continued with nine scenes of Christ's earthly ministry in the rear predella, moving on to twenty-six scenes of Christ's passion and resurrection, topped by eight scenes of Christ's life after the resurrection, and, returning to the front, completed by eight

episodes from the last events of Mary's life. In their delicacy of line and subtle harmonies of color, these scenes are utterly different from Giotto's narratives in the Arena Chapel; nevertheless, they parallel Giotto's work in their unprecedented exploration of spatial and psychological realism. For example, the *Entry into Jerusalem*, which initiates the cycle of Christ's passion, describes four carefully defined zones of space moving sequentially back into the distance. The skyline of Jerusalem at the top is the most convincing cityscape up to its time (specifically, Siena, with a recognizable cathedral), and it must have provoked Giotto to create his complex cityscapes in the Peruzzi Chapel. Different episodes having the same location in the gospels, such as the events surrounding the Last Supper, or the agony in the garden and the betrayal, are pointedly given the same setting from one scene to the next in Duccio's depictions, establishing a logical continuity which makes the complex structure of the polyptych astonishingly easy to follow. Certain architectural constructions, such as the *Temptation of Christ in the Temple* or the *Feast at Cana*, hint at intricate perspective vistas anticipating the sense of space that would be developed by the Lorenzetti brothers.

On 9 June 1311, after thirty-two months of work on the panel (though there is some speculation that such a large polyptych must have taken longer and thus was begun earlier), the *Maestà* was ready for installation. The day of its transport was declared a civil and religious holiday; all shops were closed, and contemporary documents describe a magnificent procession, amid the ringing of all the bells in the city, of church dignitaries, government magistrates, drummers and trumpeters, and the general populace of Siena, leading the altarpiece from Duccio's studio down to and around the town square, and up the hill to the cathedral. Nowhere else can the medieval fusion of the civic and the sacred be observed so clearly.

Until 1506 the *Maestà* remained on the high altar of the cathedral; from 1506 onward, it stood in a side chapel, remaining a continuous sourcebook of inspiration for Siennese artists through the sixteenth century. In 1771, it was removed to the small church of Sant' Ansano. Shortly thereafter the polyptych was sawn apart: the front and back were separated, and small panels were removed; these have since been dispersed to various collections, but the bulk of the polyptych has been

reassembled and has been exhibited in Museo dell'Opera del Duomo since 1878.

Little is known for certain about Duccio's activity after the completion of the *Maestà* until his death (by 1319). The main work attributed to him during this period is a polyptych of the *Madonna and Saints* (number 47, after 1311, Siena, Pinacoteca). Other important works attributed to Duccio include a glass oculus of the *Dormition, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin and Saints* in the choir wall of the cathedral of Siena (1288); a *Maestà* (1288-1300, now in the Kunstmuseum, Bern); a tiny panel of the *Madonna and Child with Three Kneeling Franciscans* (c. 1300, Siena, Pinacoteca); a *Madonna and Child* (c. 1300, Stoclet Collection, Brussels); a portable triptych of the *Madonna and Saints* (c. 1305, London, National Gallery); a *Madonna and Child with Six Angels* (c. 1305, Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria); and a dossal of the *Madonna Flanked by Four Saints* (c. 1305, Siena, Pinacoteca). A fresco discovered in 1980 in the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena, *Submission of a Castle to Siena*, has also been attributed to Duccio (c. 1314).

Immediate followers of Duccio included his nephew, Segna da Bonaventura, the Badia a Isola Master, and Ugolino da Siena; and it seems extremely likely that major *Trecento* Siennese artists such as Simone Martini and Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti were also Duccio's apprentices.

See also Cimabue; Florence; Giotto di Bondone; Guido da Siena; Lorenzetti, Pietro and Ambrogio; Martini, Simone; Painting: Panel; Pisano, Giovanni; Siena

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Durandus, William

See William Durandus

E

Education

Italy had educational structures and institutions different from those of the rest of medieval Europe. Although many of the same kinds of schools existed—monastery schools, cathedral schools, and later universities—their roles and institutional forms were often different from comparable institutions north of the Alps because of the more highly urbanized character of Italy, especially northern and central Italy. The most important difference was that Italy had Europe's only privately run schools with lay teachers before the eleventh century, and these non-church schools remained the norm until the sixteenth century. Some scholars have seen these urban schools as direct descendants of those run by grammarians and rhetoricians in the towns of the Roman empire. This continuity cannot in fact be demonstrated for any specific Italian city, but such schools are documented widely from the eleventh century onward and were remarked on, along with Italy's urbanized culture and high literacy rates, by contemporary travelers. Much of the burden of elementary education—reading and writing—seems to have been in the hands of private schoolmasters throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. These teachers could be women, both lay and religious, or part-time instructors such as priests, lawyers, and notaries who accepted individual students. Urban schools before the thirteenth century, however, were not usually organized by local governments, local churches, or monasteries but offered genuinely private tuition. The schoolmaster or schoolmistress contracted directly with parents to teach their children. Even when other, more formally organized schools existed, private tuition in small schools continued alongside them.

The reading and writing schools provided these fundamental skills to the citizens of increasingly commercial Italian cities and reflected the precocity of Italians in developing written records of all sorts. Another

skill taught in medieval Italian schools was *abaco*. This word is related to English "abacus," but the course concerned far more than counting on the adding frame. *Abaco* was the subject we would call business arithmetic. It was taught exclusively to boys. In Tuscany, especially at Florence, there were separate *abaco* schools offering a full-time course; elsewhere, *abaco* was usually combined with the intermediate reading and writing course. At Genoa, for example, where Latin was used for business records far longer than in other cities, there was a combined course in business Latin and *abaco*, aimed at the sons of merchants.

Starting in the thirteenth century, city governments often subsidized private elementary schools or opened their own public schools. Usually the commune would contract to provide a house for the school, or would help the master find one, and pay him a fixed salary. The master in turn promised to reside continuously in the city and instruct all who came to learn. Sometimes masters were required to give poor students free lessons, but usually the master would collect fees over and above his salary for the various levels of instruction. Like the course itself, the fees were task-oriented rather than temporal. Students did not pay an annual tuition, but instead paid a set amount to learn the ABCs, another amount to master the primer, and so on, no matter how long these tasks took. The educational psychology implicit in such a system was that the students learned by imitation of the master, and that each task had to be mastered thoroughly before a student went on to the next one. This notion depended in turn on a Neoplatonic epistemology whereby the student's imitation was seen as a return to the "Creator," mediated by the teacher. Every task had a moral value over and above its specific content. Children were not thought to have a distinct psychology but were considered capable of making moral decisions and developing moral habits in the same way as adults. This approach explains why the communal contracts for grammar teachers almost always described their job as nurturing and safeguarding the morals of the city's youth.

There was no fixed age for starting school; most children who were sent out to reading schools started between ages seven and ten, but some began later while others, especially those tutored at home, might start to read at five or six. After learning to read and write, students had several options. For some, reading and writing were the only skills

needed, and they would therefore go directly into the workplace. Others would take the *abaco* course, which could be combined with practice in keeping business records either in Latin or in the vernacular. A small number went on to study Latin in grammar schools, so called because in the Middle Ages Latin was the only language taught through the analytical rules called grammar. In medieval Italian usage, the word *grammatica* meant Latin. Grammar students learned Latin by memorizing the texts of the primer, usually prayers and psalms, followed by a simple grammar rule book, and then the moral proverbs of the *Distichs of Cato* (*Disticha Catonis*) or the fables of Aesop. Intermediate reading texts included such patristic poets as Prosper of Aquitaine and Prudentius, and also medieval school poetry that imitated Ovid. One common text of this sort was the *Elegy* of Arrigo da Settimelio. Most of the earliest texts given to schoolchildren were poetry, because poetry was believed to be more enjoyable for children and easier for them to memorize. Memory training was an essential part of education at every level. It equipped the student with a large body of easily quotable commonplaces for almost every theme or subject; and in accord with the prevailing Neoplatonic pedagogical theories, it was believed to give a structure to the mind itself that mirrored the ordered plan of the created world.

The Latin program of study is best attested to for the city-sponsored schools of the fourteenth century, but its elementary levels had been much the same in the earlier Middle Ages. There were regional variations in the texts used, and individual teachers had a great deal of freedom in choosing texts, but the techniques of teaching through imitation and memorization were constant. One important change that did occur in Italy from the late twelfth century onward was that students began to have an opportunity to learn to read in Italian only, without studying any Latin at all. In the earlier Middle Ages, Latin had been the only written language, and so learning to read meant learning to read Latin. But as city life grew more complex, commercial and even legal records began to be kept in local dialects; thus more and more people learned to read only the *volgare*, or vernacular.

However, Latin remained the language of the educated classes and a prerequisite for university education; therefore, students who had completed the elementary and intermediate Latin course would

normally go on to study Latin for several more years before entering the university. This preparatory course was intended to give students facility in reading and writing Latin; it was called *auctores* ("authors") because it consisted of intensive study of the authoritative Latin poets and prose writers of the ancient world. The exact curriculum depended on the teachers' and students' interests, but it most often included Virgil, Horace, Ovid (often in expurgated or "moralized" versions), Seneca, and Boethius. As with the more elementary texts, students parsed these texts word by word and committed them to memory. At the preuniversity level they would also analyze the texts according to the rules of classical rhetoric, and they studied history, geography, and mythology by learning the meanings of proper names used by the poets. The skills learned in this way would be applied later in professional courses in law, medicine, notarial arts, and *ars dictaminis*, all taught in the universities.

We should not imagine that the private and communal schools were the only educational institutions in medieval Italy. In the earlier Middle Ages, monastic and cathedral schools like those of northern Europe were much more important than private schools. Several of the cathedral schools, indeed, were very famous in their day: Pavia, Verona, Cremona, and Modena had important schools of this sort at various periods from the ninth century to the eleventh. Several of the great figures of the eleventh-century monastic reform movement, moreover, were educated in monastic schools of northern Italy: Lanfranc and Anselm, successively priors of Bee in Normandy and archbishops of Canterbury, are only the most notable examples. The monasteries of Bobbio (in Lombardy), Nonantola (near Modena), Farfa (north of Rome), Monte Cassino (between Rome and Naples) and La Cava (south of Naples) all had famous schools which accepted lay boys as well as aspiring monks. One major task of schools attached to cathedrals and monasteries was teaching singing for liturgical purposes. Like grammar, music instruction relied heavily on memorization. Texts and melodies were learned together, and the pattern of each was used to reinforce the memorization of the other. The monastic reformers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries stressed the education of monks as a religious elite, and they discouraged "external" schools—i.e., schools for boys from outside the monastery. Gradually, Italian monasteries followed the

example of French and German monasteries in withdrawing from the field of education. With the establishment of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century, however, clerics took on a broad educational role again, first as preachers, then as educators of their own postulants at *studia* in the major Italian towns, and eventually by opening their schools to a limited number of lay auditors. It is believed that Dante attended lectures of this sort at Santa Maria Novella in Florence. For the most part, monasteries in later medieval Italy offered only upper-level courses and avoided elementary education.

Girls were excluded from the city-run schools and from most private schools beyond the level of reading and writing. They could, however, learn other skills if their parents would allow it, since additional schooling could be had in convents, or, for girls in wealthier families, from private tutors at home. Latin and arithmetic were only rarely taught to girls; instead, their usual education concentrated on domestic arts like cooking and sewing. Even the convent schools taught embroidery and other handwork that could be sold for income. Italian convents of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially those associated with the mendicants, often had a very lively cultural life. The nuns read widely and sometimes wrote devotional texts and poetry themselves; they often copied or decorated manuscripts for their own use or for income; they taught their own postulants reading, writing, and sometimes Latin; they accepted lay girls for finishing courses; and they patronized artists, writers, and craftspeople beyond their walls. Much of the devotional literature in Italian composed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was intended for women.

In general, it is fair to say that Italian schools were the most varied and most practically-oriented in Europe before the fourteenth century. They reflected Italy's highly developed city life and also a businesslike approach to education, as to commerce, on the part of the Italian ruling classes. The schools at all levels, right up to the university course, stressed practical professional skills and deemphasized the study of speculative subjects like theology, philosophy, and even literature.

See also Arrigo da Settimello; Dante Alighieri; Disticha Catonis; Ovid; Ovid in the Middle Ages; Universities; Virgil; Virgil in the Middle Ages

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Egidio Romano

See **Giles of Rome**

Embriaco Family

The Embriaco were an old noble family of Genoa, originally viscounts, descended from a branch of the Ghibelline Spinola clan. The Embriaco played a major role in the process whereby the Genoese nobility conquered eastern trade routes and built a commercial empire in the Mediterranean during the eleventh and twelfth centuries—a process that the historian Henri Pirenne and Lopez (1938, 1976) described as the early "crusading-military-mercantile privatism" of these nobles. It established Genoa, along with Pisa and Venice, as a leading trading center in the Mediterranean and European economies, driven by the wealth of Muslim, Chinese, and southeast Asian silk and spice routes.

The rise of the Embriaco in the early Genoese republic was due to Guglielmo, a military leader of the First Crusade (1097-1104). Guglielmo commanded the large Genoese fleets—described in the *Annali* of the chronicler Caffaro (who was himself a member of the expedition of 1099)—that took the ports of San Simeon, Arsuf, and Caesarea, opening Genoese trading colonies in Antioch and other markets in the Holy Land. According to Caffaro, Guglielmo scuttled one fleet and used the wooden ships to make inventive siege weapons; as a result, Jerusalem fell to the Christian crusaders on 15 July 1099. Guglielmo's tenacity as a fighter earned him the nickname Testadimaglio, or "Mallethead." He was an ally of Baldwin I, who became king of Jerusalem. As the Genoese *consul exercitus Ianuensium*

(commander of the army) he celebrated with Baldwin the ceremonial liberation of the Holy Sepulchre with a miraculous paschal "mass of lights" and baptismal ablution in the Jordan River.

With the First Crusade, spoliation of eastern relics became an integral part of western colonization. The relics of Saint John the Baptist were brought to Genoa from Mira and installed in the cathedral of San Lorenzo; thus John became Genoa's patron saint and its ceremonial focus. Guglielmo was personally responsible for the *furta sacra* ("sacred theft") of the Sacro Catino from Caesarea; this is a plate or basin of green glass and emerald work from late antiquity with a relief of the head of Christ (or John the Baptist) in the center. According to one legend, it was the plate on which Christ instituted the eucharist at the Last Supper; according to other legends, it was the plate on which the severed head of John the Baptist had been presented to Herod. Today it is in the treasury of San Lorenzo, where it is still revered by worshippers. Such relics, with their ties to the Holy Land, helped define the religious and communal life, the "sacred landscape," of Genoa—as of other early European republics and kingdoms—along with the private associations (*compagna communis*) that made the Genoese crusades possible.

As a result of the conquests and spoils of the First Crusade, the Embriaco gained a monopoly on trade to Antioch and Syria, the source of their wealth and power. The family also became established as lords of Gibelet (Jubail in Arabic) in the strategic coastal city and county of Tripoli, where they remained for two centuries until they disappeared, with the last of the crusader states in the Holy Land, in the late 1290s. The triumphal return of the Genoese fleet in 1101, immortalized by Caffaro, celebrated Guglielmo's military prestige; and Guglielmo's election as consul of the republic in 1102, with his father, Guido Spinola, and a relative, Ido di Carmandino, put him in virtual control of the city.

The twelfth-century fortress tower of the Embriaco near Santa Maria di Castello, with its impressive height and its hillside situation overlooking the medieval city and harbor, is a symbol of the family's almost seigniorial power during the early republic. It is also an early example of medieval rustication, with crenellated battlements crowning the top (although it was heavily restored in 1923). The Embriaco fell

into extinction during the thirteenth century, but their proud tower still remains.

See also **Crusades; Genoa; Spinola Family**

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Empire: Byzantine

See **Byzantine Empire**

Empire: Holy Roman

See Holy Roman Empire

Empoli

Empoli is situated in the agriculturally rich lower Arno valley, about 17 miles (28 kilometers) from Florence and 4 miles (7 kilometers) from the confluence of the Arno and Elsa rivers. In the Middle Ages the important Via Francigena, the main road from Rome to France, crossed the Arno near the castle, and later the town, of Empoli. The town was thus at a junction of the land route northward to France and southward to Siena and Rome with the water route by the Arno from Florence to Pisa and the sea. The name Empoli is ancient; it apparently derives from "emporium," and from the early twelfth century on Empoli has indeed been an important commercial center. Its moment of fame came in 1260, when the Ghibelline victors of Montaperti met there to decide the fate of Guelf Tuscany.

Ancient Roman remains were discovered in 1984, and a document of 780 mentions a church of San Michele "in Empoli." Until 1015, the area around the castle was controlled by Pisa— in fact, it was on the border between Florentine and Pisan territories. In that year the populace revolted and scattered, and Pisans destroyed the castle. The territory fell under the lordship of the Guidi counts, and the local *pieve*, or regional baptismal church, of Sant' Andrea served as a locus for a new market village. In 1119, the countess Emilia, wife of Count Guido Guerra, established this church (today, *collegiata*) as the center for fourteen regional churches and chapels, and their incomes. From this time on the town grew quickly. The people of Empoli generally controlled their own civic affairs, and they formed a defensive alliance with the nearby villages of Monterappoli and Pontorme.

With the descent of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa into Italy, Empoli submitted itself to the protection of Florence in 1181 — 1182. The emperor imposed his own vicar in 1184, but four years later Florence regained control. In 1255, Florence bought out the Ghibelline Guidi counts and installed its own *podesta*. In 1260, after their victory at Montaperti, Ghibelline leaders, including some of the Guidi, pressed for the razing

of Florence. The Florentine exile Farinata degli Uberti argued successfully against this, and the city was spared. After the tables turned, the central position of Empoli made it a natural meeting place for Guelph leaders from Tuscany in 1295, 1297, and 1304, and in 1312, when Tuscan and Bolognese Guelphs convened to discuss their strategy against Emperor Henry VII.

Empoli suffered during the wars between Castruccio Castracane and Florence in 1315-1328, and later during Florence's battles for control of Pisa. In 1333, a terrible flood of the Arno badly damaged the town, and its walls, some sections of which dated from the eleventh century, were ruined. They were completely rebuilt in 1336, however, and were provided with towers and two main gates. These walls were famous in their day, but only a portion of them, dating from 1487, still exists.



Church of Sant' Andrea (Coilegiata), Empoli. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The *pieve* of Sant' Andrea was rebuilt beginning in 1093, and its geometric twelfth-century facade in white and dark-green stone is reminiscent of San Miniato al Monte in Florence. The interior of Sant' Andrea was remodeled in the eighteenth century, but it retains a few works from the fourteenth. The Augustinian church of Santo Stefano (1367) has never had a formal facade; however, it contains important remnants of frescoes by Masolino (1430s).

See also Farinata degli Uberti; Florence; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Montaperti, Battle of

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Enna

Enna is a hilltop town in central Sicily. It was known as Enna in classical antiquity but was renamed Kasr Janni under the Muslims; this Muslim name was the derivation of its medieval name, Castrogiovanni, which was retained until 1927.

Enna is important particularly for its role in the Norman conquest of Sicily during the eleventh century. Its mountainous setting and well-fortified castle, parts of which remain today, made it virtually impregnable. The Muslims captured Enna, in the ninth century, only by worming their way under the walls through the sewers. Around 1060, it was the seat of the emir Ibn al-Hawas, one of three major figures in the confused politics of Sicily—an island whose rulers were oblivious of the Norman threat and were preoccupied with establishing their independence from one another and from the the Zirid of Tunisia. In 1060-1061, Ibn al-Hawas held his own sister captive in Enna; she was married to the powerful ruler of Catania (on the eastern coast of Sicily), Ibn al-Thimnah, who tried to win her back by force but was repulsed. In desperation, Ibn al-Thimnah went to Mileto in Calabria and begged the

Normans for aid against his enemies. Roger I, brother of the most successful Norman warlord in southern Italy, joined forces with the emir of Catania, first overwhelming Messina and then marching on Enna. In the fields outside the town, the Normans scored a notable victory over a numerically superior enemy, but they were not able to storm the stronghold of Enna.

The Normans' presence in Sicily eventually united most of the Muslims against them, although in 1067 Ibn al-Hawas was killed in a battle against the Zirid, who had come to save Sicily from being conquered by Christians. Enna itself continued to hold out remarkably well against the Normans, and it was one of the very last places to submit to Roger I (the last was Noto, in 1090). The end came for Enna in 1086, when Roger I captured the children of the new emir of Enna, Ibn Hammud, at Girgenti (Agrigento). Roger began to negotiate with Ibn Hammud, who decided in 1087 to abandon Enna to the Christians. Hammud marched out of the town; allowed his procession to be surrounded by the Normans, to whom he could then honorably surrender; accepted baptism; and went to live on lands granted to him in Calabria.

During the late twelfth century, there were still descendants of Muslim converts to Christianity in Enna, although the town stood in an area that was being subjected to intensive colonization by Christian settlers from the Italian mainland, the so-called Lombardi. One such Christianized Arab may be Maymun of Castrogiovanni, who is recorded as making a donation to a monastery at Caltanissetta in 1179.

Something is known of the economic role of Enna in the late Middle Ages. There were craft guilds in the town by the mid-fifteenth century. References to fairs begin not later than 1420. Between 1277 and 1478, the number of hearths in the town decreased, as elsewhere in Sicily; but at those two extremes there seem to have been some 2,000 hearths, which would indicate a population of approximately 10,000. The saltworks of Enna are mentioned repeatedly in fifteenth-century charters. Its rock salt, needed in the making of cheese (a great Sicilian specialty), was exported to Catania. In 1459, work was under way to exploit new alum mines in the region of Castrogiovanni. In 1453, Alfonso V granted Pietro Mozzicato of Enna the right to explore for alum throughout Sicily. On the other hand, social tension developed in

Enna. In 1453, the city seems to have been divided among four factions, *gentilhomini*, *menestrali*, *borgesi*, and the *popolo*. In 1463-1464 royal taxation was a particular source of tension. In this respect Enna shared the outlook of the other medium-sized Sicilian towns.

See also **Arabs in Italy; Roger I; Sicily**

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Enzo

Enzo (Enzio, c. 1220-1272) was the natural son of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen and an unknown mother. His name was Heinrich, but in Italy he was called Enzo or Enzio. He was the favorite of his father, of whom he was said to be the very image. Sources portray him as handsome, cheerful, fearless, and poetic. Enzo played a substantial role in imperial politics from 1238 until his capture in battle in 1249.

In 1238, Enzo married Adelasia, the widowed ruler of Torres and Gallura in northern Sardinia. Enzo never ruled Sardinia— he came there just long enough to marry Adelasia and to appoint vicars—but the emperor proclaimed him king of Sardinia, and Enzo continued to use that title even after his marriage to Adelasia was annulled in 1245. In July 1239, Frederick appointed Enzo "legate general of all Italy," a "living image" of the emperor to preside over the imperial vicars general of cities in central and northern Italy. Enzo was also empowered to arbitrate disputes, hear appeals, and appoint notaries and judges. Most significantly, he commanded imperial troops and collaborated with Ghibelline warlords such as Ezzelino III da Romano to fight Guelf forces in Tuscany, Lombardy, and the Romagna.



Palazzo di Re Enzo (where Enzo was imprisoned), Bologna. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Enzo was one target of a foiled conspiracy against Frederick in 1246, in which many of the emperor's closest friends and advisers were implicated. In the reorganization of the imperial government that followed, Enzo was assigned to Lombardy and the Romagna. He campaigned continuously against the Guelfs in the region. In May 1247, while Enzo was besieging a fortress near Brescia, a Guelf force stole into the city of Parma and seized it. The protracted and mishandled siege that ensued was a disaster for Frederick. In 1248, Enzo married

Ezzelino's niece. Enzo was captured at Fossalto in a skirmish against Guelfs from Bologna in January 1249. Frederick tried desperately to persuade the Bolognese to release him, but they refused. The capture of Enzo crippled imperial policy in Lombardy.

Enzo was imprisoned comfortably in Bologna for the rest of his life. There he wrote simple but affecting poems and songs, many of which are extant. He corresponded widely and was free to receive visitors, both male and female. However, the execution of his nephew, Conradin, by Charles of Anjou in 1268 awakened in Enzo a desire to resurrect the Hohenstaufen cause in Italy. In 1270, he attempted to escape, but he was recaptured and was thereafter held in close confinement until his death in 1272. The commune of Bologna gave Enzo a royal funeral and, at his request, buried him in the church of San Domenico.

See also **Bologna; Ezzelino III da Romano; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Scuola Poetica Siciliana**

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Erice

Erice, a hilltop community in western Sicily, was known in the Middle Ages as Monte San Giuliano (Mount Saint Julian), a name it kept until Mussolini restored its ancient name, Erice, in 1936. It occupies one of the oldest inhabited sites on the island; its castle stands on the site of a shrine that predates the Greeks. The town is 750 meters (nearly 2,500 feet) above sea level and has its own microclimate; often, Erice is enveloped in clouds while the neighboring port of Trapani, a mere 6 kilometers (less than 4 miles) away, basks in sunshine. But Trapani has an unhealthy setting, amid marshes, and this may have led settlers to choose the cooler climate of Erice. On a clear day, Africa is visible from Erice to those with sharp eyes.



Norman castle, Erice. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Our knowledge of the town c. 1300 is especially detailed, because the notarial register of Giovanni Maiorana from this period, preserved in the state archives in Trapani, is rich in information about the life of Erice's Christians and Jews. The town still retains many medieval monuments, notably the cathedral (the *duomo*) and other churches, as well as a Norman castle. Its Franciscan and Dominican convents have become the base of a conference center (Centro Ettore Majorana) where regular study weeks devoted to medieval civilization are held.

The history of Monte San Giuliano begins afresh with the Norman conquest of Muslim Sicily. In 1077, Roger I, count of Sicily, besieged the hill town then called Jabal Hamid; the story is that he succeeded in capturing it only because he was helped by a pack of dogs led by Saint Julian, whose name was thereupon given to the settlement. In the twelfth century, the Granadan traveler Ibn Jubayr reported that the women of Erice were the most beautiful on the island. By then, the Muslims had been expelled from Erice, and Jubayr reports that for reasons of defense, the Christians would not allow any Muslims to set foot on the mountain; the Christians' view was that if Erice fell, the entire island would fall.

In the thirteenth century, Erice was providing Trapani with basic necessities and became a significant center of immigration. The

population of Erice had originated in Amalfi, Salerno, Naples, Apulia, Calabria, northern Italy, and even Catalonia; it also still included a significant Jewish group, who continued to speak Arabic and had their own *universitas*, or community organization, parallel to the *universitas* of the Christians. The Jews accounted for about 5 or 6 percent of the population as a whole, which was estimated at approximately 7,000 c. 1300, and were particularly involved in winemaking on the slopes of the mountain. Jews and Christians lived mixed together, although in the late fourteenth century a separate *giudecca* (ghetto) seems to have evolved; this *giudecca* was the scene of brutal forced conversions in 1392. The town appears by then to have been experiencing serious economic difficulties, and an appeal to King Martin I in 1407 emphasized the abandonment of properties by refugees from violence during the power struggles of the "four vicars" at the end of the fourteenth century. Without doubt, this depopulation was accentuated by pestilence from 1347 onward (though it is known that there were still 838 hearths in 1374). Generally, the town was renowned for its loyalty to the house of Barcelona after the Aragonese invasion of 1282.

See also Normans; Sicily; Trapani

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Etna

Mount Etna, with an altitude of some 3,350 meters (10,990 feet), is the highest elevation in Sicily and the largest active volcano in Europe. It is a massif with subsidiary peaks, and on a clear day it can be seen easily from Calabria across the Strait of Messina. Its roughly oval base is about 212 kilometers (132 miles) around and covers an area of some 1,250 square kilometers (483 square miles). It is bounded on the east by a narrow coastal plain, on the north and west by the rivers Alcantara and Simeto, and on the south by the plain of Catania. Etna was famous in ancient literature as a spectacular instance of vulcanism; during the Middle Ages it was a topographical feature on and around which humans moved, a threat to inhabitants of the region, an object of scientific inquiry, and a place of supernatural and mythological significance.

Medieval Etna had several names. The traditional Greek Aitne and Latin Aetna or Etna were standard in the early Middle Ages and remained customary in learned writing throughout the period. Arabs called it Gebel (or, in a transliteration more closely approximating western Mediterranean pronunciations, Djebel) el-Nar, "mountain of fire"; the geographer al-Idrisi, writing under Roger II in the early 1150s, used this name for Vesuvius as well. From this name, or from an abbreviation, came the Latin names Gibellus and Gyber and the Italian Mongibello, whose first element also signifies a mountain; hence, too, the Latin analogue of Mongibello, Muntgibel, and the Greek Moukipelo. Although its adjacent plains had long been cultivated, and although there was a road system around it with towns of varying age at strategic points, the mountain itself was thickly wooded and thinly populated. The residents we know most about were monks and hermits, but brigands and others also found refuge here.

As early as the year 604, there was a monastery of Saint Vitus on Etna; the alleged improprieties of its inhabitants are the subject of two letters by Gregory the Great. The ruins of the "Cuba" of Santa Domenica near Castiglione di Sicilia and lesser remains elsewhere in the Alcantara valley indicate extensive monasticism in the vicinity during the period when it was under the rule of eastern Rome

(Byzantium). In the wake of the Norman conquest, settlement by the island's Greek minority expanded in this region, and by the early twelfth century Etna's slopes were dotted with hermitages and with monastic foundations practicing the Greek rite. Among these were the little church of Santa Maria di Maniace, established before 1105 to commemorate a victory by the eastern Roman general George Maniakes over Arab forces on Etna's northwest shoulder c. 1040; the monastery of San Nicola di Pelleria near Randazzo, attested to by a donation of the countess Adelaide (regent, 1101–1115); and the monastery near the cave in which Joachim of Fiore lived briefly after his return from the Holy Land in the late 1160s.

In time, these sites were either abandoned or taken over by the Latin church, which also created new ones. Santa Maria di Maniace, refounded in 1173 as a Benedictine abbey by the queen mother, Margaret of Navarre, is a striking example of Norman architecture. Many sites on the eastern and southern sides of Etna were said to have been destroyed by a violent eruption in 1329, but later foundations continued the tradition. One on the south side was the Benedictine abbey of San Nicola l'Arena, which was expanded from a Norman grange of the same name by Frederick III (1296–1337) and was famous as the final residence of his queen, Eleanor of Anjou (d. 1341). On the east slope near Milo, in the town forest of Mascali, was the chapel founded by John of Aragon (regent of Sicily, 1340–1348); John had a summer retreat next to this chapel, and he withdrew here in an unsuccessful attempt to avoid the black death. As the practice of designated forests (which included open areas) suggests, Etna's flanks were used, at least during the central and later Middle Ages, for woodcutting and for herding; locally felled timber supported shipbuilding at the arsenals in Mascali and Messina. The mountain also furnished foodstuffs: fungi, acorns, chestnuts, and—since its fauna was richer then than today—wild game. Ecclesiastical sites had territories of their own, often with associated villages: those of San Nicola l'Arena and, on the east side, the fourteenth-century priory of San Giacomo became today's Nicolosi and Zafferana Etnea.

How often Etna erupted during the Middle Ages is not known. Many eruptions are listed, but only those in 1329, 1333, 1381, and 1408—i.e., from later centuries when our sources are better—are historically

verifiable. The thirteenth-century *Prophecy of the Erythrean Sibyl*, parts of which are thought to be older and of Sicilian provenance, predicts that the end of the world will be heralded by a burning river coming from Etna; this prediction could have been based on an actual event, but again proof is lacking. The famous earthquake that leveled Catania in 1169 is now thought not to have originated in Etna. Etna is said to have shaken violently in 1285, after the death of Charles I. Arab sources indicate eruptions in the tenth and eleventh centuries. There may also have been events during the earlier medieval period. Versions of the legend of Saint Agatha, whose lost original (possibly sixth century) reflected perceptions current in its own time, recount how the citizens of Catania displayed the funeral veil of their new saint (supposedly in the year 252) and so protected the city from the advancing fires of Etna. The eighth-century Anglo-Saxon nun Huneberc of Heidenheim, narrating a pilgrimage to the Holy Land made by her contemporary Saint Willibald, reports that the custom then was to display the martyr's body; this, she says, will stop the flames immediately. In 1329, Agatha's relics were produced for this purpose— successfully, although the plain of Catania and much of the coast were devastated. Much the same happened in 1381, when a large lava flow ran right along the northern edge of the city.

There was very little scientific inquiry into volcanic phenomena during the Middle Ages, a time when nature was understood predominantly in terms of theology or of physical explanations that had been inherited, with few changes, from antiquity. In his *Encomium of Saint Agatha* (possibly c. 845) the Sicilian-born patriarch Methodius I quotes the patristic writer Gregory of Nazianzus to establish Etna's flowing lava as a marvel: its combination of characteristics associated with the contrary elements fire and water revealed Christ's unbounded power. In a long poem to Adela of Blois (after 1102), Baudri of Bourgueil lists Etna, in flames, among a number of divinely ordained natural wonders. Yet the lengthy praise of Sicily in the late eleventh-century *Life of Saint Philaretus the Younger* refers to the origin of Etna's fire and the manner of its eruptions purely as an unsolved scientific problem. This may have been merely rhetorical ornamentation in an ancient mode; but in Baghdad in the early twelfth century the learned Sicilian exile Abu al-Qasim ibn al-Hakim provided

details of Etna in eruption, some fabulous but others taken from actual observation (although not necessarily recent or his own). In the 1150s, Henry Aristippus, a Catanian cleric who was a figure at the Sicilian court, studied Etna's activity at close range; he also translated the part of Aristotle's *Meteorology* dealing with the liquefying and congealing of matter. Ristoro d'Arezzo's late thirteenth-century encyclopedia *The Composition of the World*, in its treatment of vulcanism, gives measurements of the length and breadth of one of Mongibello's lava flows.

The ancients, however, had explained volcanoes not only by reasoning from observation and analogy but also by myths of deities and their attendants at subterranean forges and of rebellious giants defeated in battle by the gods and punished by being imprisoned under fiery mountains. Ancient literary descriptions of Etna reflecting such polytheistic beliefs survived as models of style; and pagan concepts of a fiery underworld that could be entered through volcanoes or other sulphurous regions facilitated a medieval understanding of these places as portals to and from hell. Thus the very influential Isidore of Seville specifically identifies Etna as the biblical Gehenna; and the ninth-century Greek *Life of Leo, Bishop of Catania*, developing a theme from ancient Christian apologetics, observes of the ancient Greek philosopher Empedocles that the gods with whom he wished to speak when he insanely threw himself into Etna were really evil spirits. Thus, too, the Sicilian historian Nicola Speciale, whose partly eyewitness account of the eruption in 1329 bears comparison in some respects with Pliny the Younger's better-known account of Vesuvius in 79, records that after the event demons appeared on the mountain's slopes, assuming various forms and preaching frightful lies.

In the later Middle Ages, as Purgatory assumed an identity of its own in Christian belief, some people located it in Etna. But not all: when Caesarius of Heisterbach, a thirteenth-century writer of moral tales, has the now departed Duke Bertold V of Zaehringen (the rector of Burgundy and a former imperial candidate) sent to Mount Gyber, he specifies that this is hell and not Purgatory. When Caesarius lists volcanic mouths of hell in this tale (his third is Vulcano in the Eolian Islands, famous since Gregory the Great as a place of torment for the damned), he distinguishes Gyber from Etna; thus Etna's dual

nomenclature could have given it added prominence among symbolic mountains of the medieval European world. There is a story associating Etna with both Purgatory and Hell in Anonimo Fiorentino's late fourteenth-century commentary on Dante's *Divine Comedy*. At *Purgatorio* 3.115, where the subject is Constance, the daughter of Manfred, Constance is said to have visited a holy hermit living on a mountain near Mongibello (the location is significant) and to have asked him to inquire of God whether her father, who had been an enemy of the church, were indeed damned; the hermit did so and then announced God's revelation that Manfred was among the elect in Purgatory.

If Etna was a place of the afterlife, then it could also be the ongoing residence of famous people who had disappeared from mortal sight. In the early thirteenth century, Gervase of Tilbury, an Englishman with experience in Sicily under William II, told a story centering on King Arthur, recently seen living perpetually in a palace on Muntgibel and suffering from a wound that never healed. Gervase's tale is evidently related to the legend of Arthur in Avalon and is probably connected with other Arthurian events and legends from the same general area (Richard I's presentation of Excalibur to King Tancred in 1191; the naming of the veil of mist in the Strait of Messina after Morgan le Fay, in Italian *la Fata Morgana*). This tale also had an Italian offshoot, a Tuscan poem of the Gatto Lupesco. Versions from elsewhere in Europe added clearly diabolical and punitive elements; other late medieval fiction explicitly located Morgan too at Etna. In different fashions, the idea was soon adapted for Frederick II, who had just died—both by his enemies and by those for whom his image was more positive. In 1258, Franciscan Joachites who saw Frederick as the Antichrist developed a fable in which he rode toward Etna with 5,000 horsemen in hellish armor. In 1261, the first of several false Fredericks, a ne'er-do-well from the territory of Adrano, took up residence on nearby Etna in furtherance of his claim. Only later did Germans place their Italian-born emperor in Thuringia's Kyffhaeuser mountains.

See also Arthurian Material in Italy; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Sicily

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Eudocia was the elder daughter of the emperor Valentinian III (r. 425-455) and his wife Licinia Eudoxia. She was betrothed to Huneric, the son of the Vandal king Gaiseric (Genseric, r. 428-477), apparently in the early 440s. In spite of this, after Valentinian was murdered in 455 she was married to Palladius, the son of the short-lived emperor Petronius Maximus. When the Vandals sacked Rome in the same year, she was carried off to Carthage along with her mother and her sister, Placidia. There, the marriage to Huneric was consummated. She became the mother of the later Vandal king Hilderic (r. 523-530).

See also **Eudoxia; Gaiseric the Vandal; Valentinian III**

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Eudoxia

Licinia Eudoxia (b. 422) was the daughter of the eastern emperor Theodosius II (408-450) and Aelia Eudoxia. In 424 she was betrothed to the western emperor Valentinian III (r. 425-455), and the marriage was performed in Constantinople in 437. She bore two children, Eudocia and Placidia. She received the title *augusta* ("empress") in 439. In 455, after Valentinian was murdered in Rome, she was compelled to marry his successor Petronius Maximus; later, it was said that she invited the Vandal Gaiseric (Genseric) to Rome in the same year. After the ensuing sack, she and her two daughters were carried back to Carthage. Not until the early 460s were she and Placidia set free; they withdrew to

Constantinople, where Eudoxia spent the remainder of her years. Eudocia remained in Africa as the wife of Gaiseric's son Huneric.

See also **Eudocia; Gaiseric the Vandal; Valentinian III**

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Eugenius III, Pope

Eugenius or Eugene III (Bernardo Paganelli, Bernard of Pisa; d. 8 July 1153) was the first Cistercian pope. He initially became vicedominus of the Pisan church (administrator of church possessions). After meeting Bernard of Clairvaux in 1135, he became a Cistercian monk at Clairvaux. By 1142, he returned to Italy as the abbot of Tre Fontane. He was appointed to the College of Cardinals, and he was elected to the papacy on 15 February 1145.

Eugenius was a crusading pope. He initiated and organized the Second Crusade (1148) with expeditions to the Christian east, Spain, and Germany. Exiled for much of his reign by the antipapal Roman commune, he also led campaigns for the recapture of Rome and other lands for the patrimony of Saint Peter. These campaigns, aided by Norman Sicily, secured the defeat of the commune, establishing the pope's temporal authority over his episcopal city.

Although not a canonist, Eugenius was in many regards the first

lawyer-pope. He spent hours hearing and trying cases at the papal court, issued an unprecedented number of decretals, convened two papal consistories (Paris, Reims), and was the architect of one of the chief arms of the papal judicial system: papal judges-delegate. He also presided over three councils in 1148 (Trier, Reims, and Cremona). Through these activities Eugenius sought to further the Gregorian reform: *libertas ecclesiae* (freedom of the church from lay control), the moral reform of the clergy, and the primacy of Rome over all churches.

The majority of Eugenius's papal letters have been edited in several collections: *Patrologia Latina* (180), *Acta Pontificum Romanorum Inedita*, and the *Papsturkunden* series; see also Jaffé (1885-1888). For Eugenius's activities as the Pisan vicedominus, see *Regestum Pisanum* (1938). Two letters have survived from Eugenius's tenure as abbot (*Patrologia Latina*, 182).

See also **Crusades; Laws Canon**

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Eugenius of Palermo

Etugenius of Palermo (c. 1130-c. 1202) was a highly placed official, an accomplished poet, and a translator of scientific and literary works. He

facilitated east-west cultural transmission in the kingdom of Sicily when it was still significantly polyglot.

Eugenius was a member of the Italian-Greek nobility that had filled important positions since the early days of Norman rule; he was the son, nephew, and grandson of officials who had attained the rank of admiral, or *emir*—a title that was not exclusively naval—and whose work must have required a knowledge of Arabic. From 1174 to 1190, Eugenius served as master of the *duana baronum*, a royal financial office, then based in Salerno, for the mainland part of the kingdom. Eugenius himself was made an admiral in 1190 by the newly crowned king, Tancred; he was a major figure at the court in Palermo during the reigns of Tancred and Tancred's immediate successor, William III. Along with others close to William, Eugenius was arrested at the end of 1194; he was charged with conspiracy against Henry VI and was imprisoned in southern Germany. By July 1196, however, he was back in the kingdom and was serving, in Apulia and without the title of admiral, as a senior subordinate of the imperial legate Conrad of Querfurt. He may also have been the Eugenius who was master chamberlain for Apulia and Terra di Lavoro from 1198 to at least 1202; this is less certain but is usually accepted. The date of his death is unknown.

Eugenius's multilingualism bore considerable fruit. He is assumed to be the Eugenius who assisted the author of the first Latin translation (c. 1159) of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, an astronomical text transmitted in Greek and Arabic manuscripts; his fluency in all three tongues is noted in the translator's acknowledgment. His own Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Optics* from its Arabic version (the original Greek is lost), which seems to have been contemporary with the translation of the *Almagest*, was used by Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century and survives in more than a dozen manuscripts. Eugenius's Latin translation of the cryptic *Prophecy of the Erythrean Sibyl* from Greek is now known only through its very popular thirteenth-century Joachite reworking by John of Parma or an associate, but significant portions of this apocalyptic text are believed to belong to Eugenius's original. Eugenius also prepared or at least commissioned, probably during his later years at court, an edition of the Greek "mirror of princes" *Stephanites and Ichneutes*, itself a translation of the Arabic

Kalila wa-Dimna (selections from the Indian *Panchatantra* or *Fables of Bidpat*).

Eugenius is the front rank of the Greek poets of medieval Italy. From his larger production, twenty-four poems survive, preserved in a single fourteenth-century manuscript written at the famous monastery of San Nicola at Casole near Otranto. These poems are in metrically careful twelve-syllable iambics; some are epigrams, but most are longer reflections on ethics and other aspects of the human condition. The two longest and best-known are the first and last: *When he was in prison* (number 1, in 207 lines) and *To the most renowned and trophy-holding king William* (number 24, in 102 lines, a panegyric probably addressed to William I). Other noteworthy pieces include an elegant description of a locally common water lily (number 10); a derogatory rejoinder to the ancient satirist Lucian's *Praise of the Fly* (number 15); and the mildly didactic *On kingship*, perhaps written for the young William III (number 21).

In the unique copy of Peter of Eboli's *Liber ad honorem Angus ti*, the caption to a group portrait of the alleged conspirators of December 1194 names Eugenius, among others. But more names are listed than there are faces in the illustration, and it is not clear which if any of those depicted is meant to be Eugenius. Specimens of his signature survive in official documents. A modern scholarly attribution to Eugenius of the writings of his now anonymous contemporary, called Hugo Falcandus, has found little favor.

See also Greek Language and Literature; Peter of Eboli; William III

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Eusebius

Eusebius (Eusebius of Vercelli, saint, d. 1 August 371) was born in Sardinia and was educated and ordained as a lector in Rome. Subsequently, he served as the first bishop of the church in Vercelli. Eusebius was the earliest bishop in the west to unite monastic and clerical life; he is also regarded as one of the foremost defenders of Saint Athanasius and orthodoxy against the heterodox Arians. His surviving work includes three brief letters, and Saint Jerome also attributes to Eusebius a Latin translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's commentary on the Psalms, which is no longer extant. Previously, scholars ascribed the *Codex Vercellensis* to him, although this attribution is controversial.

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Eustace of Matera

Eustace (Eustachius, Eustasius; thirteenth century) of Matera, an Apulian, was a judge at Venosa and a partisan of the Swabian monarchy in the kingdom of Sicily. He was exiled by the new Angevin regime in late 1269 or early 1270, and during the year 1270-1271 he composed a long Latin poem in elegiac distichs, *Planctus Italie* (*Italy's Laments*), detailing the fate of various cities in Sicily and elsewhere in Italy. In this work, Eustace used artful rhetoric and traditional elements of praise of cities. *Planctus Italie* was known to Dionigi of Borgo San Sepolcro and to Paul of Perugia; through the latter, it became one source of Boccaccio's antiquarian learning. Evidently, *Planctus Italie* extended to as many as fourteen books, but today it is preserved only in fragments. The longest extant fragment deals with the sack of Po tenza following its unsuccessful revolt in 1269. Other surviving passages provide topographic information, mention local crops and other products, and give etymologies for the names of cities and regions.

By the early fifteenth century Eustace was also considered the author of an anonymously transmitted work, *De balneis Puteolanis*, which is not entirely dissimilar to *Planctus Italic*. However, *De balneis* is now assigned to Peter of Eboli.

See also Latin Literature

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Exarchate of Ravenna

Exarchate of Ravenna was the name given to the Byzantine government, or regime, with its seat in Ravenna, that was developed between the completion of Emperor Justinian's reconquest of Italy and the fall of Ravenna to the Lombards in 751.

The concept seems to have developed in the decades following Justinian's death (565), at a time when the two major areas reconquered by imperial forces were seen as in continuing peril: North Africa, retaken from the Moors and Berbers; and Italy, retaken from the Lombards. There was a precedent for the exarchate, since Justinian had given extraordinary powers to certain commanders, such as Belisarius and Narses. The traditions established earlier under Diocletian and Constantine had decreed a strict separation of military and civil powers in individual offices; but in a break with this tradition, Belisarius and Narses were given comprehensive authority not only to command troops but also to preside over administrative and judicial functions.

The title *exarch*—literally, "ruler outside," or beyond the frontiers—is perhaps closest to the modern titles viceroy and governor-general. Just when it was framed or when it began to be used is not clear; some scholars think that this occurred at the time of the Lombard invasions in 568, but in any case the title seems to have been in general use by the last decades of the sixth century. At that time, the eastern Roman, or Byzantine, empire was fighting to survive, specifically in the east: the western territories were considered remote, somewhat alien, and all but supplemental rather than integral parts of the empire. Emperor Maurice (582-602) is sometimes credited with having explicitly created the two *exarchates* (first mentioned in documents in 584), and some scholars have seen them as prototypes for the form of military redistricting, the *themes*, applied to the territories of the empire's heartland in the seventh century.

The African *exarchate* was identified with its seat in Carthage, and the Italian *exarchate* was, in the same way, clearly tied to the continuance of Ravenna as the functioning capital of Italy. The enclave around Ravenna held out, alone, against the Lombard tide that had engulfed the rest of northern Italy and even parts of the center. Although the term *esarcato* came to refer geographically to the region immediately around Ravenna, the power of the *exarchate* extended through the southern regions of Italy remaining in Byzantine hands. Rome itself remained imperial, if sometimes precariously; its government was directly under the popes, but the popes were considered subjects of the emperor and therefore theoretically dependant on the *exarch*, who was directly responsible only to the sovereign in Constantinople. At times, when popes were disobedient, the *exarchs* were ordered to chasten them, as in the case of Pope Martin I. Conversely, several *exarchs* rebelled against Constantinople. While there are gaps in our knowledge of the holders of this office, we know of the names of some twenty incumbents.

The *exarchs* could do little against their sometimes aggressive Lombard neighbors; and when the resurgent Lombard forces of Aistulf seized Ravenna in 751, no attempt was made to reconstitute the *exarchate* in the imperial territories of southern Italy, which were organized instead as *themes* and were eventually brought together under a supreme official called the *katepan*.

See also **Belisanus**; **Byzantine Empire?** **Lombards**; **Martin I, Pope**; **Narses**; **Ravenna**

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Ezzelino III Da Romano

Ezzelino III da Romano (25 April 1194-1259), the son of Ezzelino II of Monaco, was a member of the Italian aristocracy, a military leader, and a governor who eventually became lord of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua. When Ezzeiino III entered into his inheritance, the Trevisan March was politically unstable and awash in blood feuds, a situation that Ezzeiino used to his advantage. In 1225, in an alliance with some local families, he seized control of Verona; in 1226, he was made *podestà*. In the next few years Ezzeiino allied himself with the Lombard League, which resisted the attempt by Emperor Frederick II to subdue the northern Italian communes. Ultimately, however, Ezzeiino was forced to resign as *podestà*; and as the Lombard League came to favor a faction opposed to him, he turned to Frederick for support. Ezzeiino recaptured Verona in 1232; in 1236, when the emperor sent military reinforcements to aid him, Ezzeiino also conquered Vicenza and Padua. In 1237, he helped the

emperor defeat the Lombard League at Cortenuova. For the next twenty years, Ezzeiino was the most powerful force in the March, often maintaining his authority and imposing his will through brute force. He cemented his alliance with the emperor in 1238 when he married Frederick's illegitimate daughter Selvaggia.

Ezzelino had formed his alliance with the emperor not because of any ideological adherence to the Ghibelline cause but because he perceived, correctly, that this alliance would favor his own interests. Likewise, he was not attracted to titles and typically did not hold office in the communes he controlled, preferring instead to act as a party leader, manipulating the councils of the cities to achieve his purposes. By the time of Frederick's death in 1250, Ezzelino was in a position to survive in power without the emperor's support. In 1254, however, Pope Innocent IV declared Ezzelino and his northern Italian ally Uberto Pelavicini heretics, excommunicated them, and launched a crusade to oust them from power. Ezzelino was in all likelihood not a heretic, as he seems to have evinced little interest in religious matters except as they constituted a threat or an aid to his own power. After Innocent died, his successor, Pope Alexander IV, continued the crusade and enlisted the Venetians, who were wary of Ezzelino's power and proximity. Pelavicini suddenly left Ezzelino and made an alliance with the papal forces. Ezzelino was captured at the battle of Cassano in 1259, and he died in captivity shortly thereafter, reportedly after refusing food and medical attention.

Ezzelino was legendary for his cruelty and became a symbol of the ferocious tyrant, especially to his Guelf enemies. The Guelfs' propaganda painted him as inhuman; Giovanni Villani, for example, wrote that he "was the most cruel and feared tyrant that ever existed among Christians." Salimbene of Parma wrote that Ezzelino "was truly of the body of the devil and a son of iniquity. . . . He was the worst man in the world." While most scholars now believe that the Guelfs' portrayal was exaggerated, they do not doubt Ezzelino's willingness to resort to force, intimidation, and cruelty in order to achieve his ends. Ezzelino, however, was very much a man of his time, ably using the factions of Italian politics and the communal system of government in northern Italy in his determined pursuit of power.

See also Cortenuova, Battle of; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Innocent IV, Pope; Lombard Leagues

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F

Fabliaux in Italy

Fabliaux found their way into Italy in the mid-fourteenth century through two parallel genres: the novella (in Italian, *novella*, *novelle*) and the *cantare*. Traces of fabliaux may also be found in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, which is in fact widely indebted to the fabliaux tradition. For example, there is a very close correlation between *Decameron* 9.6 (the tale of the misplaced cradle) and a French fabliau transmitted in at least two versions: *Le meunier et les deus clers* and *Gombert et les deus clers*. The first part of *Decameron* 2.5 (Andreuccio da Perugia) closely resembles *Boivin de Provins*. Other novellas in *Decameron* that center on themes also found in fabliaux are: 7.5, which is reminiscent of *Le chevalier qui fist sa dame confesser*, 7.7, concerning a woman who has her husband beaten up as an unwanted suitor while she receives her lover, as in the fabliaux *La borgoise d'Orliens* (with its variant *De la dame qui fist battre son mart*) and *Un chivalier et sa dame et un clerc*, 7.8 (about an unfaithful wife who puts another woman in her place to suffer the husband's punishment), which is close to the fabliau *Les tresces* and its variants; and 3.8 (the tale of Ferondo, a gullible husband who believes he is dead), which is reminiscent of *Le vilain de Bailluel*. Still other connections have been identified—for instance, by Michelangelo Picone—but these seem less strong and pertain more to intercultural than to intertextual relations.

II novelliere by Giovanni Sercambi, compiled at the turn of the fourteenth century, also used stories from the fabliaux tradition: *Exemplum* 10 (*De visio luxurie in prelatis*) has antecedents in the fabliaux of "Estormi" and *les quatre prestres*, and *exemplum* 11 (*De vituperio pietatis*) has antecedents in *Constant du Hamel*. *Exemplum* 15 (*De ventura in matto*) is based on the French tale *Grillet* included in the *Contes du Sieur d'Ouille*, which in turn is an elaboration of the fabliau *Le vilain mire*. The tradition of *les quatre prestres* continued in Italy as

late as the sixteenth century, finding its way into one of Bandello's *Novelle* (3.43).

The fabliau *Constant du Hamel* is also represented, in the *cantare* tradition, by the rendering of *Due preti e un chierico innamorati d'una donna* (*Two priests and a clerk in love with a woman*), a *cantare* handed down in a fifteenth-century manuscript. The often reelaborated fabliau of "Auberee" is the origin of the fourteenth-century *cantare* *Il calonaco di Siena* (*The canon of Siena*)-, and *La canzone dello indovinello* (*The Song of the Little Diviner*)—which may be the same as the *canzone* mentioned among the readings of the widow in Boccaccio's *Corbaccio*—is yet another rendering of a story found in several fabliaux whose theme is described by the title of one of them: *La damoisele qui ne pooit oir parler de foutre*. In fact, *Canzone dello indovinello* combines the first part of *Cele qui jut foutue et desfoutue* (also known as *De la grue*) with the motif, appearing in *La damoisele*, . and its variations (for example *L'esquiriell*), of finding an appropriate metaphor to persuade a girl to give refuge to the male lover's *indovinello* (*Decameron* 3.10 provides a parallel version of this motif).

Neither the Boccaccian *novella* with its multifaceted meanings nor the *cantare* with its stanzaic formal structure was, however, apt to reproduce the typical *pointe* where the French fabliau reached its climax and released the *vis comica* (comic force) of the genre. Even when the stories were recognizably the same, the fabliau lost its generic characteristics in Italy. It may be surmised that fabliaux stories reached Italy mostly through oral circulation and were thus immediately translated into the genres that distinguish the Italian literary tradition.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Cantare; Novella; Sercambi, Giovanni

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Fabriano

Fabriano is situated on the knees of the Apennines, at an altitude of more than 1,000 feet (about 300 meters), 44 miles (70 kilometers) inland from and southwest of Ancona. During the Middle Ages, the little town of Fabriano was important for two reasons.

First, an artistic school nourished here in the 1300s and 1400s. Its most noted master was Allegretto Nuzi (1308-1385), some of whose works still adorn local churches. Nuzi may have been the early teacher of Gentile da Fabriano (c. 1370-c. 1450), but none of the latter's work survives in the town. Gentile da Fabriano's career took him to Florence, possibly to study with Fra Angelico; and then to Venice, where in 1411 he received a commission to create the frescoes in the great hall of the doge's palace. After this, his reputation spread widely and he worked throughout Italy, including Rome and Florence.

Second, Fabriano was important in the later Middle Ages as the place where the paper industry took hold in Europe. Fabriano was in an ideal location to foster the paper industry. There was a steady supply of water which had enough head to drive many industrial operations and which, because of its origin in limestone mountains, was clean and

clear, especially as it entered the town. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Fabriano was also famous for its tanneries; it thus had a ready source of gelatin from boiled animal skins and bones.

Exactly when the technique of papermaking was transmitted and what path this transmission took are uncertain—the technique may have come from Xatavia in Muslim Spain or directly from the Levant—but in any case the papermaking industry began in Fabriano c. 1270. The citizens of Fabriano certainly did not invent the idea of stamping cotton or linen fabrics in order to break up the fibers for use, and they may not have introduced the innovations of using water power to drive the stampers or watermarks to identify the manufacturer; but they probably were the innovators in the use of animal gelatin for sizing the paper. A combination of resources and people who recognized the potential of this industry made Fabriano the base from which the industry spread. In 1283, Fabriano had two paper mills. By 1324, six masters were working in the town, and by 1330 this number had increased to twenty. Fourteen registers containing paper merchants' records from 1360 to 1580 show that the stock was sold as far afield as Rome and Venice. Even though Venice had its own mills at Treviso, paper from Fabriano was the favorite brand handled by Venetian merchants trading in the western Mediterranean. Fabriano's craftsmen were largely responsible for the spread of the industry throughout Italy and into France and Germany, especially in the last quarter of the fourteenth century after the development of wire-drawing techniques allowed significant advances in making high-quality forms. In the fifteenth century, civic officials tried to stop the spread of the town's industrial secrets by passing legislation that limited the right of paper workers to move away.

to this day, Fabriano retains its reputation as a premier paper-producing center.

***See also* Bookmaking and Book Production**

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Faenza

Faenza is southeast of Bologna, between Imola and Forlì, on the banks of the Lamone River; it is situated in the Romagna-Ravennate plain and on the main north-south road, Via Emilia. One of its most famous products bears its name: faience, a type of glazed pottery or majolica ware.

Faenza was probably first settled by the Etruscans; it became a Roman town, Faventia, in 225 B.C. Throughout most of the early medieval period, Faenza was constantly at war with the nearby cities of Imola, Bologna, Forlì, and Ravenna. One battle was particularly fierce: in 1138, the troops of Faenza, together with those of Bologna, fought against the armies of Imola and Ravenna, and the little stream that ran beside the battlefield became known as Rio Sanguinario—the "bloody river." The first mention of a popular government occurs in 1141, and the first *podestà* (podesta) was installed in 1155. Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa resided in Faenza in 1167, but in 1178 the town joined the anti-imperial Lombard League. In 1218, the people of the city formed a

comunanza delle armi (community of arms), through which they were allowed to participate in the government. In 1226, Faenza joined the Second Lombard League; however, the victory of Frederick II in the battle of Cortenuova (1237) encouraged Ghibelline families in the city, notably the Accarisi, to rise up and expel the Guelfs—in particular, the Manfredi family, who nevertheless almost immediately regained power. In response, Frederick II besieged and eventually occupied the city (1241). After more than half a century of civic strife the Manfredi achieved a final victory in 1313; thereafter, they continued in power for almost 200 years, although there were some periods of papal rule. Faenza was sacked in 1361 by the *condottiere* Sir John Hawkwood in the service of the pope; the town was then entrusted to the rule of Astorgio Manfredi, to whom the pope gave the title "vicar for the church." The Florentine author Franco Sacchetti (c. 1330-1400) was *podesta* of Faenza and in this capacity was a member of Astorgio's court. The rule of the Manfredi family came to an end in 1501, when Cesare Borgia captured the city and exiled Astorgio III, who was slain in Rome in 1502.

One of Faenza's distinctive features is its elliptical plan, with the two main roads, the *cardo* and the *decumanus*, crossing at the center—a formula reflecting the design of Roman military camps. The four quarters of the city became identified with certain characteristics and with colors representing each quadrant (red for the north, green for the west, yellow for the south, and black for the east). A twelfth-century wall encloses the ancient rectangular *castrum* (garrison town). Among the medieval buildings are the Palazzo del Podestà, begun in 1177 and expanded in 1256; and the Palazzo del Municipio or town hall (the former Palazzo del Popolo), constructed in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The church of San Francesco, founded in 1271, was completely redone in the eighteenth century. There is an interesting tenth-century crypt in the church of saints Ippolito and Lorenzo. The Romanesque church of San Bartolomeo, of ancient origin, was rebuilt in 1209 and restored in the twentieth century. Just outside the city is the church of Santa Maria Vecchia (formerly Santa Maria foris Portam); although this church was entirely rebuilt in the seventeenth century, it still has an octagonal bell tower dating from the tenth century.

Faenza is most famous for its earthenware and glazing. From the thirteenth century on, faience emerged as an important art and craft. In

its initial phase, this pottery followed the form of ancient Greek *oinochoë* (bulbous pitchers with a pinched spout); but there were also other, simpler forms—bowls, plates, platters, and drinking cups—all decorated in relatively plain but colorful geometric designs. Unlike ancient pottery, faience was completely glazed. This glazing sealed the interior and the exterior and thereby increased the area that could receive decoration, provided a food container that could be cleaned and reused for a variety of purposes, and allowed materials to be stored safely for longer periods. In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, faience was richly decorated with animal and plant motifs and occasional human figures, so that it served aesthetic as well as practical ends.

See also Cortenuova, Battle of; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Hawkwood, Sir John; Sacchetti, Franco

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Falier, Marino

Marino Falier (1274-1355) was doge of Venice from 11 September 1354 until his execution on 17 April 1355. He had plotted to destroy the Venetian republic so that he could become its despot, and when his conspiracy was betrayed, the Council of Ten ordered him to be beheaded. Before his election as doge, Falier, who had been born into the highest Venetian nobility, was a member of the Council of Ten, an ambassador to the pope, and a successful naval commander, and he had amassed a large fortune in real estate. His fellow conspirators included men of the bourgeoisie who blamed the nobility for Venice's losses in its third war with Genoa (1350–1355). Aristocratic, not bourgeois, commanders had been responsible for defeats suffered by the Venetian navy, especially a defeat at Porto Longo on 4 November 1354.

During Falier's brief reign as doge, the Visconti of Milan, who were lords of Genoa, sent Petrarch to Venice to negotiate peace. Commenting on these difficult negotiations, Petrarch remarked, "It is necessary that one or the other of Italy's eyes should be put out, the other dimmed." Later chroniclers attributed Falier's conspiracy to his resentment against the noble majority in the Venetian courts, who had not adequately punished Michele Sten for insulting the *dogaresa*. Sten had attached to the ducal throne the following lampoon: "Marin Falier with the beautiful wife; others enjoy her and he maintains her." Falier, who was already past the age of seventy when he was elected doge, had been married a second time to Aluica Gradenigo, granddaughter of a doge and herself almost fifty years old.

Falier was the last doge who seriously attempted to overthrow the Venetian republic. His portrait in the Hall of the Great Council was replaced with the inscription: "Here is the place where Ser Marin Falier

was beheaded for criminal acts."

See also **Petrarca, Francesco; Venice**

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Family Structure

At birth, medieval Italians joined many interlocking and interrelated family groups. They joined a conjugal, or nuclear, family, which included father, mother, and other children. They joined a household, which included the conjugal family and all others, relatives and servants, living together under the same roof. They joined a family clan, or lineage, which included blood relatives linked to a common paternal ancestor. They also joined a wider kinship group, which included the

family clan, maternal relatives, and affinal kin, or relatives through marriage. Italian family structure in the Middle Ages therefore consisted of a number of levels. For the average person, the most important level was the conjugal family; within this unit, Italians formed the closest emotional bonds and defined what for them was their private life.

Defining medieval Italian family structure is difficult. The period from 300 to 1400 represents the chronological passage of a number of distinct cultures—Roman, tribal German, urban and rural Italian—all of which had their own versions of family structure and private life. Each of these cultures adopted and adapted ideas and customs from its predecessors. The Christian church adopted its own version of family life, based on its interaction with these cultures and its own view of what the family should be—a view in turn based on the Holy Family. Medieval Italian family structure and private life were also influenced by other cultures: Byzantine, Muslim, and Norman. It is not surprising that Emperor Frederick II (1194 or 1195–1250) was the wonder of the world to his contemporaries, since all these influences were blended in him.

Demographic fluctuations affected medieval Italian family structure. From c. 300 to 700 there was a decline in population in Italy, and a migration of German tribes. The family was small. From c. 700 to 1000 the population remained stable, becoming quite dense in some areas yet at the same time being limited by the effects of war, famine, and disease. From c. 1000 to 1200, because of an expansion of agriculture and the commercial revolution, the population increased dramatically, as did family size. The Hauteville family, for instance, contributed eight of twelve brothers to the Norman conquest of southern Italy. From c. 1200 to 1340 the population continued to increase, though at a slower rate than before. Then, between 1340 and 1410, the population fell drastically—according to some estimates, by one-third to two-thirds—largely owing to the effects of the black death. Within a single season, some families disappeared. The Sienese chronicler Agnolo di Tura recorded that in 1348 he buried his five children with his own hands. Florence had approximately 120,000 inhabitants in 1338; in 1427 it had only 40,000. At Prato in 1298 each household had, on average, 5.6 people; in 1427 it had only five. During the late Middle Ages in Italy,

family structure was so seriously threatened by war, famine, and especially disease that many people feared for the survival of their conjugal family and their lineage.

Although demographic fluctuation and the melding of cultures over time make it difficult to define medieval Italian family structure adequately, some general trends and similarities can be identified from late antiquity to the Renaissance. Just as the family was the basic social unit of the Roman world, so it was for the medieval Italian world.

The Roman family was a tightly woven unit headed by the *paterfamilias*. It was also a complex unit, since Roman law had developed elaborate concepts regarding kinship, marriage, divorce, and inheritance. As defined by law, the *paterfamilias* was the oldest living male in a family, and he held considerable power, even that of life and death, over his wife, children, and slaves. In theory, as long as he was alive, his adult children had to obey his desires, including his choice of mates for them. However, in reality a *paterfamilias* consulted with other male family members about matters crucial to the family, such as marriages; and the *paterfamilias* was rarely as dictatorial or powerful as the law permitted him to be.

As the emphasis on the *paterfamilias* indicates, descent in the Roman family was agnatic. Nevertheless, in practice women had considerable freedom to dispose of their own property, and daughters did inherit. Women, though barred from public office, could and did wield considerable influence, especially within and through the household.

Despite its patriarchal nature, the conjugal family was close and affectionate. In general, Roman men married late in life, though they usually married women considerably younger than themselves. The conjugal family was small: the average for both the rich and the poor was about three surviving children per family. A Roman household, though, could be enlarged by the addition of slaves. The lineage and kinship group, while important for inheritance and social support, had few public roles, since the elaborate Roman state fulfilled these.

Although the German invaders eliminated much of the Roman state, they fused two societies into one. And just as in Roman society, an affectionate conjugal family was the foundation of German—particularly Lombard—society in Italy.

Among the Germans, marriage represented a woman's transition

from the protection and control of her birth family to that of her husband. Marriage was a contract between the bridegroom (sometimes with his male relatives) and the bride's male relatives. In 731 a Lombard law stated that the legal age of marriage was eighteen; Roman law had made twenty-five the legal age. For the Germans, marriage involved a considerable exchange of gifts between the two families. The new husband gave a bride price to his wife's father; the father gave something to the couple; the husband gave a *Morgengabe*, or morning gift, to his new wife, and he provided the dowry, which could be one-fourth to one-third of his property. Since consummation was the defining characteristic of a marriage, the presentation of the *Morgengabe* to the bride represented that the contract had been fulfilled.

Although among the Lombards the head of a conjugal family had legal control over his wife and children, his power was less than that of the Roman *paterfamilias*. When his sons reached age eighteen, they were free from his control. He could put his wife aside for committing adultery or for plotting against his life; but if he wanted to divorce her for any other reason, he had to pay a fine, and he lost all rights of control over her.

Under German law, inheritance was partible, being equally divided among the sons. Although by law women had to be under the authority of some male relative, they could inherit property on their own. A legitimate daughter even had rights to one-third of her father's possessions when only illegitimate sons survived; later Lombard law gave daughters rights to all the property over illegitimate sons.

Lombard kinship recognized descent from both the male and the female line. The average family could trace its lineage back for four generations, and some families could trace their lineage back for seven. This represents a situation in which at least fifty current families could define themselves as belonging to a single kinship group, the *fara*—a term which appears as late as the twelfth century. Originally the *fara* was a group of families organized for war, but eventually these families settled in the same area; held property in common; and, because of the decline of the state, adopted public roles for themselves, including adjudicating disputes and avenging wrongs.

Perhaps the most essential public role of the family was maintaining

peace through the vendetta. A family had the right to wreak revenge for wrongs done to one of its members. As the state evolved, it tried to moderate this practice by having the transgressor pay money to the victimized family in lieu of letting victims exact a physical penalty. In addition, the family compelled others to come to court and provided "oath helpers" for its own members when they appeared in court.

Over time, medieval Italy developed a complex urban society. Family structure reflected this complexity, although the simple, affectionate conjugal family predominated over the interests of the larger family levels: household, lineage, and kinship. Marriages were usually planned by kin, especially fathers. Men married late, and (like the Romans) they married women considerably younger than themselves. In Florence the average difference in ages between spouses was twelve years; in Verona it was seven. In Florence the average bride was about seventeen years old and the average bridegroom twenty-nine. Through the influence of the church, marriage came to be defined as the consent of the couple who were marrying, not as the consummation of the marriage; this new definition may have weakened the family's influence. The gifts involved in communal marriage had changed as well. To emphasize the lineage, communes limited the wife's claim to the husband's property and his gifts to her; and with the reintroduction of Roman law, the dowry regained its classical sense of the wife's contribution to the marriage. In fact, the dowry was emphasized so strongly that a sizable dowry became a requisite for a good match. By the thirteenth century the value of dowries had soared—to the despair of families seeking suitable matches for their daughters. The dowry was so serious that in 1425 Florence instituted a state fund for investment in dowry futures. The demographic crises of the late Middle Ages also altered marital patterns by decreasing the age of marriage and increasing the number of those who married.

The high infant mortality rates and episodes of the plague in the late Middle Ages especially threatened family structure. Because of the age difference between husbands and wives, widows outnumbered widowers in Italian urban society. In Florence, almost half of the women age forty and older were widows. Also, because of late marriages and high death rates many young people grew up without a father. Another effect was that there was considerable remarriage,

although this was an option taken up more often by men than by women. A will typically specified that the testator, the husband, expected his wife not to remarry after his death; the purpose of this stricture was to protect the welfare of their children and, indirectly, their lineage. However, in medieval urban contexts a will focused more on the interests of the conjugal family than on those of the lineage or kinship group. Such wills, along with pious donations for deceased family members, are evidence of a high level of family affection. Moreover, the practice of prayers for the dead indicates that family ties crossed the boundary between the dead and the living—an idea that grew stronger as the concept of Purgatory evolved and became fixed in the popular imagination.

Following the Roman and German legacy, inheritance in a medieval Italian family was partible and male-based; property, especially in the aristocracy, rarely left the lineage. Sometimes a lineage would even hold property, such as a defensive tower, in common. As a result of these practices, and of Roman legal concepts regarding the *paterfamilias*, the urban Italian family was patriarchal; but a wife had considerable authority over her household and her children, and a widow had considerable control over her property.

Households could be large, since the surest way to guarantee the continuity of the lineage was to produce numerous heirs. Some families, especially elite families, had swarms of children; Gregorio Dati, for instance, was one of seventeen children. The presence of servants, who accounted for perhaps 10 percent of the general population, also ensured large households. Sometimes sons brought their own families to live in the household of their birth; and at times a household represented a joint venture by two brothers. Thus extended families were not unknown, although the extended family was less common than the nuclear family and was more a rural than an urban phenomenon. An extended family represented a stage in the history of a particular family rather than a stage in the evolution of family structure in general.

Thus the history of Italian family structure provides no support for the theory of progressive "nuclearization" as a defining characteristic of the modern family. The nuclear family was always the cornerstone of family structure, although the household, lineage, and kinship group

also played significant roles.

Members of lineages and kinship groups lived close to one another—in the same district, in the same neighborhood, on the same street, around the same tower. In fact, communes consisted of family clusters; in 1378, for instance, the Strozzi of Florence had thirty-five separate households in the same area. Some lineages mimicked communal organization, electing their own officers and having their own military society. The adoption of a surname or family name reflected the importance of the lineage as a community bound by blood. By 1427 one-third of household heads in Florence had surnames. Artisans, however, were less likely than the urban elite to have surnames and less likely to emphasize lineage and kinship.

Frequent visiting among family members and the sharing of food and drink reinforced the solidarity of the lineage and kinship group. One source of reinforcement for the lineage and kinship group was the practice of holding dinners to mark births, baptisms, marriages, and burials within the conjugal family. Communes, through sumptuary legislation, consistently tried to limit the ostentation and opulence of these celebrations, which were intended to signify the family's status and importance.

Family structure was essential for communal growth and maintenance. Many business ventures of the commercial revolution were family-based. The conjugal family eventually became the fiscal unit for communal taxation, and communes depended heavily on the wealthier families and lineages for financial support. Some communes required families to send representatives to religious processions and celebrations. The parties and factions of communal politics were based on families and lineages. Despite the growth and authority of communal government, families still maintained public peace. Although the vendetta—which had come down through its German antecedents—was sharply curtailed, vendettas still occurred and indeed were expected. As late as the sixteenth century, the sculptor Benvenuto Cellini had no qualms about killing his brother's killer; in fact, he saw this as his duty and as a way to salve his grief.

For medieval Italians, family structure denned their place and status in society. Moreover, it provided them with rules and boundaries in their private and public lives.

See also Law: Roman; Lombard Law

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Farfa

The abbey of Farfa is about 25 miles (40 kilometers) north-northeast of Rome, in the Sabine hills. The name derives from the Farfa River and was not applied to the abbey until the late tenth century. The monastery was founded c. 680-700 by Thomas of Maurienne, who rebuilt a sixth-century church. The abbey received early support from Duke Faroald of Spoleto and a papal privilege from John VII (705). Before 774 Farfa had acquired large amounts of land in the Sabina and the Marche and enjoyed the ongoing patronage of the dukes of Spoleto as well as the Lombard kings.

After the Frankish conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774, Abbot Probatas steered Farfa into the Carolingian camp. As early as 775, Farfa received a confirmation of its holdings from the new king, Charlemagne; this was the first of perhaps thirty-three royal and imperial privileges granted to it in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Carolingian kings and emperors generally defended Farfa's properties and liberties, particularly against the papacy. Several emperors visited Farfa, and a palace was built there especially for such visits. The monastery was at the height of its early wealth and power in the mid-ninth century, when it had extensive holdings in lands and churches throughout central Italy and probably also in the city of Rome.

Like the other great monasteries of central Italy—Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno—Farfa was overrun by Saracen raiders in the late ninth century, and in 897 the monks abandoned the site. Subsequently, perhaps in 905, the monastic complex was burned down by Christian looters. Monks did not return to Farfa until the 930s. With the restoration of the empire under Otto I, Farfa once again came under imperial patronage and protection. However, not until the abbacy of Hugh (998-1039) did the fortunes of the abbey return to the level they had reached in ninth century. With the help of Odilo of Cluny, Hugh implemented effective reforms at Farfa, and he vigorously defended Farfa's rights and properties. Hugh increased Farfa's economic base in

the Sabina and held off threats from the Roman nobility, especially the Crescenzi (or Crescentii) and the Ottaviani. Farfa, the Crescenzi, and the Ottaviani were neighbors and sometime opponents in Rome, where both families were based in the ruins of the Terme Alessandrine between Piazza Navona and the Pantheon.

Farfa was at the height of its later wealth and power in the second half of the eleventh century under the abbacy of Berard I (r. 1048-1089). Berard succeeded in obtaining both imperial and papal support early in his rule; he received confirmations of privileges from Emperor Henry III in 1050 and from Pope Nicholas II in 1060, when the pope visited Farfa to consecrate altars to the Savior and the Virgin. Nicholas II also defended Farfa against the depredations of the Crescenzi and Ottaviani in the Sahina. By the time of Emperor Henry IV, Farfa had become a staunch supporter of the emperor and an opponent of Pope Gregory VII. Henry had visited Farfa in 1082, and Abbot Berard had been with the emperor at the siege of Rome in 1083-1084. But Farfa's need for and dependence on imperial support sharpened the threat to its holdings from the local nobility and the papacy in the Sabina, the Marche, and elsewhere.

Abbot Berard II (r. 1090-1099) was by all accounts a poor defender of Farfa's property. As a result of his sumptuous lifestyle and his political incompetence, he squandered Farfa's wealth and the goodwill patiently built up by Berard I. The threat to Farfa's territories led the monk Gregory of Catino to begin the activities that preserved so much of Farfa's documentation for posterity. In 1092, Gregory began the compilation of Farfa's charters in *Regestum farfense*, which was completed some twenty-five years later by his nephew Todinus. Gregory later compiled *Liber largitoribus*, a book of leases and other land transactions; and *Chronicon farfense*, a narrative with documents. Finally, c. 1130, Gregory put together *Liber floriger*, a topographical listing of all of Farfa's holdings. Gregory's purpose in copying these materials was to defend Farfa against all threats, but they are now the principal sources of our knowledge of its history in the early Middle Ages.

Abbot Berard III (1100-1119) was a steadfast supporter of Emperor Henry V and a vigorous defender of Farfa's rights, but things fell apart after his death. There was a disputed election between Henry's

candidate Berard IV and Guido, who sought support from the papal militia; this resulted in the dispersal of Farfa's monks, treasure, and lands. The Concordat of Worms in 1122 effectively removed Farfa's traditional imperial protection and placed the abbey under the jurisdiction of the papacy. Papal representatives removed Guido in 1125 and installed Adenolf as abbot. Adenolf consolidated Farfa's diminished economic base; he also played a role in the international ecclesiastical scene as a friend of Bernard of Clairvaux and Pope Eugenius III, who was consecrated at Farfa,

Frederick I Barbarossa tried to revive imperial ambitions in Italy and specifically at Farfa. He visited the abbey in 1159 and granted it a charter of imperial privilege as late as 1185. Farfa, however, was now clearly dependent on the papacy, and the expansion of the papal state under Innocent III and later thirteenth-century popes made this dependency even more evident. In 1261, Urban IV issued Farfa a privilege that firmly and irrevocably placed the abbey under the Holy See alone.

See also Crescentii Family; Frankish Kingdom; Frederick I Barbarossa; Gregory VII, Pope; Lombards; Monte Cassino; Otto I; Spoleto

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Farinata Degli Uberti

Manente di Iacopo degli Uberti, better known as Farinata degli Uberti (d. 1264), was made head of the Ghibelline party in Florence in 1239. Farinata was known for his valor and took an active part in the armed struggles between the Ghibellines, who supported imperial rule, and their rivals the Guelfs, who supported the papacy. He contributed to the capture of the Guelfs and their expulsion from Florence in 1248. However, that victory was short-lived, and the Guelfs returned in 1251. Factional strife soon resumed; in 1258, it resulted in the rout of Farinata and his compatriots.



Farinata among the heretics in Dante's *Inferno*. *Opere del diuino poeta Danthe con suoi commend.* Venice: Bernardino Stagnino, 1512. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Farinata sought refuge in Siena, Florence's neighbor and rival. There he enlisted the help of Manfred, the bastard son of Frederick II of Sicily,

and reorganized Ghibelline forces from throughout Tuscany to mount a challenge against the Guelfs. The two sides met in 1260 outside Siena at Montaperti, where the Tuscan Ghibellines, led by Farinata, defeated the Guelfs in what is often described as a massacre. The battle was indeed particularly savage; according to one contemporary account, "every road, hillock, and stream of water seemed a great river of blood." Dante Alighieri went so far as to suggest that the Arbia River itself ran red. In the wake of their decisive victory, the Tuscan Ghibellines met at Empoli, where it was proposed that Florence be completely destroyed. Farinata alone spoke out against such a measure and vowed to defend Florence with sword in hand as long as he lived. He persuaded the council to spare Florence, which then came under the control of the Ghibellines.

However, the Ghibellines' power in Florence waned after Farinata's death in 1264, Manfred's death at the battle of Benevento in 1266, and the consequent decline in imperial power in southern Italy. The Guelf factions soon vented their anger at the Uberti family; and to avenge those who had fallen in the battle of Montaperti, members of Farinata's family were imprisoned and their homes were razed. In 1280, the Uberti were formally expelled from the life of the city by measures taken under the aegis of Cardinal Latino. Later city councils passed resolutions ensuring the perpetual exclusion of the Uberti from participation in civic affairs. Farinata himself was tried and condemned posthumously for heresy because of his adherence to Epicureanism.

Farinata is mentioned by Filippo Villani, Giorgio Vasari, and Benvenuto da Irnola, and he is depicted in all accounts as a brave and wise leader. Even among his critics, he is remembered as strong, elegant, and restrained. Villani, although critical of Farinata, describes him as being of "civil parlance and wise counsel." Farinata is, however, best immortalized in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, where he appears in *Inferno* 10 in the circle of the heretics. Dante, nominally a Guelf, portrays Farinata as arrogant and prideful but nonetheless imposing and intimidating. Farinata rises disdainfully from his tomb among the Epicureans to confront the Guelf pilgrim. During the encounter between the pilgrim and Farinata, the battle of Montaperti, the factional strife between the Guelfs and Ghibellines, Farinata's role at the Council of Empoli, and the final exclusion of the Ghibellines from Florence are

all recounted.

See also Dante Alighieri; Empoli; Florence; Ghibelline; Guelfs; Manfred; Montaperti, Battle of; Uberti Family

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Fazio Degli Uberti

Bonifazio, or Fazio, degli Uberti (c. 1301 or 1305-c. 1367) was a member of a Ghibelline family expelled from Florence in 1267. He was born in Pisa and never lived in Florence, the city of his ancestors, from which he considered himself an exile. Fazio was a court intellectual and a poet; his most important work is an encyclopedic poem called *Il dittamondo*. In 1336, he was in the service of Mastino II della Scala of Verona; in 1346, he was at the court of Luchino Visconti; and in 1358, he was in Bologna at the court of Giovanni Visconti d'Oleggio. Fazio's adopted city was Verona, a bastion of Ghibelline and imperial ideals,

where he probably died.

Fazio's thirty-five poems include *canzoni*, sonnets, and *frottole* dealing with love, religion, politics, and ethics. He composed seven *canzoni* and one sonnet for his mistress, Ghidola (or Ghida), the daughter of Spinetto Malaspina, lord of Lunigiana. Among these, three *canzoni*—*Nel tempo che s'infiora e cuopre d'erba, Io guardo i crespi e i biondi capelli*, and *l' guardo in fra l'erbette per li prati*—are picturesque representations of love and nature in the springtime that recall the Provençal poets and Dante. In all his poems to Ghida, Fazio underscores the emotional and physical effects of love rather than its spiritual or symbolic meaning. There is a "fresh sensuality" (Corsi 1969, 226,238) in his love poems that is mirrored in his joyous celebration of the beauty and pleasures of nature. Contrary to the observations of many critics, therefore, Fazio was not a follower of Dante or of Petrarch.

Fazio's poetry shows that he never wavered from his political and cultural ideals. The political *rime* are characterized by aristocratic dignity. When Fazio praises Ludwig of Bavaria's Italian campaign of 1327-1329 (in *Tan to son volti i ciel di parte in parte*), criticizes Florentine politics (in the *frottola O tu che leggi*), inveighs against Emperor Charles IV of Bohemia (in *Di quel possi tu ber che bevve Crasso*), or laments the demise of Florence (in *O sommo bene, o glorioso Iddio*), he is an ardent supporter of the empire and of the cultural primacy of Florence.

Fazio's greatest achievement was *Il dittamondo* (*Dicta mundi*), which recounts the poet's fictional journey around the world. This poem is divided into six books and is written in *terza rima*. In Book 1, Fazio states his wish to acquire fame by reporting the marvels he will see on his journey. Yet the poet-pilgrim loses his way shortly after setting out. The first night he dreams that Dame Virtue invites him to follow the path of salvation. He then meets the ancient astronomer Ptolemy and, later, the third-century geographer Solinus, who becomes his guide. Together, Fazio and Solinus visit Rome, which appears to them as a weeping, disheveled woman. In Books 1 and 2, Rome narrates her history, from the time of Julius Caesar to that of Charles of Bohemia. In Book 3, the pilgrims' quest for knowledge takes them to Greece, where Fazio reflects on the Hellenistic legacy of Italy. In Book 4, the poet and Solinus visit Asia Minor, Scandinavia, England, France, and Spain. In

Book 5, they travel by ship to Africa; there they meet Pliny, who speaks to them of astrology and the heavens. After visiting several regions of Africa, they travel to Egypt; from there, Fazio and Solinus go to Palestine—in Book 6—in order to see the Holy Sepulcher. There they meet another pilgrim, who narrates important episodes from the Bible.

Dittamondo is often compared to Dante's *Divine Comedy*, but these two works are very different from each other. For Dante, knowledge of the real world is an important means of spiritual salvation, whereas for Fazio knowledge is the aim of his quest. *Dittamondo* is based on contemporary chronicles and medieval encyclopedias, including Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* and Giovanni De Matociis's *Historiae imperiales*. Fazio often revised his poem in order to reflect developments in science; this would explain the gaps in the poem and the fact that it was unfinished at the time of the author's death. Although it is aesthetically uneven, *Dittamondo* is an accomplished poem in the passages that evoke the passion and spirit of Fazio's lyric poetry; an example is the representation of the Florentine and Italian landscape in Book 3.

Having come of age in the second quarter of the *Trecento*, Fazio saw the rise of humanism, and he shared the humanists' enthusiasm for the classical world. At the same time, however, he typified the Ghibelline intellectual during the downward spiral of imperial politics.

See also Brunetto Latini; Dante Alighieri; Delia Scala Family; Florence; Geography and Cartography; Italian Poetry: Lyric: Milan; Uberti Family; Verona

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Ferrara

Ferrara, a city in the region of Emilia on the Po River, is possibly of pre-Roman origins, but its history is obscure until post-Roman times. In 575, Ferrara was fortified under the jurisdiction of the exarchate of Ravenna, but in the following decades it was taken by the Lombards. In 774, under pressure from the Franks, the Lombard king Desiderius yielded the city to papal control, exercised by the archbishopric of Ravenna. In 988, after a period of independence, Ferrara was awarded by Pope John XV as a feudal grant to Tedaldo, count of Modena and Canossa and a nephew of the German emperor Otto I. Control over Ferrara was reaffirmed by Tedaldo's granddaughter, Countess Matilda, in 1101 by force of arms, although the city was allowed to retain some degree of internal self-government. Rival Guelf and Ghibelline factions soon fought for domination of the city, which between 1158 and 1164 was brought under the control of Frederick I Barbarossa. Following

that, a Guelf resurgence under William III degli Adelardi prompted Ferrara's adherence to the Lombard League. Internal factional strife began between the Este and Torelli families, but by 1240 the Este had established their *signoria* in the person of Azzo Novello, who had defeated Salinguerra Torelli.

Under Azzo and his successors, Ferrara established extensive control in the surrounding region, annexing Modena and Reggio. Obizzo II's son, Azzo VIII, led Ferrara in a war against Bologna in the last decade of the thirteenth century. On the death of Azzo VIII in 1308, Ferrara became the object of a war between the papacy and Venice, which the papacy won in 1309. However, in 1317, papal **rule** of the city ended when the Este faction returned, with some support from the Venetian republic. In 1329, after long negotiations, the papacy finally recognized the Este *signoria*, and the Este were invested with the rule of the city as papal vicars. With this success, the Este family, particularly in the person of Obizzo III, began the artistic blossoming that was to make Ferrara one of the great centers of Renaissance culture.



Castle of the Este Family, Ferrara. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.



Duomo, Ferrara. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

The monuments and buildings of Ferrara are celebrated; many of them date from the Renaissance, but some are medieval. The castle was begun in 1385 by Nicholas II d'Este to thwart popular opposition and is one of the best-preserved medieval family fortresses. Under the reign of Albert I, the university was established by papal bull on 4 March 1391. In the same year Albert ordered the expansion of the Schifanoia Palace (begun in 1385); this palace has later Renaissance decorations and now houses the civic museum. The cathedral of Saint George (1135), designed by Wiligelmus, is one of the finest examples of regional Romanesque architecture. Across from the cathedral stands the Palazzo Comunale, built by Azzo Novello in 1243. It has undergone many renovations over the centuries; the facade, for example, was redone in 1375.

A mosaic that once adorned the arch of the high altar of the cathedral contained four verses in Italian celebrating the date of its foundation and naming its benefactor and its sculptor. The text has, however, been a subject of intense debate, because we know it only through two different transcriptions. One transcription claims to be the reading before the restoration of the mosaic after an earthquake in 1571; the other was published in 1713, the year after its destruction. Consequently, while some scholars consider the transcription of the verses inauthentic and thus suspect, others accept it as one of the oldest

literary documents in Italian. Following is the text given in the edition of 1713:

*Il mile cinto trempa cinque nato
fo questo. templo a Zorzi consecrato
fo Nicolao scolptore
e Gliemo fo lo auctore.*

"Born [i.e., built] in 1135, this temple was consecrated to George; Nicholas was the sculptor, and William was the author [i.e., the promoter]." The Nicholas mentioned in the verse may be a student of Wiligelmus; William may be Guglielmo II Marchesella (d. 1146), who was the consul of Ferrara and a promoter of other civic projects.

See also Exarchate of Ravenna; Frederick I Barbarossa; Matilda, Countess of Tuscany; Wiligelmus

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Fieschi Family

The Fieschi, a powerful Ligurian family, are first recorded toward the end of the tenth century; they were made counts of Lavagna, a small coastal town in eastern Liguria near Chiavari, by Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1152-1190). Throughout the Middle Ages, the family was one of the most powerful in Genoa by virtue of the extensive lands it held throughout eastern Liguria. Its most important centers were in San Stefano d'Aveto, Torriglia, Casella, Savignone, Crocefieschi, Lavagna, Montebruno, Montoggio, and Varese Ligure. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Fieschi built or bought numerous castles throughout the region. Most of these are now ruined; the best-preserved are those at San Stefano d'Aveto and Varese Ligure. These castles were built to meet challenges from other powerful clans, notably the Landi, Piccinini, Malaspina, and Visconti (the famous Milanese family).

Members of the Fieschi family were also prominent in the Genoese church, and as early as the twelfth century they dominated the cathedral chapter of San Lorenzo. The family went on to produce one of the most famous ecclesiastical figures of the late medieval period, Sennibaldo Fieschi, who became Pope Innocent IV in 1243. His nephew Ottobono (b. 1205) became Pope Hadrian V for a brief period in July and August 1276 and is mentioned by Dante in Canto 19 of *Purgatorio*. These two men built the splendid church of San Salvatore in Cogorno, one of the purest examples of the Gothic style in northern Italy, which survives today much as it was when first built. There had been a Fieschi church on this site in the twelfth century, but it was destroyed in 1245 by soldiers of Frederick II, who had been excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX and whom Innocent was then trying to depose. The new

church, which Innocent founded in the 1240s, may also have already existed, but the pope had it completely rebuilt and put it under the direct protection of the Holy See rather than the archbishop of Genoa.

The Fieschi had many branches, which were usually anti-imperial Guelfs in allegiance. They were most influential locally in the Genoese civil war of the early fourteenth century, when one family member became a captain of the people.

The medieval history of the Fieschi came to an end in 1547, with an ill-fated conspiracy of Gian Luigi Fieschi against Andrea Doria, who then hunted down members of the family and confiscated their lands. This conspiracy later became famous, when it was recounted by late sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century historians, notably Camerarius the Elder, Ugo Foglietta, and Antonio Mascardi (1591-1640), whose *La congiura del conte Giovanni Luigi de' Fieschi* (Venice, 1629) was soon translated into French and English. In the nineteenth century, Schiller turned the tale into a play. However, the earliest account is in a little-known work by Antonio Cesena, a priest from Varese Ligure in the Aha Val di Vara who appears to have been instrumental in the transfer of Varese from the Fieschi to Genoese rule in the wake of the rebellion. Cesena's *Relatio deUorigine et successi della terra di Varese* was written in the 1550s and provides the only surviving "family history" of the Fieschi.

The ignominy that the conspiracy brought on the family, as well as the low reputation of Pope Innocent IV, tended to blacken the Fieschi name in the eyes of nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians. However, the family was a large one, and many of its members were renowned for their piety—most famously Caterina Fieschi, Saint Catherine of Genoa (c. 1447-1510). Catherine was one of the best-known women mystics of the late medieval period; she was also noted for her charitable works, especially the foundation of the impressive hospital of Pammatone. Her life is well-documented in a nearly contemporary biography. Catherine's legacy includes *The Spiritual Dialogue* and *Treatise on Purgatory*, whose authorship is disputed between several of her followers. These texts record her mystical experiences in detail. Catherine also left four wills, which reveal something of her intentions in founding the Pammatone hospital. As Catherine's life indicates, the Fieschi continued to be prominent in

Genoa into the sixteenth century.

In the modern city of Genoa, little of the history of the Fieschi survives, apart from some impressive tombs in the cathedral of San Lorenzo. The family's main base, a grand villa at Carignano, was pulled down in wake of the unsuccessful revolt of 1547.

See also **Genoa; Hadrian V, Pope; Innocent IV, Pope**

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Fiesole

Fiesole was originally an Etruscan hilltop stronghold overlooking the Arno River and the plain that would become Florence. Today, Fiesole, with its spectacular views of the Arno valley and Florence, is as an exclusive suburb and a cool summer retreat for wealthy Florentines and foreigners.

The Romans had formal ties with Faesulae, as it was known, at least

by the second Punic war. After the beginning of the second century B.C., Rome dominated the region, and Fiesole remained its most important town. During the early first century B.C. Sulla rebuilt the town; this rebuilding included a theater and temple whose remains have been excavated. Baths were constructed in the first century after Christ and were refurbished in the second century, under Hadrian. The excavations of these sites are now a major attraction of Fiesole.

The Italian wars of the early Middle Ages washed around and over Fiesole, as when the Goth Radagaisus battled Stilicho's Romans in 405 and the Ostrogoths of King Witigis engaged Byzantine armies in the late 530s. Fiesole gained a bishop in 492 and became an episcopal see. The Lombards occupied Fiesole in the 570s. Under the Franks (after 774), the town became the administrative center of the largest county in Tuscany—a territory bounded by Arezzo, Pisa, Volterra, and the Apennines to the north. During this turbulent period Florence, which was relatively unprotected, apparently languished, as its inhabitants sought the safety of the higher ground of Fiesole. By 854, however, under circumstances that are now not well understood, Florence became the seat of the *contado* (hinterland) and Fiesole a relative backwater. This change may have been due to a shift away from the use of Via Cassia, which passed close to Fiesole, as a main corridor northwest from Rome, to Via Francigena, which crossed the Arno about 16 miles (25 kilometers) downstream from Florence. Florence may well have been more appealing to the local counts because of its position on the river.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, Fiesole had greedy bishops and troublesome nobles, but no major conflicts with Florence arose. However, as commerce emerged, beginning in the late tenth century, and petty feuding gave way to commercial development and rivalry, the Florentines struck at Fiesole with a vengeance. Between 1107 and 1113, Prato, Gangalandi, and Montecascoli all fell to Florentine citizen armies as the commune extended its influence and authority. After futile attempts to defeat Fiesole in 1123 and 1124, Florence conquered the town in 1125, and the destruction was terrible. According to the sources, all males were slaughtered, all buildings except the cathedral were destroyed, and the ancient Etruscan walls were thrown down, except for a small portion of the northern circuit. Although Fiesole was

still technically autonomous under its bishop, it would remain a Florentine suburb throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.

The cathedral of San Romolo—this is the cathedral that survived the devastation of 1125—had been completed in 1028 under Bishop Jacopo il Bavaro. As in other Italian Romanesque churches, the capitals from which the nave arcade sprang were taken from buildings or ruins of the Roman era. The bell tower dates from 1213. In 1256, the church was enlarged and embellished, and it underwent further changes during the *Trecento* and *Quattrocento*. Between 1878 and 1883, the cathedral was radically restored to its Romanesque simplicity.

The present-day church of San Francesco occupies part of the site of the ancient citadel, or *arx*, and the medieval castle (destroyed in 1125) on the western promontory of the town. From 1330 on, the monastic complex was home to a branch of Florentine anchorites, but in 1407 Franciscans gained the site and enlarged the church and convent.

Palazzo Pretorio, the seat of secular government, was constructed in the *Trecento* and modified many times thereafter. Along the road from Florence, one passes the church and convent of San Domenico, the local Dominican establishment since 1406; and the *badia* (abbey) *Fiesolana*. The *badia*, originally dedicated to San Pietro, served as the cathedral church of Fiesole until 1026, when San Romolo replaced it, and Camaldolese monks occupied the older complex. Another branch of Benedictine monks displaced the Camaldolese in the 1200s, and Cosimo de' Medici "Il Vecchio" rebuilt the aging church in the mid-1400s, after it had passed to the Augustinian canons.

See also **Florence**

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Fino D' Arezzo

Fino d'Arezzo (fl. c. 1300) was a comic poet in the style of Cecco Angiolieri. Fino studied law at the University of Bologna in the 1290s. His father, Benincasa d'Arezzo, is mentioned in Dante's *Divine Comedy* (*Purgatory*, 6.13-14).

Fino's only extant poem is a sonnet—"Malinconia, merzé!" "*Che vai cherando?*"—found in Codex Vaticano Barberino Latino 3953. It presents a dialogue between the poet-narrator and a personification of melancholy. Its theme and style attest to the popularity and influence of Cecco Angiolieri. In this sonnet, the narrator begs Melancholy for release from his unbearable suffering, thus mocking a popular theme of the love lyric: a poet-lover begging Love for mercy. Melancholy responds that the narrator has not suffered enough and should suffer even more.

See also Cecco Angiolieri; Italian Poetry: Comic

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Flagellants

The flagellants, also referred to as the *disciplinati*, *verberatori*, and *battuti*, were a penitential movement of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries practicing public ritual flagellation. A radical strain of the movement became violently anti-Semitic and anticlerical and was condemned by the papacy in 1349.

Scourging emerged as a form of punishment for monks and clerics in the fourth century. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries it gained wide acceptance as a mode of voluntary monastic penance and a way of imitating the suffering of Christ. In the thirteenth century, the church adopted public flagellation as a form of punishment for laymen who had committed crimes of violence against the clergy and were seeking reconciliation. At about the same time, laymen began to use ritual flagellation to demonstrate conversion at public sermons, especially the sermons of preachers who emphasized the imitation of Christ and empathy with Christ's passion. This ritual flagellation was normally performed in a very controlled way: the flagellant whipped himself only on the shoulders and upper back, and only to the point when blood first appeared.

The flagellant movement began in Perugia in 1260. It was initiated by Ranier Fasani, who is sometimes described as a hermit and was possibly a *frate della penitenza*. Ranier was highly regarded in Perugia for his integrity and holiness. For several years he had staged penitential processions through the city and its environs, and in 1260 the commune called on him to organize another such procession, dedicated to ending the civil strife caused by the rivalry between the

Guelfs and Ghibellines. He and the clergy of the city led hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Perugians through the streets, calling for peace and scourging themselves for their own sins, for the sins of their fellow citizens, and for the wrongs they had done one another. Ranier's efforts proved highly successful. The procession brought the desired peace, and such displays were repeated frequently in Perugia.

Ranier's success soon led to imitation in Assisi, Spoleto, and other parts of Umbria. From there the practice spread south to Rome and north to Ferrara and the environs of Venice. Its spread may have been assisted by the predictions of Joachim of Fiore's disciples that a new age of Christian perfection would begin in 1260. Soon there were flagellant bands in the Piedmont, Provence, Alsace, Austria, Hungary, Bavaria, Bohemia, the Rhineland, and Poland. The flagellants had a good effect in Italy, helping to end civil strife in many places, and so were strongly supported by the clergy there. In 1261, Pope Alexander IV offered an indulgence to Bolognese citizens who would flagellate themselves for their sins under the direction of the Hermits of Saint Augustine at the convent of San Giacomo di Savena. Outside Italy, however, clerics were less enthusiastic about the movement.

By the late 1260s, the original attraction of flagellant displays had waned, but devotees of flagellation managed to consolidate by forming confraternities under the direction of local clergy. These confraternities of *disciplinati* flourished throughout the later Middle Ages, especially in Italy and Spain. They were usually small, but their members were drawn from many social classes. Besides promoting civic peace, they devoted themselves to a variety of pious and penitential activities, all centered on public displays of flagellation.

In late 1348, with the advance of the black plague, public flagellation began to be adopted in parts of northern Europe in hope of averting the divine wrath that was believed to have sent the plague. Typically, groups of penitents, organized and led primarily by laymen, would walk from town to town repeating an elaborate ritual for thirty-three and a half days—the number of Christ's years on earth. On entering a town, they would march in procession, singing hymns, to the main church. They would pray to the Virgin inside the church and then go outside, strip to a cloth that covered their waist, kneel, and scourge themselves until blood flowed. As they whipped themselves, they

would sing of the sufferings of Christ and the Virgin, and their leaders would preach to them. Most of this ritual was modeled on the practice of contemporary confraternities of *disciplinatr*, the main difference was that among the flagellants, laymen directed the proceedings.

This new flagellant movement appeared first in Austria and Hungary and spread quickly to southwestern Germany and then to Thuringia and Franconia, where it began to show strong anticlerical tendencies. Clergy who resisted it were attacked. In the Low Countries, the clergy attempted to take control of the movement but were only partly successful. As rumors flew that the Jews were responsible for the plague, these new flagellants also became strongly anti-Semitic. Several massacres of Jews are attributed to their inflammatory preaching.

I he violence and anticlerical character of this radical flagellant movement soon turned the church authorities against it. In October 1349, Pope Clement VI condemned the actions of the flagellants and banned all further public flagellation. Civil authorities responded similarly. Such official disapproval and its own lack of organization caused the movement to dissolve within a year. Nevertheless, small groups of radical flagellants managed to persist secretly, especially in Thuringia. They continued to cause the authorities concern for the rest of the fourteenth century. Some extremists among them reportedly denied the efficacy of the sacraments, asserting instead the salvific power of a baptism of blood as experienced in their ritual flagellation.

By the late fifteenth century, the radical flagellant movement was extinguished. Meanwhile, however, the small confraternities of *disciplinati* that had been established earlier in Italy and Iberia continued to function undisturbed. They survived into modern times, eventually coming to Central and South America with European colonial expansion.

See also **Black Death; Confraternities; Joachim of Fiore**

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Flags and Banners

A flag or a banner is a piece of cloth that, fixed on a lance or staff, has symbolic significance. Originally, flags and banners had a symbolic value per se; their individual and therefore unique color and shape connected them with their owner. Because of the increased use of flags and the rise of armor after the twelfth century, the symbolic value of these banners was transferred to the emblems depicted on them. Two main forms existed in the Middle Ages. One form was the gonfalon (from Old High German *Gundfano*, "war flag"), which did not bear a

picture; it had a rectangular bunting, ending in stripes. The gonfanon was used up to the twelfth century. The second form was a vertical rectangular banner (from Gothic *bandwa*, "sign"). This either displayed a picture of a saint or was modeled on heraldic figures; in the latter case, it has to be described according to the rules of heraldic blazons. The creation of flags in accordance with blazonry resulted from a necessity for clear identification and distinction.

In addition to their military and sacral functions, medieval flags were part of the *Staatssymbolik* (Schramm 1954-1956) as symbols of power and justice. The flag was the sign of a leader in battle; thus it became a symbol of victory, rulership, and power in Christian iconography. Under a "host-banner," assemblies and courts were held and alliances and agreements were made. The flag also became a symbol of dominion—for example, in *enfeoffment*, a feudal ritual in which a banner-lance was handed over. The ritual of *enfeoffment* was first practiced by German kings during the Ottonian dynasty and was brought to Italy by them. Because rulership is made evident through representation, the handing over of a flag signified the political ability to act, both for the legitimated recipient and for the giver, who bound his vassal to himself with this symbol of investiture and demonstrated his authority in this symbolic act. Through the repetition of such meaningful actions, political traditions were created, and changes in these traditions transformed the symbolic value of the flags.

Historical Evolution

The Roman army used the *vexillum*, a flag that was attached to a crossbar and suspended from a lance; barbarian auxiliary troops had standards in the form of animals, mounted on staffs. Of these the *draco*, a flag made of colorful cloth and consisting of a dragon's head with an open mouth and a long wind cone, became popular in late antiquity. Beginning with the battle of the Milvian Bridge, Constantine the Great used a standard in form of a *vexilium* surmounted by the Christogram; this, under the *labarum*, became the personal standard of the emperor (Eu-sebius, *Vita Constantini*, 1.28-31) and a Christian sign of victory. It was used as an insignia by Constantine's successors in late antiquity and

the Byzantine empire. The Byzantine army had a host-banner and many monochromatic unit flags. Because of their different colors and their use as signals, these flags had organizational and tactical functions, but they were also sacral symbols: they were blessed and were used in combination with crosses, relics, and icons. In addition to military flags, church flags were used for processions and other special occasions. Similarly, the western church adopted the use of processional flags— its own church flags and banners donated by rulers.

Lances carried in battle were the insignia of the Lombard kings. From the seventh to the tenth century, a standard showing a combination of a cross and a bird was used; this was probably modeled on Germanic animal standards and Byzantine cross standards. A custom of the Roman citizens, which went back to late antiquity and corresponded with Byzantine protocol, was the use of the *vexilla Romanae urbis* ("flag of the city of Rome") in a procession for the triumphal entry of a ruler. One such "Roman flag" may be seen in the Lateran mosaic of Leo III, where Saint Peter gives it to Charlemagne, who has been welcomed into Rome with this imperial *adventus* ceremony. The later Carolingians were welcomed in a similar way. This custom was not adopted by the German kings of subsequent periods, but it was adopted by the popes, whose use of flags was influenced by it. The gold-woven gonfalon of the Salians had its origin in the golden flag of the Byzantine emperors; with just such a *fano imperialis totus aureus* or "completely gold imperial flag" (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, SS, 7.754), Guaimar V of Salerno and Rainulf I of Aversa were enfeoffed by Emperor Conrad II in 1038 (this flag was owned by the monastery of Monte Cassino in 1087). The Norman rulers of southern Italy used flags and lance pennants (among them the *draco*) and adopted the golden imperial flag for their investitures, which they received from the popes beginning in 1059.

From the time of Henry VI until the rise of heraldry, two host-banners were used by the German kings and later emperors in their Italian campaigns: an eagle banner, more closely related to the person of the king; and a banner with a white cross on a red background. Beginning with the reign of Pope Innocent III, the papacy claimed the banner with the cross as the flag of the church, modifying it to include the keys of Saint Peter in the cross quarters. From the time of Pope

Boniface VIII on, the banner showed only the crossed keys on red. In the mid-eleventh century, the reform popes adopted a *vexillum sancti Petri* ("flag of Saint Peter"), first as a sign of their support for leaders of enterprises such as the Pataria (Patarenes), for William the Conqueror, and for the southern Italian Normans in their struggle against the Saracens. In the rivalry between emperor and pope for dominion of the feudal system in southern Italy, the "flag of Saint Peter" was interpreted by the pope as a sign of legitimation and investiture with a fief, and by this he claimed the exclusive rights of the emperor. The papacy based its claim to the imperial insignia on the Donation of Constantine.

In 1155, Milan sent three *civilia signa* (civic signs) to Tortona, which had been rebuilt with its help: a trumpet, a flag, and a seal. This event illustrates the role of the flag as a symbol of power in the Italian communes. During the second half of the eleventh century, the symbolic value of a flag for men on a battlefield was connected to ideas of new forms of political organization inscribed in the collective religious memory of a city. The *universitas* of the commune was imagined as the community and its patron saint (Saint Ambrose for Milan, Saint George for Genoa, the Virgin Mary for Pisa, and so on); and the host-banner usually showed the saint's picture to guarantee his or her support in combat. Because it personified the honor of the city, the banner was used in ritualized warfare for gestures of insult and provocation and was planted on a captured site as a sign of victory—a practice adopted during the crusades. Flags captured from an enemy would be hung in the victor's churches as trophies, or a captured flag might be dragged through the dirt and then torn into pieces in a ritual of humiliation. As an integral symbol of a community, standing for freedom and internal peace and defended by consensus, a flag maintained a sensitive equilibrium between the ideals it embodied and reality. When the unity of a commune was threatened by social and political conflicts and divergent parties, its flag served as a reminder for individuals, encouraging them to remain loyal to the collective whole, whose continuity would thus be secured. The flag thus had a political function, legitimating the autonomy of the commune, and it was used at civic rituals such as the swearing-in of a *podestà* or the investiture of the doge of Venice with the banner of Saint Mark.

From the thirteenth century on, the use of flags in communes

reflected the pluralism of their social-political structure and apparently contradicted the ideology of unity. Within a city, the *popolo*, quarters (political divisions), guilds, corporations, confraternities, and parties all had their own flags. The city's army— and in Genoa the crews of the war galleys as well—would be raised according to wards, which were named after the city gates and under whose banners the men rallied. Revolt in a city, such as the *ciompi* rebellion in Florence in 1378, was manifested as a struggle among various flags to determine which would have the highest authority. Flags were incorporated into newly created, complex symbols such as the Milanese *carroccio*, invented in 1039, and the trumpet pennons of the communal heralds. Flags also became a part of new rituals such as Cola di Rienzo's pageants, which were inspired by traditional Roman processions.

The standard-bearer, originally a military concept, now became an honorary office that included political duties. The Carolingians had *signiferi*, "sign-bearers." From the time of Conrad II (c. 990-1039) there was a special standard-bearer for the realm of Italy; under the Salians, this became a hereditary court office, held by the Aledramite family. In the later thirteenth century, and especially in Tuscany, the standard-bearers of the wards in the civic army became communal officeholders with the title *gonfaloniere* (in Latin, *vexillifer*). Beginning in 1289, the supreme office in the *signoria* of Florence was *gonfaloniere di giustizia*, "standard-bearer of justice"; the holder of this office was given custody of the flag of the *popolo*. Similarly, in Venice during the fourteenth century the doge called himself *vexillifer Veneciarum*, "standard-bearer of Venice." From the time of Boniface VIII on, the popes regularly conferred the title *gonfaloniere della chiesa* (or *vexillifer ecclesiae*), "standard-bearer of the church."

Naval flags in the Mediterranean were at first limited to war galleys, but in the thirteenth century such flags were also used by trading vessels. The war fleets of the Italian sea powers adopted the flag system of the Byzantine land forces, and initially ships carried the same banners used on land. In fact, the flagship that carried the Genoese host-banner was called the *galea carroccia*. The flag of a merchant ship showed under whose protection it sailed. In the fourteenth century, the flags of seaports or those of the naval powers to which they belonged were painted as necessary information on Italian portolan charts, which

were intended for practical use on board vessels.

See also Carroccio; Donation of Constantine

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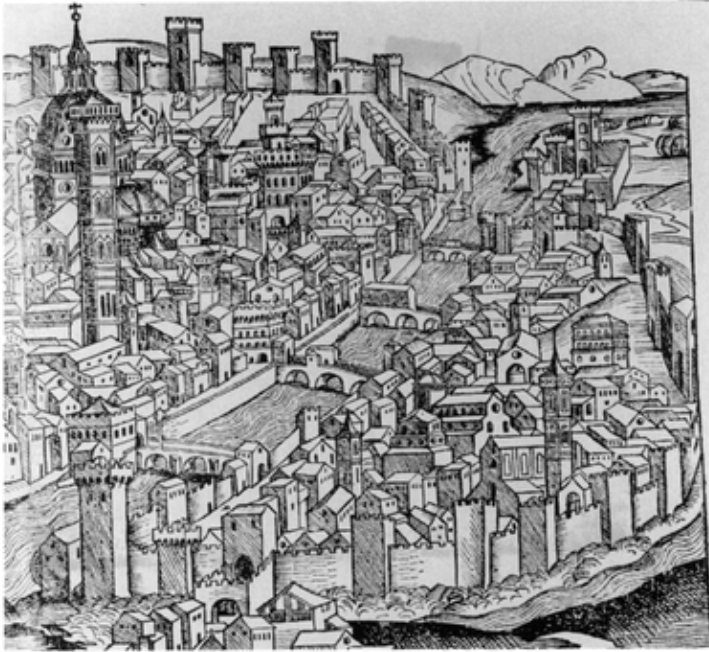
Florence

Until the thirteenth century, Florence (in Italian, Firenze) was a city of minor importance relative to Lucca and Pisa, its neighbors in Tuscany.

Thereafter, it became one of the most populated, economically prosperous, and culturally significant cities in Europe.

Physical Characteristics and Origins

Straddling the Arno River between the Apennine range to its north and the rolling Tuscan hills to its south, Florence and its surrounding countryside (*contado*) are situated in a fertile floodplain that gradually widens as it extends westward from Florence to Pistoia. The Arno is fed by several tributaries as it flows through the Florentine *contado*. From their source in the Apennines, the Bisenzio, the Mugnone, and the Sieve rivers flow southward to empty into the Arno near Florence. The Elsa, Pesa, and Greve—torrents in the spring but dry beds in late summer—flow northwest from their watersheds in the Tuscan hills south of the city to join the Arno on its south bank. The most extensive and largest mountain valleys of the Florentine countryside are the Mugello (the lush Apennine valley north of the city formed by the Sieve) and the Valdarno Fiorentino (the plain of the Arno that extends from Florence to Pistoia). Farther east of the city is the Casentino, the valley formed by the upper Arno as it flows south from its source in the mountains before turning north and then west toward the sea.



Florence. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 86v, 87r.

The Romans founded the colony of Florence probably around the mid-first century B.C., traditionally c. 59 B.C. Also according to tradition, the Romans established the *colonia* in the spring, perhaps during the *ludi florales* (floral games), thus giving the settlement its distinctive name. For several centuries before the foundation of the city, the Etruscan hilltop town of Fiesole had dominated this part of the Arno valley. From at least the fifth to the second century B.C., this fortified settlement helped control traffic across the Apennines from the Etruscan settlements in southern Tuscany to the Po valley. Earlier traditions had claimed that the Etruscans from Fiesole were the original founders of Florence, but we now know that this was not true. For the Romans, the new *colonia* had important strategic and economic functions. Via Cassia, the second-century Roman road that connected Rome with the Po valley (by way of Arezzo and Bologna), followed the right bank of the Arno. The site of the new settlement in the valley below the Etruscan citadel was a point where the Arno valley was

narrow and where the Mugnone joined the Arno. The Romans established a port at the site, and eventually they built a bridge where the road to Volterra (Via Volterrana) joined Via Cassia. It was an easily defensible location. Near the location of the original Roman bridge now stands the fourteenth-century Ponte Vecchio ("old bridge"). Excavations at the end of the nineteenth century revealed that, like other Roman cities of the Republican period, Florence had a forum (at the site of the present Piazza della Repubblica), an amphitheater, baths, temples, and a *cardo* and *decumanus* (the two principal city streets).

History and Institutions

Late antiquity (200-568). We know very little about the history of the city during the late Roman, Ostrogothic, and Byzantine periods. Christianity most likely arrived along the consular roads (especially Via Cassia), and there existed a very stable Christian community by the fourth century. According to tradition, Saint Ambrose lived in Florence for a year after fleeing Milan in 393 and consecrated San Lorenzo (the first episcopal seat) during his exile. Bishop Zenobius, an early Christian bishop of the city, was later venerated as one of its principal saints. Other cults of saints also emerged in these early centuries, including those of Saint Reparata and Saint Minias (who was said to have been the first Christian martyr of Florence). A Roman army under the command of Stilicho defeated an Ostrogothic army led by Radagaisus between Florence and Fiesole in 405, but the city eventually fell under the sway of the Ostrogoths. During their reconquest of the Italian peninsula, the Byzantines were able to bring Florence into their sphere of influence. They controlled the city until the invasion of the Lombards in the mid sixth century.

Early Middle Ages (568–1115). During the Lombard period (568-774), Florence was a city of less importance than Lucca in Tuscany. Florence did have at least one defensive tower (*gardinghus*) near its eastern wall, and it seems to have been a minor Lombard administrative center, with a duke and *gastald* in residence. In this period, the cult of Saint John the Baptist first emerged as a principal urban tradition.

The Carolingians were dominant from 774 to 875. Charlemagne

incorporated Florence and Tuscany into his growing empire and replaced the Lombard duke with a count, to be assisted by *scabini*. In 825, as part of an imperial policy promoting education throughout the realm, the Carolingian elite called for the establishment of a school at Florence to serve the clergy; there is no proof, however, that the school actually ever existed. Politically, the Carolingian state relied on the bishops residing in the cities, and the bishop of Florence was no exception. Some of the bishops of Florence at this time, such as Donatus and Andrea, apparently received important imperial immunities from fiscal or jurisdictional obligations.

The years 875-1115 were the period from the collapse of the Carolingian state to the emergence of the urban commune. In the century and a half after the disintegration of the Carolingian state, several political forces held sway in Tuscany and Florence. The office of the marquis of Tuscany, which had emerged in the ninth century, was theoretically subordinate to the German emperors during the tenth and eleventh centuries. However, in actuality the marquis became the ruler of Tuscany, especially under the house of Canossa (1027-1115). During the early tenth century, to counterbalance the power of the marquis, the kings of Italy patronized members of the late Carolingian nobility. Some of them became the founders of the Guidi and Cadolingi patrilineages. During the resurgence of imperial claims in Italy after the mid-tenth century, the Saxon emperors continued to promote the interests of these rural power brokers as important political allies and surrogates. The bishops remained important protagonists in Florentine history throughout this period, both politically and economically.

The tenth and eleventh centuries were crucially important in the history of Florentine politics and the Florentine ecclesiastical establishment. By the eleventh century, the baptismal church district (the *pieve*, or parish church equipped with a font) had become the principal unit of ecclesiastical organization in Florence and its *contado*. Furthermore, the marquis (or his family) and the major patrilineages founded important proprietary monasteries in the city and countryside, for religious and economic reasons. Some of those estates had originally been church properties. Among the new monasteries were the Badia in Florence (founded in 978 by Willa, the mother of the marquis Hugh), San Salvatore di Fucecchio (established by Cadolo before 982), and San

Miniato al Monte (founded in 1018 by the bishop). The reform movement in Florence was a very complicated series of attempts by several churchmen and their lay allies in the eleventh century to end clerical marriage, reclaim church properties from lay control, and eliminate simony. The campaign against simony actually emerged only later in the century; it peaked in 1068, when the founder of the monastery at Vallombrosa, John Gualbert (d. 1073), orchestrated the expulsion of Bishop Peter Mezzabarba from the city. The eleventh-century bishops were among the churchmen most active in attempting to reclaim church property from the lay rural patrilineages. The reform party eventually received the enthusiastic support of Countess Matilda, who was an ally of the papacy during the conflict between Emperor Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII.

Among the few urban landlords in the *contado* at this time were the bishopric and the cathedral chapter, and they became natural allies of Matilda as she sought to limit the power of the rural lineages. Theoretically, she was still the principal ruler of Florence and its countryside. Gradually, however, as her power waned, the authority of these urban leaders increased. She began to cede certain jurisdictional rights to the urban elite, whose identity at this time is still unclear. The tenth and eleventh centuries were also a period during which the population apparently began to increase in both city and countryside, putting more and more pressure on city leaders to control major roads and maintain access to the sources of grain. In the first decade of the twelfth century, the city leaders began military operations against some strongholds of rural lords in the Arno valley west of the city. Following these early campaigns there were operations against Fiesole (1125), Montegufoni (1135), Montebuoni (1135), and Monte di Croce (1143-1147). The death of the last Cadolingi (1113) and of Countess Matilda (1115) created a vacuum of power within the city; eventually, this vacuum was filled by the Florentine consular aristocracy.



Panorama from Piazzale Michelangelo, Florence. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

From the origins of the commune to the primo popolo (1115-1250). The first documented reference to the consulate—the principal governing body of the early commune—dates from 1138. The men who composed the early consulate were mostly knights, though there is evidence that it also included a few merchants. They normally served for one year, and they had the power to negotiate treaties, wage war, or litigate. They presided over the *parlamentum*, the assembly of the people; and over the *gran consiglio* or *consiglio generate del comune* (grand council of the commune), which elected new consuls and had about 150 members. Surviving records indicate that these leaders divided the population of the city into *milites* (armed horsemen) and *pedites* (foot soldiers). It is probable that there were factional disputes within the ruling aristocracy from the earliest history of the consulate.

In the second half of the twelfth century, Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1152-1190) attempted to reassert imperial authority over Italy. Meanwhile, the Florentine consulate continued to pursue military campaigns against Figline (1168), Empoli (1182), the Alberti strongholds (1184), and Semifonte (1202). The death of Emperor Henry VI in 1197 led the principal Tuscan communes to form the Tuscan League to resist imperial encroachment. This is also the period in which we find the first evidence of merchant guilds; a document dated 1192 mentions the

consuls of the Calimala (cloth finishers) guild. In 1198, as the fiscal demands of the commune increased, the consulate took over the imperial hearth tax as its own.

To deal more effectively with factional conflicts, a single officer called a *podestà* replaced the twelve consuls as the principal executive in the city sometime after 1190. The *podestà* was usually a foreigner and served one year in office. Among his responsibilities in the early thirteenth century was the resolution of disputes between the emerging rural communes and the bishopric. The legislative councils also underwent a transformation in the early decades of the thirteenth century. The *consiglio generale del comune* increased to 300 members; and by 1229 a *consiglio speciale del podestà o del comune* (special council of the *podestà* or commune), with 90 members, had emerged to operate alongside it. The fiscal demands of the commune became more pressing at this time, as Florence fought a series of wars on the borders of its *contado* with Siena and Volterra. In the early 1230s, pressed to meet its growing expenses, the commune conducted a census for the purpose of taxation.

An intensification of factional disputes within the ruling elite during the first half of the thirteenth century coincided with a resurgence of imperial power under Frederick II (r. 1215-1250). Members of the aristocracy who sided with the emperor to promote their own local interests became known as Ghibellines, and those who tended to side with the papacy became known as Guelfs. According to Florentine tradition, the clash between the Ghibellines and Guelfs began with the murder of Buondelmonte de' Buondelmonti by the Arrighi and Uberti in 1216; however, the terms Guelf and Ghibelline did not appear before the 1240s. The Buondelmonti identified with the Guelf cause, and the Uberti led the Ghibellines. The Uberti dominated the city after 1244, and the natural son of the emperor became *podestà* in 1246. In 1248, the Guelfs left the city to their rivals. The 1230s and 1240s were also decades during which the Inquisition and the bishop pursued Cathars at Florence; supposedly, several Ghibellines were sheltering the Cathars there. In 1250, a Guelf army defeated a Ghibelline army at Figline. The victors thereafter established the regime of the *popolo* in Florence.



Church of San Miniato al Monte, Florence. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

From the Prima Popolo (1250-1260) to the prior ate (1282). In the second half of the thirteenth century, Florence was no longer a second- or third-rate Tuscan commune. Its economic importance as a commercial and industrial center made it one of the most prosperous and economically advanced cities in Italy. Furthermore, its growing population (50,000 c. 1200; 90,000 in 1300) transformed it into one of the most populous cities in Europe. This rapid economic and demographic growth had important consequences for the political development of Florence. From the end of the twelfth century on, an increasing number of prosperous nonnobles or members of the *popolo* (especially merchants and guildsmen) demanded more participation in government. They challenged the aristocratic commune for greater access to political offices, thereby exacerbating the existing factional disputes within the ruling elite.

The government of the *popolo* gave upwardly mobile, prosperous nonnobles an opportunity to hold political positions within the commune that reflected their growing economic power. The association of the *popolo*, which had both political and military components, gestated for decades within a "shadow government" before it came to power in 1250. An executive leader called the *capitano del popolo* (captain of the people) led twenty neighborhood military companies,

and twelve *anziani* (elders) were local political officials who apparently handled financial affairs. The first document mentioning a *capitano del popolo* in Florence dates from 1250 (the first captain mentioned anywhere was at Parma in 1244). The existence of a *societas populi* also dates from 1250. In the new regime of the *primo popolo*, the three *consigli del popolo* (councils of the people) functioned alongside the two previously existing communal councils of the *podestà*. The *consigli del popolo* were the *consiglio generale del capitano* (general council of the captain), with 150 members; the *consiglio speciale del capitano o della "credenza "* (special council of the captain or of the "credenza"), with thirty-six members; and the *consiglio del cento* (council of one hundred), charged with financial management. The total number of legislative councils in the city was therefore five. There was no attempt to abolish the *podesteria*, which continued to exist alongside the new executive officer, the captain. For ten years this Guelf regime ruled the city, only to be expelled after the defeat of a Florentine Guelf army by the Ghibelline Sienese at Montaperti in 1260. For the following seven years the Ghibellines controlled Florence, until they were in turn overthrown in 1267 by Charles of Anjou and his Florentine Guelf allies.



Church of Santa Croce, Florence. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

As *podestà* from 1267 to 1282, Charles of Anjou was theoretically the ruler of the city. Florence strengthened its economic and political ties with the Angevin regime in Naples and with the papacy, as Florentines served both the Angevins and the papacy as bankers and merchants. However, attempts to reconcile the Guelfs and Ghibellines failed in 1273, and factional disputes within the Guelf elite itself erupted as well (the Adimari feuded with the Donati and their allies the Tosinghi and Pazzi for hegemony in the city). Dispatched by Pope Nicholas III,

Cardinal Latino arrived in late 1279 to bring these conflicts to an end. In 1280, he issued a new constitution for the city, designed to resolve the serious factional problems. In 1281, the commune required those members of the aristocracy known for their factional violence (magnates) to post a security bond; this requirement was intended to encourage them to end their internal disputes. In 1282, the Angevin regime in Sicily was overthrown, and the Florentine guildsmen, who were eager to be rid of interference from the Angevins and the papacy, seized the opportunity to establish a new government more sensitive to their interests.

From the priorate to the eve of the black death (1282-1340). The establishment of the priorate in June 1282 marked a turning point in Florentine political history. It confirmed the rise to political prominence of those members of the elite who also controlled the economic destiny of the city: the guildsmen, particularly members of the Lana (cloth manufacturers, Calimala (cloth finishers, and Cambio (money changers guilds. The principal executive body of the commune was the six priors, each representing one of the six divisions of the city (the commune henceforth was divided into six areas). The priorate submitted legislation to the communal councils for approval. Only guild members could serve as priors or serve on the principal councils of the *popolo*. Assisted by *savi*—"wise men"—from the six districts, the heads of the principal guilds (initially twelve but later twenty-one) chose priors to serve two-month terms.

Between 1284 and 1292, the government of the city fought a war for hegemony in Tuscany with its principal rivals, Pisa and Arezzo. The defeat of Arezzo at Campaldino in 1289 helped ensure that Guelf Florence would remain the dominant commune in eastern Tuscany for decades to come.

The *signoria* (or priorate) of the commune continued to pass legislation so as to end factionalism and violence directed at the *popolo* by the magnates. A law of 1286 identified the status of magnate with knighthood. The passage of the Ordinances of Justice of 1293 by the commune imposed discriminatory civil penalties to prevent and punish acts of violence perpetrated by the magnate houses against one another and against members of the *popolo* or their property. The legislation identified 150 rural and urban lineages as magnate lineages; it also

made membership in a guild a prerequisite for service in the priorate, thereby undercutting knighthood as the principal mark of elite status. The Ordinances of Justice, which had been passed under the leadership of Giano della Bella, also created a seventh prior, the *gonfaloniere di giustizia* (standard-bearer of justice). The *gonfaloniere di giustizia*, as leader of a force of 1,000 men, was responsible for enforcing the judgments of the *podestà* against magnates.

Many magnate clans reacted swiftly against this discriminatory legislation, and in July 1295, they and their allies expelled Giano della Bella from the city. However, between 1295 and 1300, tension within the magnate aristocracy continued to mount; the situation exploded in 1300, when two factions emerged: the *bianchi*, or Whites, led by the Cerchi; and the *neri*, or blacks, led by the Donati. Pope Boniface VIII, who wanted to assert his authority over the city, supported the Blacks and their leader, Corso Donati. The Whites, led by Vieri dei Cerchi, took control briefly in 1301; but they were forced into exile later that year, when Corso Donati returned on the coattails of the papal emissary, Charles of Valois. Among the exiled Whites was Dante Alighieri (1265-1321). Eventually, the Blacks themselves split into feuding factions.

The exiled Whites and their Ghibelline allies implored the German emperors to help them. In the summer of 1312, during his invasion of Italy, Emperor Henry VII did besiege Florence, but he was unsuccessful. The commune later faced a challenge to its territorial power in Tuscany from Pisa, led by the Ghibelline Uguccione della Faggiuola. To deal with this threat, the commune conferred ultimate authority on King Robert of Naples for several years; but in 1315, the Pisans defeated the Florentines in a major battle at Montecatini. The city next faced a threat from the Ghibellines in Lucca, led by Castruccio Castracane. In 1325, the Florentine government again designated an Ange-vin—this time Charles of Calabria—ruler of the city. That year, at Altopascio, the Florentines suffered another defeat, but Castruccio's death in 1328 eliminated the Lucchese menace. Charles of Calabria died the same year.

In 1329, partly in response to these challenges, the ruling elite initiated a number of important political innovations. It replaced the five existing councils with two: a single *consiglio del podestà e del*

comune (council of the *podestà* and of the commune), with 250 members; and a single *consiglio del capitano delpopolo* (council of the captain of the people), with 300 members. In 1321, the city leaders had created the "twelve good men" to assist the priors. They and the "sixteen captains" (*gonfalonieri*) of the military companies served as the two advisory colleges of the priors and also voted on some matters. Finally, the government introduced the *scrutinio*, a scrutiny system for choosing priors and members of the two colleges; to fill these positions, officials drew names out of bags holding the names of eligible men.

From the black death to the ciompi revolt (1340–1380). The generation after 1340 is normally described as a tremendous crisis in the history of Florence. This crisis was demographic (a loss of about 40,000 people from a peak of 90,000 c. 1300), economic (the failure of several large banks, and a sharply reduced demand for finished cloth), and political (the *ciompi* revolt in 1378). Excessive military spending and ongoing problems in the banking industry led the principal power brokers to turn to a dictatorship in 1342. They designated a foreigner, Walter of Brienne (duke of Athens), as ruler or lord (*signore*) of the city; however, he was expelled in 1343. Meanwhile, the Bardi and Peruzzi banking companies collapsed, and conflict erupted between the magnates and *popolani*, with the latter defeating the former.



Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

In the political changes that followed in 1343, the elite divided the city into quarters (instead of the previous sixths), bringing the total number of priors to nine (two for each quarter, plus the standard-bearer of justice). The 300-member *consiglio del capitano delpopolo* and the 250-member *consiglio delpodesta e del comune* remained the two principal legislative bodies. The *signoria* also breathed new life into the Ordinances of Justice. But the economic depression that followed the demographic disasters of the 1340s and the costs of war added to the

city's fiscal burden. Between 1343 and 1378, the commune fought a series of wars against the papacy (the "war of eight saints" of 1375-1378), Milan, and Pisa (in 1362-1364). To meet these expenses at a time of economic dislocation, the commune continued to rely on regressive indirect taxes (*gabelles*). It also raised money increasingly through forced loans (*prestanze*), especially after 1315. The commune consolidated its public debt (*monte di comune*) in 1345.

Unemployment, currency manipulation by communal officials, and a reduction in cloth production inflicted hardships on most of the population of the city. In the summer of 1378, cloth workers—the *ciompi*—overthrew the government and created a new regime that lasted a month and a half. The *ciompi* had many concerns, including their anger over the debasement of the currency by the government and their demand for official recognition of the lower guilds, which they wanted represented in the government. Following the collapse of the *ciompi* regime in the late summer of 1378, the major guilds attempted to restore order. By 1382, after four years of unstable government, a new, conservative regime brought an end to many of the reforms that had been begun in 1378. After 1382, fewer and fewer families had access to seats in the priorate, and political power became increasingly concentrated in the hands of a restricted oligarchy.

Economic Life

Until the thirteenth century, other Tuscan communes, particularly Pisa and Lucca, were more prosperous and more populous than Florence. By the end of the thirteenth century, however, Florence had become one of the most populous cities in Europe and was a principal center of cloth production and banking in the continent. Earlier scholarship on the economy tended to stress the conflicts between the nobles and the *bourgeois*, the city and the *contado*, and the public and private spheres; but recent studies have developed a more nuanced view of Florentine economic history. Historians now acknowledge that the elites consistently sought noble status throughout the history of Florence and that private rights persisted in the city, as in the countryside, during the communal period. Although commerce and industry became crucial to

the economy by 1250, land always remained the principal source of wealth and status for the Florentine elite—as it had been since antiquity. Indeed, the landed nobility always remained the wealthiest group in Florence.

Late antiquity and the early Middle Ages (300-1100). We know very little about the economy of Florence during the first thousand years of its history, because documents are few (relative to the documents from Lucca, for example). In the second and third centuries, Florence had a population of perhaps some 10,000. The decline of Via Cassia as an artery of transportation, the importance of Via Aurelia along the Tuscan coast, and the emergence of Via Francigena (which linked Rome with France by way of Lucca) after the year 800 may help to explain why Florence was of minor economic and strategic interest during the early Middle Ages. However, the Lombards did establish and endow several important monasteries at Florence, although the Lombard elite did not create as many monasteries or patronize as many churches in Florence as in Lucca. During the period when Florence was dominated by the Ostrogoths, Byzantines, and Lombards, the principal source of wealth for its ruling elite (as was also true elsewhere) was rental income, paid by peasant cultivators. In the Roman period, the rural population had tended to live in dispersed, isolated family settlements; but in the early Middle Ages the population began to settle in villages consisting of groups of families. The dominant form of lease that emerged in this period was a written charter called a *libellus*—in Italian, *livello*. It usually required a fixed money payment over a twenty-nine-year period (although many of these leases tended to become perpetual). Church lords leased much of their land through this instrument. By the Carolingian period, the rural aristocracy had acquired a significant number of *livello* contracts, effectively bringing a large share of church property under their control. This was the pattern in Lucca, and probably—though on a smaller scale—in Florence as well. The universal requirement that parishes pay tithes, promulgated by Charlemagne in 813, greatly increased the wealth controlled by the church. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, many of the powerful rural clans acquired tithes either through *libelli* issued by church lords or simply by seizing them.

By the eighth century, the bipartite manor, a lord's demesne and

dependent peasant holdings, emerged as the dominant unit of the agricultural economy. The typical peasant single-family holding—the *mansus*, existing throughout the countryside—also appeared in documents at this time. Obligatory labor was prominent but certainly not universal. From the late ninth century through the tenth, as the Carolingian state disintegrated, the *mansus* and the manor (*curtis*) began to break up as a result of partible inheritance and demographic pressure. The landed aristocrats leased out their demesne land, and labor services had virtually disappeared by the eleventh century. There is very little evidence before 950 for the existence of benefices (land grants in exchange for services) or vassalage in Tuscany, especially in Florence or Siena. As for women, they possessed more property rights before 1100 than afterward. According to Frankish law, a widow was entitled to a third (*tenia*) of her husband's property; in Lombard law, the portion was a quarter (*quarto*). A woman living under Roman law could claim her husband's wedding gift (*donatio propter nuptias*) after his death. Kinship tended to be cognatic, with descent traced through both the male and the female lines. Until the twelfth century, many children carried their mother's name (the matronymic).

Demographic pressure increased in the tenth and eleventh centuries. After the disappearance of the Carolingian state in the tenth century, the German emperors and kings of Italy promoted several late Carolingian noble families to prominence as political allies or even local counts. Among such families in the region around Florence were the Ubaidini, Cadolingi, and Guidi. Gradually, they reconstructed great properties, often at the expense of church lords, particularly the bishop. Labor services were few. To prevent excessive partitioning of family estates, the clans or kindreds developed into patrilineages, tracing their descent back to a single male founder. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, they created proprietary monasteries to serve as administrative centers for their estates and to solidify their lineages and traditions. Among these monasteries were Settimo and Fucecchio (founded by the Cadolingi). The basic unit of the great properties at this time was the *curtis* (manor or estate), consisting of several dependent satellite holdings (each a *sortis* or *mansus*, a single holding). *Castelli* (castles), fortifications that often served as rent collection centers, appeared throughout the countryside in the tenth and eleventh

centuries. In Florence, the bishopric seems to have played an important role in their creation. Many bishops in the eleventh and twelfth centuries attempted to reclaim rural estates that they had lost in the ninth and tenth centuries. Before 1100, there were few urban lords in the countryside, but among them were the bishop and the cathedral chapter. Their estates were located primarily in the river valleys (the Elsa, Pesa, and Sieve). The typical pattern of settlement was the village, consisting of clusters of families.

Later Middle Ages (1100-1400). The Florentine economy flourished in the years 1100-1340. As the population continued to increase in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the principal rural lords loosened their hold on the land and tightened their grip on other men. Labor services became virtually nonexistent by 1200, and peasant cultivators continued to pay fixed rents on their perpetual contracts, usually in money. At the end of the twelfth century, landlords began to require oaths of fidelity from their peasant dependants, and they commuted many rents from money to grain. Apparently, this "rent revolution" (Herlihy 1959, 1964, 1968) was an attempt to take advantage of a growing grain market, responding to increasing demographic pressure. The commutations constituted an increase in rents for the peasant cultivator. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, rural immigration into the city quickened as population pressures and the need for urban craftsmen escalated. Many of the immigrants, some of whom were quite prosperous, retained their connection to their rural estates (the Cerchi and the Peruzzi are examples). After 1250, most rural and urban landlords were shifting to fixed-term leases in grain to take advantage of rising rents and rising prices of grain.

Throughout Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, male domination of kinship and property inheritance strengthened and expanded at the expense of women. After 1100, the matronymic disappeared. Women's rights to property declined markedly with the emergence of the commune and the *popolo*. By 1255, Florence, following the example of other communes, had abolished the wedding gift (the *antifactum*) from husbands to wives. At the same time, women's right to inherit property from their husbands diminished. As their dowries became more and more important to the welfare of their families, women experienced further restrictions on their property

rights. Legally, a woman had the right to her dowry if her husband predeceased her, but in practice the dowry often remained within the household of the deceased husband. Furthermore, fathers often disinherited daughters who had received dowries. In 1325, the commune of Florence ruled that while a marriage lasted, all the property of the wife that was not included in the dowry should be considered part of it. All in all, the strengthening of the patrilineage required a marginalization of women.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Florence became a commercial power, known primarily for banking and cloth-making. The economic prosperity that resulted from these activities catapulted Florence into the forefront of Tuscan (and European) cities. Before the mid-thirteenth century the Florentines imported cloth from the north (Flanders) for finishing, but sometime after 1250 they began producing fine cloth themselves. By 1300, the *Arte della Lana*, the guild of producers of wool cloth, was making about ten times as much cloth as the *Arte di Calimala*, the cloth finishers' guild. Florentine bankers were pioneers in the creation of new instruments of credit, such as the bill of exchange. Some of the most powerful banking companies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were Florentine (the Peruzzi, Bardi, Acciaiuoli, and Mozzi). They became principal creditors and bankers to emperors, kings, and popes; collected taxes for the papacy; helped manage commercial transactions with the Angevin rulers in Naples; and imported grain to the city. Craft guilds first emerge in documents at the end of the twelfth century. The most important were the guilds of the money changers (*Cambio*), wool-cloth manufacturers (*Lana*), judges and notaries (*Guidici* and *Notai*), and wool-cloth finishers (*Calimala*).

In the thirteenth century, the population continued to increase markedly (to 75,000 in 1260; 85,000 in 1280; 95,000 in 1300; and 90,000 in 1338). From its own *contado*, Florence could produce only five-eighths of the grain needed to feed its growing population. Constantly wary of periodic famines, communal officials therefore created, at the end of the thirteenth century, two commissions to supervise the grain supply. The imported grain came from the Romagna and southern Italy (strengthening the political ties with the Angevin kings). To pay for its administrative and military expenses (especially the cost of maintaining security on the roads and access to food supplies), the commune

developed a sophisticated tax system based increasingly, after 1200, on proportional taxation (the *estimo*) and indirect taxes (such as the tax on salt). In the fourteenth century, when military expenses were most pressing, the commune turned to forced loans, eventually consolidating the communal debt in a *monte comune* in 1345.

After the mid-thirteenth century, the *podere* (plural, *poderi*), a consolidated estate with a farmhouse sufficient to support a family, appeared in the countryside. This development, along with a new sharecropping arrangement under which peasant cultivators paid half their produce to their landlord (the *mezza-drid*), was directly connected to the all-important passage of rural land into the possession of urban dwellers. Peasants with small to medium-size holdings received few benefits from these developments. The *podere a mezzadria* was most intense at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, a period when population pressures were fractioning peasants' lands, rural residents were shouldering a heavy tax burden, and a growing number of prosperous urban residents (like the Pazzi, Frescobaldi, and Bardi) were accumulating rural estates.

An economic crisis characterized the period 1340-1400. This crisis in Florence was part of a general situation in Europe as a whole. The population peaked at about 90,000-95,000 in the early fourteenth century and then stopped growing, as the limits of economic expansion in the countryside (relative to the available technology) were reached. The failure of two banking companies—the Bardi in 1343 and the Peruzzi in 1346—was most likely caused by economic and political factors within Florence rather than (as is sometimes held) by a default on loans on the part of the king of England. The black death of 1348, and the periodic epidemics that continued for several decades after it, eventually decreased the population of the city by half. An overproduction of finished cloth, resulting from decreased demand throughout Europe in the wake of this demographic catastrophe, led to severe economic dislocation within the city. Unemployment, currency manipulation by the government to meet expenses, and a sharp reduction in cloth production caused widespread hardship in the second half of the fourteenth century.

In the countryside in the fourteenth century, the *podere a mezzadria* continued to be the dominant form of agricultural exploitation and

continued to spread, moving outward from the suburbs of the city. Prosperous urban dwellers, especially the mercantile elite, continued to buy rural property, a process that some historians call a "refeudalization of the economy." This process began in the late thirteenth century and persisted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Consequently, land became concentrated in fewer and fewer hands; and as peasant families with small or medium-size holdings lost control of their land, their situation worsened.

The mid-fourteenth century was a turning point for the Florentine economy. In the closing decades of the century, the city achieved a final political subjugation of independent rural communes; this ended the existence of rival local market centers and confirmed the subordination of the rural economy to the interests of the urban elite. Throughout the second half of the century, the worsening impoverishment of the rural population (particularly the sharecroppers), as well as the taxation of the countryside to benefit the Florentine oligarchy, prevented the development of local markets for rural manufactures. This exploitative relationship between city and *contado* in the later fourteenth century drained the countryside of needed resources and limited the ability of Florentine Tuscany to recover from the effects of the black death.

Urban Development

Late antiquity and early Middle Ages (300-1100). The plan of the city of Florence retained its Roman character until the twelfth century. The city was square in shape and surrounded by a wall, with four gates on its north-south and east-west axes. The outer limits of this quadrangle are bounded by three present-day streets (Via Tornabuoni, Via de' Cerretani, and Via del Proconsolo), the Piazza della Signoria, and the river. Like other Roman colonies (*coloniae*), late ancient Florence had a *cardo* and a *decumanus*. The latter was also part of the second-century Via Cassia, the consular road that connected Rome, Arezzo, Bologna, and the Po valley. The first rudimentary bridge over the Arno most likely dated from the first century B.C. The Romans built another bridge at beginning of the second century to join the new Via Cassia. The city had an amphitheater, a theater (first century), and an aqueduct. Roman

centuriation (field patterning) is present west of the city between Prato and Castello. The earliest Christian churches, such as San Lorenzo and Santa Felicita, were located outside the walls but along the consular roads.

During the Byzantine period (c. 532-568), the city population had contracted to as few as 1,000. Several churches, including San Rufillo and Sant' Apollinare, date from this period. During the Lombard era (568-778), the residents built a guard tower (*gardinghus*) on the eastern wall {matching similar towers at Barberino, Passignano, and Cintoia} and several more churches. Those in the Ripoli plain east of the city date from the late seventh century and the early eighth century. Other churches dating from this period include the first baptistery (seventh century), Or San Michele, and San Michele Visdomini.

During the Carolingian era (778-c. 900), the population varied from about 2,000 to 2,500 in the eighth century to 5,000 in the ninth. The Carolingians built a bridge over the Arno in the ninth century, to replace the second-century Roman bridge that had been destroyed in the Gothic wars of the sixth century. Apparently, this ninth-century bridge lasted until 1178. The third circle of walls dates from the late ninth or early tenth century.

In the period from the collapse of the Carolingian state (c. 900) to the emergence of the commune (c. 1100), economic expansion, piety, population growth, and other social and political factors stimulated the construction of new churches and monasteries. These included the Badia (978), San Miniato al Monte (1018-1063), San Apostoli (after 1050), San Pier Scheraggio (1068), San Salvatore al Vescovo (documented 1032), and San Jacopo sopr'Arno. Several of these churches (particularly San Miniato and San Salvatore) are early examples of Tuscan Romanesque, a style that reflected a new interest in recovering Roman architectural patterns. The population grew to 20,000 by the mid-eleventh century, necessitating the fourth circle of walls built during the reign of Countess Matilda. Administratively, the city was divided into four regions named after the gates: Domus, San Pancrazio, Santa Maria, and San Pietro.

Later Middle Ages (1100–1400). From 1100 to c. 1180 the population increased to about 30,000. To enclose the expanding city, communal officials built the fifth circle of walls (the first communal circle) c.

1173-1174, including the suburbs south of the Arno. A new bridge over the Arno, at the site of the Ponte Vecchio, replaced the ninth-century bridge c. 1178. In the early thirteenth century, when the population increased to about 50,000, city officials built several other bridges over the river: Ponte alla Carraia (1218-1220), Ponte alle Grazie or Rubaconte (c. 1237), and Ponte a Santa Trinita (c. 1252). Several new religious orders arrived in the city, acquiring or constructing new churches: Santa Maria Novella (acquired by the Dominicans, from 1221), Santa Croce (Franciscans, 1226-1228), Santo Spirito (Augustinians, from c. 1269), and Santa Trinita (acquired by the Vallombrosans, 1250-1260). Much of the earliest urban development during the thirteenth century was in the Oltrarno (the south bank of the river around San Miniato al Monte, or southward along Via Romana), and on the eastern edge of the city around the gate of San Pier Maggiore. For the most part in the early thirteenth century, the eastern side of the city had many vacant lots. Most of the urban aristocracy (the Visdomini and the Cerchi, for example) lived in stone towers. They often formed family enclaves in certain districts of the city, where they clustered their towers. These towers were held jointly by family members and their kinsmen or allies (*consortes*).

From 1280 to 1400, Florence flourished economically, and the population continued to increase, partly as a result of extensive immigration (to 75,000 in 1260; to 85,000 in 1280; and to 95,000–100,000 in 1300, although it declined thereafter). The appearance of the present city is due largely to extensive planning by the *signoria* (the priorate) at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. However, we should not overemphasize the role of rational planning; some recent studies suggest that urban development (particularly with regard to the history of mills on the river) was more organic than orderly or planned. The plan included a new civic center, the Palazzo dei Priori; and a religious center, the cathedral-baptistery complex. The construction of Palazzo dei Priori required the destruction of Ghibelline towers and the clearing of the space to create a square. To enclose the growing population, the commune began to construct a second circle of communal walls (the sixth circle in all) in 1284 and finished it in 1333. The new walls enclosed Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce. A new *piazza* (square) in front of Santa Maria Novella was created in 1288.

Increasingly, the commune bought property from the bishop in the northern suburbs of the city, Cafaggio. Widespread leasing of urban real estate (housing and artisans' shops, or *botteghe*) increased sharply at the end of the thirteenth century, after having begun in midcentury in the oldest and most populated parishes. The basic unit of urban development was the *casolare*, a lot on which buildings could be erected. Many *casolari* had houses on them, owned by several proprietors who usually lived in other parishes. Among the principal landlords of the central parishes were the bishop, the cathedral chapter, and the canons of San Lorenzo. The flood of 1333 destroyed all the bridges but one (Ponte alle Grazie). In 1345, Taddeo Gaddi finished a new Ponte Vecchio, on which artisans located their shops.

Art and Architecture

The visual arts of medieval Florence deserve to be understood and appreciated on their own terms, not simply as precursors of the achievements of the fifteenth century. Innovative changes in painting, sculpture, and architecture are clearly evident from the second half of the thirteenth century on. They were not so much a beginning as a culmination of developments that had been decades if not centuries in the making. Such creativity is especially impressive, even startling, when we consider that before 1200 Florence was generally a cultural backwater. Lucca and Pisa had important schools of painting before 1200; in comparison with the art of these centers, Florentine art was essentially derivative. The artists of Florence took their lead from important traditions created elsewhere in Tuscany, particularly Lucca and Pisa. Comparatively little Florentine painting or sculpture survives from before the thirteenth century. This fact is not surprising: Florence was less populous, less wealthy, less important politically, and less developed economically.

At the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, however, Florence experienced an explosion of creativity in painting, architecture, and sculpture—especially in the first two areas. Innovative painters and sculptors, influenced by ancient examples, began to portray the world as it appeared to the human eye. This visual

revolution gave them new, unprecedented tools for exploring character and human psychology. For example, in painting there was a gradual trend toward more naturalistic and realistic portrayals of the human form and of landscapes, culminating in the work of Giotto (1267-1337). Although this new style was not universally accepted among Florentine painters, it began a tradition that would dominate western art until Postimpressionism, 600 years later. With regard to architecture, many works of the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth—the Palazzo Vecchio, the cathedral, the massive churches of the Franciscans and Dominicans at opposite ends of the city—still dominate the Florentine skyline today. Historians debate the reasons for this visual revolution in Florence after 1250, but the factors that set Florence apart and contributed to these developments included its tremendous prosperity and population growth; the development of a self-confident ruling class, with extensive landed and mercantile resources, who became patrons of the arts; and a new piety that stressed the humanity and suffering of Christ.

If we want to appreciate these developments in Florence on their own terms, we should avoid being misled by modern notions of art and modern perceptions of the artist. Today, we tend to envision the artist as isolated and alienated; but Florentine artists of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries were actually craftsmen. Florentine artists usually worked on specific tasks assigned to them as a commission by a patron. For a well-known artist such as Cimabue or Giotto, commissions included the completion of frescoes or crucifixes to adorn churches or monasteries. For lesser-known artists, assignments were mundane and might include decorating household items for everyday use. Regardless of their reputation, all artists depended on patrons for their livelihood. Patrons could be families enriched by banking and commerce, such as the Bardi or Peruzzi; or they could be institutions such as churches, monasteries, guilds, and even the commune of Florence itself. Like other craftsmen, artists (especially painters) joined guilds. However, not until 1314 were painters allowed into the guild of doctors and pharmacists (*Arte dei Medici e Speziali*).

Architecture: Late antiquity and early Middle Ages (300-1100). There are very few visible architectural remains from the Ostrogothic, Lombard, or Carolingian era in Florence; most of the physical remnants

of these periods lie below the present street level. Excavations in the 1980s below Piazza della Signoria uncovered an extensive Roman wool-dyeing complex (perhaps one of the largest in ancient Italy) and several Roman houses from the Republican period. Excavations conducted between 1912 and 1915 below the present Piazza di San Giovanni (cathedral complex) found remains of a second-century house, Roman baths, and portions of the city wall.

The first church of Santa Reparata probably dated from the sixth century. Excavations in 1965–1974 uncovered the remains of this sixth-century church, which stood until the last quarter of the fourteenth century, when it was replaced by the newly completed cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore (under construction since about 1296) on the same site. The original Santa Reparata had two Romanesque side chapels and was about 48 feet (15 meters) narrower than the present cathedral. Workmen systematically dismantled it as they built the new cathedral during the first three-quarters of the fourteenth century.

The first baptistery was certainly in existence by 897, and it may have been built as early as the sixth century, contemporaneously with Santa Reparata. Most likely, it dates from the seventh century. It stood until the eleventh or twelfth century, when the present building replaced it. Pope Nicholas II was evidently present at a dedication of the baptistery in 1059. The present octagonal baptistery, built with Tuscan marble, was probably completed by 1150.

On the whole, the Romanesque churches of Florence do not have the grandeur, beauty, or magnificence of the eleventh- and twelfth-century churches in Pisa and Lucca. Indeed, the name given to this style by modern art historians—the Pisan-Lucchese Romanesque—indicates that the forms characteristic of Florentine churches in this period were first developed elsewhere. The basilica of San Miniato al Monte was begun by Bishop Hildebrand in 1024 to house the relics of Saint Minias, and was mostly completed c. 1062. San Miniato is outside the city walls, dominating a ridge overlooking Florence on the south side of the river. The interior has a raised presbytery and two side aisles flanking the nave; it is primarily from the twelfth century, but there is an eleventh-century crypt, and the marble pavement of the nave dates from 1207. The tripartite facade, dating from the twelfth century, is of green and white marble with a prominent arcade of five repeating Roman arches

that, like the baptistery, shows clear classical influences. Other Romanesque churches in Florence include San Jacopo sopr'Arno, San Salvatore al Vescovo, and San Piero Scheraggio. Another eleventh century structure is Santi Apostoli, a small church with a nave, two aisles, and a semicircular apse; it was built sometime before 1075.

Architecture: Later Middle Ages (1100-1400). In the early thirteenth century, the cathedrals and civic buildings of Pisa and Lucca still outshone those of Florence. However, this was no longer the case a century later. By that time, Florence, with nearly 100,000 inhabitants, had outstripped Pisa and Lucca in population; and the building projects that took shape in Florence after the mid-thirteenth century were unrivaled in scope and size throughout Tuscany. Several factors contributed to a massive building program at the end of the century—economic prosperity, the patronage of the most powerful guilds and families, a new piety that favored mendicant orders, and decisions by the Florentine government to build new religious and civic centers for the burgeoning city.

The monumental mendicant churches of Santa Croce (Franciscan) and Santa Maria Novella (Dominican) were begun at the end of the thirteenth century. They were inspired by traditions emanating from France (especially Burgundy) and are the two best examples of Florentine Gothic architecture. Built at opposite ends of the expanding city, these two churches attracted the patronage of some of its wealthiest families. Santa Maria Novella had been Dominican since 1221, but the construction of the present structure did not begin until 1279; it was completed in the early fourteenth century and was influenced by Cistercian designs. The western doors of Santa Maria Novella opened onto a spacious piazza where Dominican preachers addressed large crowds. The construction of Santa Croce began in 1295 under the direction of the architect Arnolfo di Cambio (c. 1245 or 1250-1302 or 1305). The large central nave of Santa Croce (more than 330 feet, or 100 meters, long), flanked by wide aisles, accommodated the large crowds who came to hear Franciscan preachers. Prominent families, including the Bardi and the Peruzzi, endowed and embellished the numerous side chapels in the transept area. Whereas Santa Maria Novella had four chapels, Santa Croce had ten.

In 1255, the commune began constructing the palace, otherwise

known as the Bargello, to serve as the seat of the new civic official, the *capitano del popolo*. It became the residence of the *podesta* after 1260. It is an imposing building that resembles a fortress, built to withstand possible attacks on the *capitano* and his officials from the street.

The construction of the Palazzo Vecchio (Palazzo dei Priori), the residence of the civic government of the priors, began in 1299. This is the largest civic palace in Italy and testifies to the wealth of the city, the dominance of its guilds, and the self-confidence of its mercantile elite. Palazzo Vecchio was finished in only eleven years; construction ended with the completion of the bell tower in 1310. The *palazzo* has two main floors above the ground floor. Its fortresslike construction (resembling that of the Bargello) served both to protect the priors from external threats and to demonstrate to the public the awesome power of the priorate. Palazzo Vecchio, with the new Piazza della Signoria below it, was one of two major reference points or anchors of the new urban design for the city developed by the ruling elite; the other was the cathedral complex.

The cathedral complex was developed at the end of the thirteenth century. By this time, Santa Reparata—which had been the cathedral of Florence since at least the twelfth century—was no longer able to accommodate large crowds or represent the grandeur of the prosperous city. The Opera del Duomo had supervised its construction and maintenance until 1331, when the Arte della Lana (the wool guild) became responsible for it. Hence, the ruling elite wanted to build a new cathedral. Arnolfo di Cambio devised plans for this new, larger cathedral, and he probably supervised the construction until his death sometime between 1301 and 1310. Arnolfo was probably responsible for much of the design of the present structure, including the large central nave with two side aisles, divided into four bays. Excavations conducted between 1965 and 1974 indicate that he had also planned an octagonal crossing at the east end. In 1357, Francesco Talenti—who was the supervising architect between 1351 and 1368—completed the bell tower that had been begun by Giotto; Talenti also oversaw the widening of the cupola. Between 1380 and 1420, the architects greatly enlarged the apse and added the three octagonal tribunes radiating from the central dome, which at that point was still uncovered.

Or San Michele (Orsanmichele), constructed in the fourteenth

century, is associated with two of the most outstanding artists of the time: Andrea Pisano (c. 1295-c. 1348 or 1349) and Andrea di Cione (Orcagna, d. 1368). It was originally designed as a granary, and after 1284 it became the first public loggia in Florence. The loggia came to be a public shrine associated with the veneration of a painted image of the Madonna housed inside, credited with miracles in 1292. After 1336, the priors of the city began the construction of a new building to market and store grain, but these functions ended in 1357. Between 1337 and 1359, the architects completed the construction of the multistory building. The confraternity of the Laudesi commissioned Bernardo Daddi to paint another image of the miraculous Virgin in 1347, and in 1352 it commissioned Orcagna to create a tabernacle for this image. In 1359, Orcagna completed the work, which is one of the most beautiful Gothic-inspired artworks in Florence.

Sculpture: Early Middle Ages (600-1100). The earliest surviving examples of Florentine sculpture are in churches or monasteries in the city and countryside and were created for ecclesiastical patrons. One example is a tenth-century pillar of a holy water basin in the church of San Giovanni in Sugana (Val di Greve). An exquisite eleventh-century ivory book cover for the Gospels (now in the Vatican) shows the apostles receiving the Holy Spirit. A pulpit with thirteenth-century bas-relief sculptures was probably completed for the eleventh-century church of San Piero Scheraggio (consecrated in 1068); among the scenes on this pulpit are the deposition from the cross and the Virgin and child. One of the finest examples of twelfth-century Florentine sculpture is the sarcophagus of Bishop Ranieri (d. 1113) in the Baptistry. Its use of green and white marble is reminiscent of San Miniato al Monte,

Sculpture: Later Middle Ages (1100-1400). Before the mid-thirteenth century, Florentine sculptors drew their inspiration from the Romanesque tradition. Between 1250 and 1350, however, four prominent artists revolutionized Tuscan sculpture, and with it Florentine sculpture: Nicola Pisano (fl. 1258–1278), his son Giovanni Pisano (c. 1250-1314), Arnolfo di Cambio, and Andrea Pisano. In sculpture, as in painting, the human form became more naturalistic, and artists developed the ability to tell compelling stories through design, or composition. Nicola, Giovanni, Arnolfo, and Andrea used this heightened naturalism to explore the subtle complexity of human

psychology; influenced by classical examples and by the northern European Gothic style, they broke with many stylized conventions of Romanesque sculpture. Whereas the dominant innovations in painting began in Florence, this revolution in sculpture was associated with Pisa. Of these four artists, only two—Arnolfo di Cambio and Andrea Pisano—worked for any significant time in Florence.

Nicola Pisano came from southern Italy, and he probably worked in the court of Frederick II. The major works associated with him and his workshop—the pulpits in the Baptistery in Pisa (c. 1260) and the cathedral of Siena (c. 1265-1268)—reveal classical and Gothic influences. Most of the known work of Giovanni Pisano, who was more influenced by the Gothic, was done in Siena (the facade of the cathedral), Pistoia (the pulpit of Sant' Andrea, 1301), and Pisa (the cathedral pulpit). Arnolfo di Cambio was an associate of Nicola Pisano and probably worked extensively in Rome for ecclesiastical patrons before moving to Florence sometime after 1280. In Florence during the first decade of the fourteenth century, he completed several figures for the facade of the new cathedral, which was then under construction. These include a Santa Reparata (no later than 1310) and a Virgin and Child; both are splendid examples of his naturalism, which was strongly influenced by classical art. Arnolfo was also an accomplished architect whose basic design for the new cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore produced the building we see today.

In 1330, Andrea Pisano accepted a commission from the Arte della Calimala (the cloth finishers' guild) for sculptural reliefs of the life of Saint John the Baptist for the south door of the Baptistery of Florence; he completed the work in 1336. His twenty-eight panels are sculptural counterparts of Giotto's frescoes. The reliefs present scenes in the life of the saint that are compositionally coherent and gracefully naturalistic; the bottom eight panels portray the virtues.

Painting. Before the twelfth century Florentine painters were priests, and the dominant artistic influence was undoubtedly Byzantine. A few examples of painting—especially miniatures—survive from this period. Several eleventh-century psalters are extant, such as one commissioned by Abbot Giovanni of the monastery of San Michele in Marturi (between Florence and Siena). In Santa Trinita there is an early eleventh-century crucifix associated with Giovanni Gualberto, the

founder of the monastery of Vallombrosa.

In the twelfth century, the sources first mention laymen as painters. During this century and the thirteenth, the Italo-Byzantine style dominated Tuscan painting. Very little painting remains from the thirteenth century, and even less from the twelfth; but the extant examples show that the dominant feature of the Italo-Byzantine style was otherworldliness: elongated figures, gold backgrounds, striated clothing, and almond-shaped eyes. This unique style probably came to Tuscany from the Norman courts of Sicily; and Pisa and Lucca became the centers from which it was diffused. As in architecture, before the mid-thirteenth century Florentine painters mainly imitated models from Pisa and Lucca.

At the end of the thirteenth century, however, there were startling innovations in Florentine painting, and Florentine artists took new directions. The reasons for these changes are complex. Florentine artists were influenced by new artistic developments in Rome (specifically those associated with Pietro Cavallini), by the continued presence of Byzantine artists in Tuscany, by a mendicant piety that stressed the suffering of Christ, and by the desires of wealthy lay patrons who wanted painting to show a world they could recognize and identify with.

The works of Coppo di Marcovaldo (fl. 1260s and 1270s) and Cimabue (fl. 1250-1300) are indicative of this new direction. Two of Coppo's masterpieces—a Crucifix, now in San Gimignano; and a mosaic image of Christ on the ceiling of the Baptistery in Florence—demonstrate clearly how far Florentine art had departed from the Pisan-Lucchese traditions. Many characteristics of the Italo-Byzantine tradition are still seen, but there are also new elements. In the Crucifix, perhaps influenced by the Franciscans' emphasis on the agonies of Christ, Coppo portrays a figure who is obviously suffering: Christ's head is tilted, his body sags on the cross, and his face evinces pain. The large mosaic figure of Christ (25 feet, or 7.5 meters, high) is part of a Last Judgment (also executed at the end of the century). Here, Christ is a powerful ruler and judge, dividing the dead into the blessed and the damned.

Cimabue, a Florentine artist who was also active in Rome, Assisi, and Pisa, developed the heritage of Coppo di Marcovaldo. Cimabue painted

an Enthroned Madonna and Child (now in the Uffizi) for the high altar of the church of Santa Trinita c. 1285. The complex magnificence of the throne focuses the attention of the viewer on the two central figures: the Madonna and the child whom she holds on her lap and gently embraces with her left arm. Cimabue's Crucifix in Santa Croce (c. 1285) is more naturalistic than Coppo's Crucifix in San Gimignano. Overall, Cimabue represents the end of the Italo-Byzantine tradition in Florence, but his experiments with spatial representation influenced Giotto.

In *Purgatory* (11.94-95), Dante declares that Giotto replaced Cimabue as the principal painter in the land. Giotto was born in the Mugello valley c. 1267 and is first documented in Florence in 1301. The wealthy Scrovegni family of Padua, who were bankers, commissioned his famous cycle of frescoes in the Arena Chapel there; it was completed after 1305 and is considered his masterpiece. With Giotto, the new naturalism reached its fullest development. His figures—for example, those in the Lamentation—are three-dimensional; they live in a recognizable world, and their gestures and expressions reveal emotion and feeling. Giotto was influenced by his predecessors, but he took the earlier developments in Florentine painting farther, exploring with more subtlety the complex nature of human psychology and emotions. His Ognissanti Madonna (c. 1310-1315), commissioned for the high altar of the church of that name, portrays a mother and child who seem three-dimensional and real. Most of the stylistic conventions of the Italo-Byzantine style (such as striated drapery) that were still present in the work of Cimabue have now disappeared. In the 1320s, Giotto completed several frescoes in the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels in Santa Croce, which was then still uncompleted. The Bardi and Peruzzi families— prominent Florentine bankers—had commissioned these frescoes both as a sign of their social status and as an expiation for their sins. The frescoes show scenes from the lives of Saint Francis (in the Bardi Chapel) and saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (in the Peruzzi Chapel). Compelling scenes such as the Death of Saint Francis demonstrate Giotto's genius for drama and storytelling; but emotionally, these frescoes are more restrained than those in the Arena Chapel.

Several of Giotto's followers carried his innovative style and visual revolution into the later fourteenth century. Among them were his

pupils Maso di Banco (who decorated the Bardi di Vernio Chapel in Santa Croce, c. 1340), Bernardo Daddi (fl. 1320-1348), and Taddeo Gaddi (fl. 1332-1366). Gaddi's masterpiece was the fresco decoration of the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce, in which he took Giotto's legacy along a more mystical and emotional path. Gaddi's Annunciation to the Shepherds (c. 1332-1338) is famous for its depiction of a night scene.

However, not all fourteenth-century Florentine painters followed Giotto's style. Early in the century, an independent tradition emerged in Florence, associated with the Master of Saint Cecilia (the painter of the Enthroned Saint Cecilia). This style was less dramatic and more decorative than Giotto's. During the second half of the fourteenth century—the years of the black death, financial and political crises, and a shift to fideism and mysticism in philosophy—some Florentine painters moved away from the naturalism of Giotto and his followers and turned back to the Italo-Byzantine tradition. The most important of these artists was the painter and sculptor Andrea di Cione, or Orcagna (fl. 1343-1368). His most impressive work, and the most representative example of these new trends, was the Strozzi Altarpiece, painted in 1354-1357 in the Strozzi Chapel of Santa Maria Novella. It has an otherworldly quality (for instance, Christ occupies no definable real space) that contrasts sharply with Giotto's Ognissanti Madonna, painted forty years earlier. Among other notable works by Orcagna are the tabernacle at Orsanmichele and a series of frescoes in Santa Croce on death, the last judgment, and hell. Orcagna was also instrumental in the design of the new cathedral and the completion of Orsanmichele. Another principal artist in this new trend after the black death was Andrea Bonaiuti, whose Triumph of the Church (1366-1368, in the Spanish chapel in Santa Maria Novella) exemplifies the heavy didacticism of the later *Trecento*.

No new developments emerged in Florentine painting in the last third of the fourteenth century. Artists such as the excellent draftsman Agnolo Gaddi (fl. 1369-1396, painter of the Legend of the True Cross in Santa Croce) were able to please their patrons by applying the multiplicity of styles and features that had been developed earlier in the century. Around 1375, artists again turned to Giotto as a model, setting the stage for the innovations of the early fifteenth century.

Literature and Thought: Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

Lyric poetry and allegory. As Florence became a prosperous and populous city, developed new political institutions, and took its place as a center of painting and sculpture during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it also produced the finest poets and writers in Italy. The troubadour poetry of Provence in the twelfth century focused on *fin'amor*, "love service" to a lady. Some of this poetry stressed an inherent conflict between worldly love service (love of a woman) and spiritual love service (love of God). This tradition spread to the court of Frederick II (r. 1215— 1250); from there, poets later disseminated it to central and northern Italy. Literary traditions from Sicily and Provence shaped the development of Florentine lyric poetry in the early thirteenth century, and there can be no doubt that the growing economic and political connections between Florence and southern Italy (particularly the Angevin kingdom of Naples) facilitated the arrival of this new literature in Florence. Commercial connections with southern France also brought new cultural influences.

Allegorical poetry first emerged in Florence in the mid-thirteenth century. *Detto del gatto lopesco* (144 lines), which is perhaps a parody, tells the story of a journey to the Holy Land that is impeded by worldly (as opposed to spiritual) love. Brunette Latini (1220-1294 or 1295) wrote the three-volume *Livres dou tresor* during his exile in France; he designed it as a collection of all knowledge, particularly in natural science, ethics (virtues and vices), rhetoric, and politics. Brunetto was a notary and was involved in the public life of his city, and he intended this work to serve as a manual for the ruling elite. Throughout it, his concern with rhetoric, so central to the administration of a commune, is a constant theme. Brunetto also composed, but did not complete, *Tesoretto*, a allegorical poem in 2,944 verses (heptasyllabic couplets). In the early fourteenth century, Francesco da Barberino wrote the vernacular prose allegories *Reggimento e costumi di donna* (offering guidelines for the behavior of women) and *Documenti d'amore* (describing the rules of love).

The emergence of the *popolo*, as well as cultural influences from Sicily and Provence, created conditions that facilitated the development

of a vernacular lyric tradition. Among the Florentines influenced by Provençal poetry was Chiaro Davanzati, who produced at least 120 sonnets and sixty *canzoni*. In the second half of the thirteenth century, Ciaccio de'Anguillara wrote a notable vernacular verse dialogue (*Una fermana iscoppai da Cascioli*) between a peasant girl and a man pursuing her. In *Purgatorio* (24.57) Dante mentions for the first time the *dolce stil nuovo*, or "sweet new style" of poetry. Three poets were associated with this tradition: the Boiognese judge Guido Guinizzelli (1230 or 1240-1276), Guido Cavalcanti (c. 1250-1300), and Dante himself. Dante described Guido Guinizzelli as the first illustrious poet of this vernacular style, surpassed, later, only by Cavalcanti and then Dante. A principal feature of the new style was a highly theologized concept of love. Dante's *Vita nuova*—the story of a beloved who leads the poet to salvation—is a culmination of this genre. Other major lyric poets of the fourteenth century are the comic poet Rustico di Filippo (died c. 1300), Antonio Pucci (d. 1388), and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375). Boccaccio modeled his *Amorosa visione* after Dante's *Commedia*.

Prose. By the end of the thirteenth century prose writers had abandoned Latin and were composing almost exclusively in the vernacular. *Cronica domestica* by Donato Velluti (1313–1370) describes the life of a Florentine family. The *Decameron* by Boccaccio, a hundred tales told by survivors of the black death outside the ravaged city, became one of the most important masterpieces of European vernacular prose literature. Franco Sacchetti (c. 1332-1400) also composed a famous collection of prose tales, *Trecentonovelle*, between 1392 and 1397. Only 223 of the 300 tales have survived, however.

Religious literature. The emergence of new traditions associated with lay piety and the mendicant orders brought about new types of religious literature. *Laude*, religious poems of praise usually sung in the new lay confraternities, began to appear in Florence in the early thirteenth century. The Dominican preacher Giordano da Pisa (1260–1311) gave more than 700 sermons in the vernacular between 1303 and 1307 and in 1309; one of his listeners wrote them down as they were being delivered.

Chronicles. The chronicles are among the main primary sources for the political history of medieval Florence, and they bear a strong imprint of the political ideals of the Florentine *popolo*. Ricordano

Malispini, a Gueff, wrote *Istoria fiorentina* after he was exiled following the battle of Montaperti in 1260. His nephew Giacotto took the history up to 1285. This work apparently influenced Dante, especially because it made a connection between ancient Rome and thirteenth-century Florence. Dino Compagni's vernacular chronicle, *Cronica delle cose occorrenti ne' tempi suoi*, written between 1310 and 1312, covered the history of the city between 1280 and 1312. Compagni analyzed the reasons for destructive factionalism in Florence, concluding that pride and avarice (especially in relation to the struggle to control offices in the city) had led to civil war at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. Giovanni Villani's *Nuova cronica* was also written in the vernacular. Villani worked for the company of the Peruzzi, in Rome in 1301 and in Bruges between 1302 and 1307. His work covered the era from the founding of the city to 1348, the year when the author died of the plague. Matteo Villani continued the chronicle from 1348 to 1363, and his son Filippo took it to 1364. Among the later fourteenth-century chronicles were those of Naddo da Montecatini (*Florentine Chronicle*, 1374-1397) and Marchionne di Coppo Stefani.

Education

Early Middle Ages (600-1100), Historians know more about education in Siena and Lucca before the fourteenth century than about education in Florence, since evidence regarding education in Florence is scattered. In Italy, as throughout Europe, education before the twelfth century was almost exclusively an ecclesiastical matter. Apparently, there were schools for the clergy at Arezzo and at Lucca in the eighth century. A Carolingian imperial assembly in 825 called for the establishment of schools for young clerics in eight Italian cities, including Florence, but there is no evidence that the school in Florence ever existed. Several Florentine monasteries were clearly centers of education of the clergy in the early Middle Ages. For example, in the eleventh century the abbot of Passignano commissioned the copying of several religious works. Vallombrosa seems to have had a monastic school (its students included lay children), and Settimo had a library that included works

from the ninth century. In the eleventh century the literate were clergymen, and the nobles often had to rely on the clergy for their official correspondence, as the illiterate noblewoman Ghisla dei Firidolfi mentions in a document from 1067. Lay *magistri* (teachers) first begin to appear in documents in the eleventh century—specifically, in 1021.

Later Middle Ages (1100–1400): Ecclesiastical schools. Until the end of the thirteenth century—which was a turning point in education in Florence, as in its economic, political, and cultural history—virtually all formal education took place in ecclesiastical schools. The fundamental aim of education in ecclesiastical schools was to prepare young men for careers in the church. In 1197, four of the twelve canons of the cathedral were *magistri*, and the term seems to have spread throughout the *contado* in the twelfth century. The cathedral school educated priests from at least the twelfth century on; there is a reference in 1186 to a "School of Saint John" (destroyed in the early fourteenth century). In 1203, the chapter forbade its canons to accept prebends in any school other than that of Florence. Churchmen handled virtually all primary education until the mid-thirteenth century; lay *magistri* do not appear in the documents until after 1275.

An Augustinian school at Santo Spirito became a *studium generale* of theology (similar to a graduate school) in 1287. The schools at Santa Croce (Franciscan) and Santa Maria Novella (Dominican) both date from the early thirteenth century. The *studium generale* of theology at Santa Croce certainly existed by the 1280s and would be placed in the intermediate rank of Franciscan schools in Europe (below the school at Paris, for example). The rebuilding of Santa Croce (begun in 1295) enhanced the prestige of the school, which was already well known for its Bonaventuran Neoplatonism. The Spiritual Franciscans Pietro Olivi and Ubertino da Casale taught there and probably influenced the young Dante. Modern scholars can identify at least forty-five manuscripts in the library of Santa Croce c. 1300 (surprisingly, however, the library contained very little classical literature). Remigio dei Girolami, who believed that all learning should be a preparation for the study of theology, was associated with the school at Santa Maria Novella and may have instructed Dante there in the study of Aristotle. In 1281, this school became a *studium theologiae*, in the intermediate rank of Dominican schools.

Later Middle Ages (1100-1400): Lay schools. In Italy, most ecclesiastical schools had disappeared by the fourteenth century, and this seems to have been true in Florence as well. At the same time as the emergence of the *popolo*, independent and communally supported lay schools developed in northern Italy to meet the growing political, administrative, and economic needs of the region. In Florence, unlike elsewhere in Italy, the commune exerted little control over its educational institutions and offered no subsidies for instruction in the fourteenth century. Education remained private, and there is no evidence that the commune hired any teachers. The earliest mention of a grammar teacher, a *magister Burgensis de grammatical* is found in a document of 1277. The first documented evidence of an independent grammar school dates from the end of the thirteenth century, when a *maestro* Gerard and his assistant agreed to share the income and expenses relating to a school. Grammar schools existed in Florence by the early fourteenth century. According to Giovanni Villani, these schools taught Latin to more than 500 students in 1338. Several well-known Florentines taught at the University of Bologna, which had been founded by the Bolognese commune at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. Among them were Accursius (c. 1182-c. 1263), who taught law; and Bene and Buoncompagno, who were grammarians. Most of the earliest humanists in Florence were notaries; they included Brunetto Latini, Francesco da Barberino, and Petrarco di Parenzo. Several of them owned private libraries. For example, Brunetto Latini apparently owned copies of the works of Sallust and Cicero.

Giovanni Villani, in Book 7 of his chronicle, provides some of the best information on education in early fourteenth-century Florence. According to his account, there were three types of schools: those in which boys and girls were learning to read, those in which the *abbaco* (business mathematics, i.e., applied mathematics and geometry to resolve practical problems in commerce and business) was taught, and those in which there was instruction in Latin and grammar. Children usually matriculated in an elementary school at age six and finished their course of instruction at eleven. At that point, parents had to choose whether to send their children to the *abbaco* school for two more years, or to grammar school for four or five years. Research has revealed increasing evidence that literacy in the vernacular was also a

significant subject of instruction. Villani reported that (out of a total population of 90,000) some 8,000 to 10,000 boys and girls were learning to read and write; 1,000 to 1,200 boys were learning the *abbaco*; and between 550 and 600 were studying grammar. Although some scholars have questioned the reliability of these figures, Villani seems to have been accurate; and if he was, Florence had a far larger percentage of students relative to overall population than any other commune in Italy. Girls rarely studied mathematics. Girls from well-to-do families probably learned to read and write from a *maestra*, but girls from a peasant or artisanal background probably learned only basic household management skills. According to Villani, six schools in Florence, primarily for boys, taught mathematics and the *abbaco*. The *abbaco* was one of the most important subjects studied in the fourteenth century, and many of the best teachers of this subject throughout Italy came originally from Florence.

Villani reports that Latin and logic were taught in four schools. This separation of schools according to subject matter— grammar and the *abbaco*—seems to have been unique to Florence. Buoncompagno da Signa (c. 1165—c. 1240), who taught at Bologna, reported that he studied Latin in Florence with a private teacher in the late twelfth century. Grammar and logic were regularly taught by the end of the thirteenth century, and by 1339 there were several large and well-known schools. Grammar students were of three types: non-Latinizing students who were just beginning their study; Latinizers, who studied authors such as Prosper of Aquitaine and Aesop; and "authors students," who were destined to go to the university and were ready to read classical authors such as Horace, Ovid, and Virgil. Surprisingly, advanced intensive study of the classics does not appear to have begun in Florence until late in the fourteenth century.

From the early fourteenth century on, there were also schools of rhetoric, where eloquence in classical languages and in the vernacular was taught. From the early decades of the thirteenth century, many of the most famous teachers of *ars dictaminis*, or rhetoric, had been Florentines (such as Buoncompagno) who taught in Bologna or Arezzo. Instruction in law dates from before the twelfth century and probably continued without interruption thereafter. The education of notaries, who were vital to the administrative life of the city, certainly existed in

the early thirteenth century. After 1250, it was increasingly regulated by the communes throughout Italy, including Florence. By 1334, a prospective notary had to pass three examinations in areas such as Latin grammar and forms of contracts.

Recent scholarship has found that the fourteenth century did not mark a rupture with educational and intellectual traditions. Indeed, there was more continuity than discontinuity between the humanism that emerged at the end of the fourteenth century and the previous traditions of medieval education. Intellectual and cultural influences from the north, as well as a vibrant tradition in Florence of reading ancient authors in the vernacular, help to explain why Florence emerged c. 1400 as a center of Italian humanism.

Set also Adimari Family; Albizzi Family; Antonio Pucci; Bardi Family; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Brunetto Latini; Buondelmonti Family; Cavalcanti Family; Cavalcanti, Guido; Cerchi Family; Charitable Institutions; Charles I of Anjou; Charles of Valois; Chiaro Davanzati; Chronicles; Cimabue; Ciompi; Compiuta Donzella di Firenze; Dante Alighieri; Donati Family; Education; Farinata degli Uberti; Fiesole; Ghibelline; Giotto di Bondone; Guelfs; Guilds; Hugo, Marquis of Tuscany; Matilda, Contess of Tuscany; Nardo di Cione; Orcagna, Andrea di Cione; Ordinances of Justice; Peruzzi Family; Petrarca, Francesco; Pisano, Andrea; Pisano, Nicola; Por tinari Family; Rustico Filippi; Sacchetti, Franco; Salimbeni Family; Ubaldini Family; Uberti Family; Villani, Filippo; Villani, Giovanni; Villani, Matteo; Walter of Brienne

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Florin

See Coins and Mints

Flos Medicinae

Flos medicinae (*Flower of Medicine*) or *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum* (*Salernitan Regimen of Health*) is perhaps the most famous surviving text associated with the school of Salerno. It consists of a series of Leonine hexameters, usually in Latin (although vernacular translations were also popular). Several thousand hexameters were collected by De Renzi (1852). These offer simple advice on how to live well, and they may have been intended for easy memorization. Any actual association with the school of Salerno must, however, be regarded as spurious. The verses probably date from the twelfth century through the fourteenth, and their authorship is unknown.

See also Medicine

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Folgòre Da San Gimignano

Folgòre da San Gimignano (Giacomo di Michele, 1265 or 1275-before 1332) is considered the most elegant and nuanced of the comic poets and is known for his idealized depictions of courtly life. Folgòre, his nickname, means "splendor" or "radiance"—an apt name for a poetic dazzler. Not much is known about his life other than that he was a member of the nobility and served in the Guelph army during the campaign against Pistoia. His literary activity took place mainly in the second decade of the fourteenth century.

Folgòre wrote thirty-two sonnets: fourteen make up *Corona dei mesi* (*Garland of the Months*); eight make up *Corona della settimana* (*Garland of the Days of the Week*); five are part of the incomplete *Corona del cavaliere* (*Garland of the Knight*); four are political; and one laments the demise of courtly customs (*cor-tesia*). In addition, two sonnets of dubious attribution are found in manuscript Vaticano Barberino Latino 3953: *Amico caro, non forisce ogni erba* and *Quando la voglia segnoreggia tanto*.

The three *corone* (sonnet cycles) exhibit Folgore's love of an affluent, genteel lifestyle. They project a vision of an ideal world rather than a nostalgic evocation of the past. The best-known is *Corona dei mesi*, which recounts the activities of a group of friends, a *brigata*, during different months of the year. Modeled on the Provençal *plazer*, the sonnets bombard the reader with catalogs of beautiful objects, pleasurable activities, rich foods, and wines. The introductory sonnet, *A la brigata nobele e cortese*, describes the brigade in chivalric terms, alluding to Camelot and heroes such as Lancelot. Among the activities

described are hunting (in February), fishing (March), jousting (May), and falconry (September). During extremes of hot and cold weather (in January, July, August, November, December) the brigade turns to indoor activities. The affluence and largesse of the brigade are a recurring theme. Avarice, the opposite of courtliness, is mentioned (in September) as if it were the gravest sin, and the brigade (in December) disparages those who have no money to spend. In March, the ideal city is pictured with no churches, monasteries or "crazy priests who tell too many lies and little truth" (*i preti pazzi/c hanno troppe bugie e poco vero*), revealing a keenly felt anticlericalism on the part of Folgòre's brigade. Folgòre's courtly, aristocratic view of life provoked a thirteen-sonnet parody of *Corona dei mesi* by the *giullare* (jongleur) Cenne da la Chitarra, who depicts a quarrelsome, penniless brigade buffeted by poverty and exposure to the elements.

In the four political sonnets Folgòre shows himself to be an ardent Guelf. Particularly powerful is *Eo non ti lodo, Dio, e non ti adoro* (*I do not praise you, God, nor do I worship you*), articulated as an "antiprayer," in which he criticizes God for letting the Guelfs suffer and the Ghibellines triumph over them. In *Cortesia cortesia cortesia chiamo*, Folgòre bemoans the lack of courtly ideals in contemporary society and the triumph of avarice, thus providing evidence that the world evoked in his *corone* is pure fantasy.

See also Cenne da la Chitarra; Italian Poetry; Comic

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Foligno

Foligno (in Latin, Fulgina), a city in Umbria, is situated on Via Flaminia near the routes that lead to Terni, Spoleto, and Perugia. By virtue of its location, it was exposed to frequent devastation. In the later Middle Ages, it was contested by Guelf and Ghibelline factions; in 1305, the Guelf Trinci family predominated over the Ghibelline Anastasi family. The Trinci remained in power for a century and a half, until Pope Eugenius IV had them suppressed and annexed Foligno to the papal state. Foligno holds an important place in the history of the printing industry in Italy, for it was there, on 11 April 1472, that the first edition of Dante's *Divine Comedy* was printed by Johann Numeister with the help of Evangelista Angelini da Trevi. Before this, early editions of works by Leonardo Bruni (*De bello italico*) and Cicero (*Epistolae ad familiares*) had been published in Foligno.

Saint Angela da Foligno was born in the city in 1248; and Federico Frezzi, the author of *Quadriregio*, served as its bishop in 1404. The cathedral, dedicated to San Feliciano, has a fine Romanesque facade on the north side; it dates from 1133 but underwent major reconstructions

from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Other early churches include Santa Maria Infraportas (in the Romanesque style, eleventh-twelfth centuries) and the deconsecrated San Domenico (1251), each with an impressive belltower. The Palazzo Comunale was built in the thirteenth century but was completely redesigned and rebuilt in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The palace of the Trinci family, begun in 1389, has a fine courtyard with Gothic staircases and windows.

See also Angela da Foligno, Saint; Dante Alighieri; Frezzi, Federico; Papal States

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Folquet De Marsilha

Folquet de Marsilha (d. 1231), the son of a rich Genoese merchant established in Marseilles, is attested to in a document of 1178. In *Trionfo d'amore* (4, verses 49-50), Petrarch writes of *Folco, que' ch'a Marsilia il nome à dato/ed a Genova tolto*: "Folquet, who gave glory to

Marseilles and deprived Genoa of it." Folquet made a name for himself as a troubadour; but since he was, like his father, a rich merchant, he did not visit the courts. In 1195, Folquet and his family entered the Cistercian abbey of Le Thoronet, where he became abbot in 1199. From 1205 until his death, he was bishop of Toulouse, violently persecuting the Cathars, even after having been driven out of his episcopal see into exile. On behalf of the Albigensian crusade he undertook three diplomatic missions to northern France and helped found the Dominican order.

Folquet was a master in the technique of composition and was experienced in dialectic, producing learned poetry that dealt with love in the abstract. Nineteen poems are definitely attributed to him, including two crusade songs and a *planh* (lament) about the death of his lord, Barral de Baux.

Dante, in *De vulgari eloquentia* (2.vi.6), quotes one of Folquet's love poems (*Tan m abelis*) as an example of excellent form. In the *Divina commedia* he places Folquet, as the only troubadour in *Paradiso* (9.64-108), in the heaven of Venus among the *spiriti amanti*, calling him (verse 69) *Qual fin balasso in cbe lo sol percuota*, "that fine ruby struck by the sun." However, remembering Folquet's calls for a crusade to the Holy Land and to Spain, Dante also makes him criticize the neglect into which the cause of the Holy Sepulchre fell, as well as the pseudoscientific preoccupations of the contemporary clergy.

See also Cathars; Crusades; Dante Alighieri; Petrarca, Francesco

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Forlì

Forlì (in Latin, Forum Livii) is situated in the Emilia-Romagna plain, near the Montone, Ronco, Uniti, and Savio rivers. The area around Forlì is a prehistoric site with artifacts from the bronze and iron ages. The site of the city was founded by a Gallic-speaking people in the second century B.C., but shortly thereafter it was conquered by the Romans, who made the town the capital of the province. Remnants of Forlì's Roman past survive in the form of baths, pottery workshops, and artworks.

In the early medieval period, Forlì was part of the exarchate of Ravenna, but in 1058 it defeated Ravenna in battle and became a free commune, which was, however, identified with the Ghibelline party. During the twelfth century, the city vied with Faenza for domination of the province, as well as with Venice, Bologna, Florence, and the papacy. Forlì had a hand in the victory of Emperor Frederick II over Faenza in 1241, and it maintained its fierce Ghibelline stance after the emperor died in 1250. Forlì participated in two other especially notable victories. In 1275, the combined armies of Forlì and other Ghibellines from Romagna, under the command of Guido da Montefeltro, defeated Bologna and Malatesta da Verucchio at the Procolo bridge. In 1282, the people of Forlì broke a siege of their city and, again led by Guido da Montefeltro, defeated French and Guelf troops that were commanded by Giovanni d'Appia, Pope Martin IV's representative in Romagna. In this battle, the French army was massacred; Dante describes the

carnage as a *sanguinoso mucchio*, "bloody pile" (*Inferno*, 27.44). It was during this period that the strife between the Orgogliosi and Ordelaffi families began. In 1315, the Ordelaffi became the lords of Forlì; their reign would endure for about 200 years, but not without some interruptions in which rule shifted either to the church or to a free republic.

Forlì has a large central square on which the principle monuments face, most notably the twelfth-century Romanesque church of San Mercuriale. When this church was founded, in the fourth or fifth century, the original basilica—which perhaps served as the cathedral—was dedicated to Saint Stephen. However, in the seventh century the body of Saint Mercuriale, the first bishop of Forlì, was translated here, and the church was rededicated in his honor. In 1173, the original basilica was destroyed by a fire that also consumed a large part of the city; the current twelfth-century edifice was constructed on the site. In the lunette of the central portal is a well-preserved sculpture, *The Dream and Adoration of the Magi*, by a follower of Benedetto Antelami. The floor of San Mercuriale is decorated with mosaics dating from the fourteenth century; the campanile was designed by Francesco Deddi (1178-1180). In 720, the seat of the bishop was moved from San Mercuriale to Santa Croce, whose current edifice dates from the twelfth century but has undergone many transformations since then. A large part of Santa Croce was made over in the fifteenth century, and the facade and nave were completely rebuilt in 1841. Also of interest is the Romanesque church of Santa Maria dei Servi, founded in the last quarter of the twelfth century and rebuilt in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

See also Antelami, Benedetto; Exarchate of Ravenna; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Guido da Montefeltro; Martin IV, Pope



Church of San Mercuriale, Forlì. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

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Formosus, Pope

Pope Formosus (c. 816-896, r. 891-896) was noted for his piety and learning. Formosus was made bishop of Porto by Nicholas I. In 866, he led a sensitive legation to Bulgaria, where King Boris was so impressed that he asked Formosus to become the Bulgarian archbishop. Recalled promptly to Rome (perhaps in disgrace), Formosus embraced anti-Byzantine policies. In 876, Pope John VIII condemned him for canonical and political faults (including ambition), and Formosus retired to Gaul. He was gradually rehabilitated, however; and at the time when he became pope he was once again bishop of Porto. Formosus favored the German cause in Italy and thus earned the enmity of the pro-Gaulish house of Spoleto. Nine months after his death (in April 896) Pope Stephen VI, at the instigation of the Spoletans, exhumed Formosus's body and tried it in the Lateran for abandoning the see of Porto. Formosus's answers were unsatisfactory, and the body was condemned, stripped, ritually mutilated, and then tossed into the Tiber (perhaps in February 897). For years thereafter, Formosus aroused strong feelings; successive popes denounced or upheld the macabre trial.

Liber pontificalis provides little information on Formosus's pontificate, but more on his career under earlier popes. Anastasius gives a positive view of Formosus's personality in a Latin *Vita* of Saint John Calybite. John VIII's hostility is explained in a letter, and Formosus's own letters reflect his international concerns; for both, see Laehr (1928). Mansi records the condemnations under John VIII (1772, pp. 306-308, 346-358); councils held during Formosus's pontificate, with his letters (1773, 101-129); and the synod of 904 rehabilitating Formosus (1773, 221-227). Chronicles covering the issue of Formosus include the *Chronicon* of Reginus of Prum (Kurze 1890) and the *Antapodosis* of Liudprand of Cremona (ed. Pertz 1839). Pamphlets written by clerics whose ordination was called into question by the trial of 897 are an important source (Dummler 1866).

See also **Papacy**

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Fossanova, Abbey of

The abbey of Fossanova is situated south of Rome in the region of Lazio, near the town of Priverno. The abbey was founded by the Benedictines in the ninth century and dedicated to Saint Stephen. In 1134 or 1135, Pope Innocent II ceded the abbey to the Cistercians, whose first major project was make the area more healthful by draining the swampy land. They accomplished this by digging a large channel or trench (*fosso*), and from this came the name of the abbey: *fossanova* means "new trench" or "new channel." The Cistercian monks, who

perhaps came from the mother house at Clairvaux in Burgundy, began the construction of the abbey between 1173 and 1187, and its architecture reflects the ascetic style associated with their order; in fact, it is the earliest and perhaps the most important example of Cistercian Gothic architecture in Italy. Pope Innocent III consecrated the abbey in 1208.

The plan of the monastery church is in the form of a Latin cross. The austere style of the Cistercians is evident in the simple facade, which has a portal decorated with Cosmati work and a great rose window in the upper story. The well-lighted interior has a tall nave and two side aisles, divided by fourteen massive pilasters. Some poorly preserved fourteenth- and fifteenth-century frescoes remain in the choir and in the chapels to the left and right of the rectangular apse.

The buildings of the monastic complex, on the right-hand side of the church, are arranged around a rectangular cloister. On three sides the cloister is in the Romanesque style, but the fourth (south) side was rebuilt in fine Gothic forms (1280-1300). The refectory and chapter house are around the cloister; to the south of the monastery complex is an infirmary; to the east is a low porticoed building that served as the guest house. Saint Thomas Aquinas died in a room on the second floor of the guest house, on 7 or 9 March 1274, during his journey from Naples to the Council of Lyon.

See also **Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint; Monasticism; Thomas Aquinas, Saint**

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Francesco D'Accorso

Francesco d'Accorso (1225–1293) was the eldest son of Accursius and, like Accursius, was a professor of Roman law. In fact, Francesco studied under his famous father, the author of the ordinary gloss on the *Corpus iuris civilis*. Francesco taught at the university in his native city of Bologna from at least 1270 on. In 1274, he was recruited as a legal adviser by Edward I of England, who was then returning home from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. According to one authority (Panzirolo 1968), the Bolognese threatened to confiscate Francesco's property if he left the city, and so he attempted—unsuccessfully—to transfer his possessions to a friend who was in collusion with him. Francesco's eagerness to enter the king's employ and leave Bologna was probably due partly to a desire to avoid the factional struggles between the Bolognese Guelfs and Ghibellines. He was present at legal proceedings before the king at Limoges in May 1274, and reportedly participated in a disputation at the law faculty in Orléans the same year. A report that he also taught at the university of Toulouse probably pertains to this period, and it may represent merely a repetition of the event at Orleans, attributed to a different city. In any case, Francesco supposedly had to defend some argument against another professor, Jacques de Revigny, who was disguised as a student.

In England, Francesco was described as the king's *consiliarius*, *familiaris*, *secretarius*, and *clericus*. He served Edward in various diplomatic and legal capacities and attended meetings of the royal council, presumably to advise the councillors on legal matters. In 1274–1275, Francesco was one of the king's proctors at a *parlement* of Philip III of France in litigation against a rebel viscount, Gaston VII of Beam. In 1276, Edward commissioned Francesco to adjudicate a

complaint of extortion brought by Jews in Oxford against the local sheriff. Also in 1276, he attended the Michaelmas parliament. In 1278, Francesco acted as one of Edward's proctorial emissaries to the papal curia, where he petitioned unsuccessfully for the postulation of Robert Burnell (royal chancellor and bishop of Bath and Wells) to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

Francesco received considerable rewards from the king: an annual salary of 200 marks, the custody of the manor and castle of Dunster (May 1280), the manor of Martleigh (June 1280), a lifetime pension of forty marks per year (1281), and ultimately a severance payment of 400 marks. The grant of the messuage of Badelkyng by Andrew de Scaccario (May 1275) was perhaps another mark of royal favor. Perhaps Francesco taught civil law at Oxford, but there is no evidence of this. His only connections with Oxford were the royal commission regarding the Jews' complaint, and Edward's offer of the use of Beaumont Manor (the *aula regis*, or king's hall); it is uncertain for what purpose this offer was made. On one occasion Francesco petitioned for the king's favor; he asked Edward to pardon a fellow countryman, Simone Spinelli, for the commission of a homicide.

While Francesco was absent in England, he and his brothers—all associated with the Ghibellines—were condemned to banishment by a new government which had come to power in Bologna in June 1274 and which supported the papacy. In 1282, however, Francesco returned to Bologna, where he was allowed to resume his teaching post and to reclaim his confiscated property after swearing loyalty to Pope Martin IV and to the city's government. Shortly thereafter the Bolognese government passed an edict against the Ghibellines wherein Francesco was specifically exempted from any penalty. In 1286, his full return to public life was signaled by a formal repetition of his oath of loyalty before Bologna's ruling council.

At some point in his career Francesco taught law to Cino da Pistoia. There is an anecdote that Dino da Mugello once substituted for Francesco and had the temerity to criticize some detail in Accursius's ordinary gloss. On his return, Francesco, ever "the true and pious defender of his father's glosses" (according to Diplovatatus), learned of this and insisted on repeating the entire lecture in order to defend his father's teaching. Francesco's reputation as a legal scholar must rest for

the most part on his teaching, since few of his written works survive. Von Savigny (1834-1851) held that most of the writings attributed to Francesco were in fact by other authors. Francesco's most important scholarly work was a *Casus* or epitome of the *New Digest* which begins *Vlpianus iurisconsultus expositurus*; it is available in an early edition (Freiburg im Breisgau, c. 1494) and was included in the Paris edition of 1536 of the *Corpus iuris civilis*. Two *disputationes* by Francesco are still extant, and some *consilia* are attributed to him. Cino noted some of Francesco's opinions in his own works, but he was probably referring to matters heard in lectures, not to separate publications. The extant portion of Francesco's oration before Nicholas III (delivered in autumn 1278) has been edited by Haskins and Kantorowicz (1943).

A story in *Cento novelle antiche* tells of Francesco's proverbial avarice. On his return to Bologna, he was said to have claimed a share of the profits that his former students—now masters themselves—had earned during his absence, and to have supported his request by citing a right accorded in Roman law to absent fathers regarding their sons' property! Although this tale, if even partly genuine, probably recalls some jest, Francesco did find it necessary in 1291 to petition Nicholas IV for absolution from the sin of usury. It seems that both Francesco and his father had lent money to students at interest and had received bribes from students.

Francesco had two wives, Aichina Guezzi and Remgarda di Papazzone Aldighieri. Aichina Guezzi probably joined him for some part of his sojourn in England, because Edward sent her an invitation to do so at royal expense. Nonetheless, Dante immortalized Francesco in the *Commedia* (*Inferno*, 15.110) by placing him in the seventh circle of hell among the sodomites. No other text suggesting this character trait exists. Kay (1978) suggests that Dante did not mean this charge in a literal sense but rather was holding Francesco guilty of "unnatural" opinions: a denial of world rule by the Roman emperor and an exaltation— as evidenced by Francesco's oration—of papal jurisdiction independent of the emperor.

When Francesco died, he was buried next to his father in Bologna. It is said that the two shared an epitaph: *Seplchrvn Acvrsi Glosatoris Legvm Francisci Eivs Filii*, "The tomb of Accursius, glossator of the law, and Francis his son."

See also Accursius; Canon Law Collections and Ordinary Glosses;
Cino da Pistoia; Law: Canon

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Francesco Da Barberino

Francesco di Neri di Ranuccio (Francesco da Barberino, 1264-1348) was a notary, doctor of law, and poet. (He was not related to the illustrious Barberini family.) Francesco was born in Barberino in Val d'Elsa, near Florence. After completing his early education in Florence, he studied at the prestigious University of Bologna to become a notary. He worked in the chancery of the bishop of Florence as a notary from 1297 to 1303—years that were important to his philosophical and literary development.

Francesco's life has some parallels with that of his contemporary, Dante. Francesco was forced to leave his *patria* for political reasons. He sojourned at Padova, Treviso, and Venice. Because of his professional standing, he had access to important cultural and political centers: he traveled to the courts of Pope Clement V in Avignon (as Venetian ambassador), Philip the Fair in France, and King Louis of Navarre. Like Dante, he had great hopes for the coronation of Henry VII, to whom he addressed a Latin epistle. Unlike Dante, however, Francesco eventually returned to Florence. He earned a law degree in Florence in 1315 and practiced law there until his death. In 1322, Florence sent him on an embassy to Pisa.

Ser Francesco was a member of minor church orders. He had five children (Galazzo, Filippo, Antonio, Taddeo, and Raineri) by his first wife and a sixth with his second wife, Barna di Tanuccio Rinieri, whom he married c. 1314. He died in Florence during the black plague of 1348 and was buried in Santa Croce. Because of his civic and legal service, he is remembered favorably in the writings of Filippo Villani and Giovanni Boccaccio.

Francesco's literary production includes miscellaneous rhymes to his lady, Costanza (many of which are lost); *Flores novellarum* (also lost),

which was probably a collection of narrative tales from Provence; *I documenti d'Amore* (Lessons about Love)-, and *Reggimento e costumi di donna* (Rules on Good Behavior for Women). His fame rests on the two didactic treatises—*I documenti* and *Reggimento*. These were probably written during his years of exile: the second part *oil documenti* shows clear Provençal influences. The dates of composition have been much disputed, but *I documenti* was probably begun before 1309 and finished by 1315, and *Reggimento* was finished slightly later, surely by 1320. *I documenti* provides important intertextual clues for dating the composition of Dante's *Comedy*. *I documenti* and *Reggimento* complement and echo each other; *I documenti* is directed at ennobling male behavior, and *Reggimento*, as is clear from its title, is directed toward women. Both were written in the vernacular to be accessible to newly literate bourgeois readers and to serve, in effect, as manuals for admirable social behavior and elegant manners.

I documenti, which is more allegorical than *Reggimento*, is written in Italian verse accompanied by Francesco's own translation and glosses in Latin. Twelve female personifications (Docility, Industry, Patience, Hope, etc.) have here collected various moral and chivalrous precepts that Love dictated to Eloquence. Although the text lacks unity, it is rich in its citations of thirteenth and fourteenth-century literary works. These include works by many Provençal authors as well as minor Italian and French poets who are not known in any other surviving source. *Ser Francesco* also refers to well-known authors such as Dante, Brunetto Latini, Guido Guinizzelli, Guido Cavalcanti, and Dino Compagni,

Reggimento is an early courtesy book composed in a unique rhythmic prose and dedicated to the Madonna. It is less successful than *I documenti* as allegory but is more homogeneous, and it offers delicious glimpses of the domestic customs, behaviors, and interests of women of different ages and social strata. Its epigrammatic rules—sometimes pedantic but always perceptive—address problems such as prenatal care, childhood education, suffering and consolation, witty speech, and piety.

Like other early humanists, *Ser Francesco* was concerned with the physical appearance of his treatise on the page. He himself copied and decorated one manuscript of *I documenti*, and he supervised the

illumination of another exemplar and of an *Officiolo*.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri; Florence; Villani, Filippo

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Francesco Da Carrara

Francesco da Carrara (Francesco il Vecchio, 29 September 1325-6 October 1393) was a powerful ruler and a patron of the arts. In 1345, his father, Giacomo, became the *signore* of Padua, and for the next five years Francesco and his uncle Gia-comino assisted Giacomo in the government of the city. Gia-comino was assassinated in 1350, and Francesco and his uncle were then formally elected to the *signoria*; this election began Francesco's thirty-eight-year period of continuous rule.

Francesco was awarded the title *vicario imperiale* (like his father and the other *signori* of the Carrara family before him) and was made a knight of the empire by Emperor Charles IV in 1354. However, Giacomino became envious of his nephew's military power and plotted to kill him; Francesco learned of this plan and had his uncle arrested and imprisoned. In 1355, Ludwig of Hungary invaded the Venetian territories, and Francesco attempted to gain protection from Venice for his own threatened possessions. Venice was not amenable to this, and so Francesco allied himself with Ludwig against Venice, thereby breaking a traditional link between the political interests of Padua and Venice. The Venetian republic, threatened by Francesco's expansionist policies, became more hostile to Padua, and this increased tension was to lead to several wars in subsequent years.

The first of these wars began in 1372; a year later, Francesco was betrayed by his stepbrothers Marsilio and Nicola and was forced to accept a humiliating peace treaty, which included the payment of a huge indemnity of 280,000 ducats to Venice. After this, Francesco became obsessed with taking revenge on the Venetian republic, and further wars occurred in 1378 and 1386. The war of 1386 led to Francesco's downfall, as Venice concluded a treaty with his former ally,

Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan. The Paduan territories were divided between Milan and Venice, and Francesco abdicated the *signoria* in favor of his son, Francesco Novello, on 29 June 1388. The elder Francesco was then arrested and imprisoned successively in Verona, in Como, and in Monza, where he died.

Apart from his bellicose adventures, Francesco is also remembered for his patronage of and friendships with prominent Paduan intellectuals of his day, such as Giovanni Dondi dell'Orologio and Petrarch. Petrarch held his patron in high esteem: he dedicated *De viris illustribus* to Francesco, and when he died in 1374 he bequeathed to Francesco a painting of the Virgin by Giotto.

See also **Dondi dell'Orologio, Giovanni; Padua; Petrarca, Francesco**

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Francesco Di Vannozzo

The poet Francesco di Vannozzo (c. 1340-after 1389) was born in Padua to a family of wool merchants originally from Arezzo. He was forced to leave his native city in 1363, perhaps because of disagreements with Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, the lord of Padua. He then went first to the court of Cansignorio Delia Scala in Verona (for the wedding of Cansignorio and Agnese di Durazzo); from there, at some unspecified time, he began his pilgrimage as an itinerant poet and jongleur among numerous cities and courts in northern Italy. The few extant documents attest to his return to Padua in 1371, his presence in Venice in 1372, and

his sojourn in Verona in 1375. However, on the death of Cansignorio Delia Scala he returned to the court of Francesco da Carrara at Padua. Francesco may have studied for two years (1377-1378) at the *studium* in Bologna. In 1379, he was back in Padua. There, demonstrating his sensitivity to the political climate in the region, he won favor with the lord of Padua by writing a vituperative poem, a *frottola*—*Perdonime ciascun s'io troppo parlo* ("May everyone pardon me if I speak too much")—in which he inveighs against the Venetian republic, then engaged in war with Padua and its Genoese allies over Chioggia (1378-1381) and over control of the Adriatic coastline. A year later, though, Francesco went over to the Venetian side in this conflict with Padua. His new political position may be observed in his *frottola* *Se Die m'aide, a le vagnele, compar* ("Unless God, in the name of the Gospels, helps me, friend"), where he praises the Venetians for retaking a particular castle (the *castello* delle Bebbe) in 1380 and deplors Francesco da Carrara's treachery.

From 1381 to 1387, Francesco was again in Verona, and it was there that he became acquainted with the poet Gidino da Sommacampagna, with whom he exchanged several sonnets. Once again, however, he was forced to return, briefly, to Padua, because of political changes (Antonio Delia Scala and the Scaligeri family in general fell from power in 1387 following defeats at the hands of Padua and the Visconti). In 1388, the Carrara family had to abandon Padua after their loss to the Venetians in alliance with the Visconti family of Milan; but Francesco di Vannozzo had curried favor with Gian Galeazzo Visconti by writing a cycle of eight sonnets in his honor, *Cantilena pro Comite Virtutum* {*Song for the Count of Virtue*}, in which personifications of Italy and seven Italian cities (Padua, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, Florence, Rimini, and Rome) pay homage to the Visconti. In addition to his *canzone* on the heraldic crest of the Visconti family (*Pascolando mia mente aldolceprato*), Francesco's *corona di sonetti* gained him a place in the Milanese court. After he went to Milan in 1389, no more is known about his life.

Francesco di Vannozzo's substantial poetic production—consisting of five *canzoni*, four *frottole*, four *ballate*, two madrigals, and 153 sonnets—represents a variety of styles and subjects. His language is a mixture of his native Tuscan and his adopted Paduan, with many dialectal colorations from other northern cities and regions (Venice, Lombardy),

as well as from Occitan and Old French. His poetry is pervaded by proverbs and other popular colloquial expressions. Evidence of his poetic experimentation may be found in the new words he coined; the pluri lingual sonnets he composed; and the *rime composte* (composite rhymes), *traductio* (equivocal rhymes), and acrostics he embedded in his lyrics. Many of his sonnets were written as parts of *tenzont*, and he corresponded with a number of poets, including Gidino, Pietro Montanaro, and Petrarch (who, it seems, never replied). As an itinerant court poet, he often composed lyrics about the difficulties (financial, personal, and ideological) that such a life entailed. He complains, for example, of his attraction to the tavern, to gambling, and to other pleasures of the flesh; and in these complaints he shows himself to be a kindred spirit of two other fourteenth-century poets: Antonio Beccari da Ferrara and Simone Serdini. Francesco also took motifs from the aulic (courtly) tradition and gave them a realistic twist; for example, in the sonnet *Sia benedetto el vespro e 7 predicare* ("May vespers and the sermon be blessed"), he describes his lady fast asleep in church, thus subtly parodying both the style and the subject of some of Petrarch's lyrics. Francesco's *canzone Correndo del Signor mille e trecento* ("In the year one thousand three hundred"), which belongs to the category of poems treating the desolate state of the world, provides an ironic view of sociopolitical conditions in 1374.

Francesco was also a musician, playing both harp and lute. In a series of seven sonnets—beginning with *Liuto mio, deb, quanto pianger degio* ("Lute of mine, how much must I weep")—he presents a dialogue between these two instruments, in which the lute laments the fact that it has been abandoned in favor of the harp. Scholars have found many political references and perhaps even a few autobiographical or quasi-autobiographical elements in his lyrics: for example, the name of his wife Orsolina (*Orsa*) in a sonnet lamenting the fact that "cruel Death" (*despiatata Morte*) has carried her off: *Si come franco e pronto lion forte* ("Just as a bold lion quick and strong"). The variety present in Francesco's lyric corpus makes him one of the more interesting poets of late fourteenth-century Italy.

See also Antonio Beccari da Ferrara; Delia Scala Family; Gidino da Sommacampagna; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Padua;

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Francis of Assisi

Saint Francis of Assisi (Francesco di Pietro di Bernardone, 1181 or 1182-1226) was a religious reformer and the founder of the Franciscan order and the Poor Clares.

By some estimates, more books have been written about Francis of

Assisi than about any other person who ever lived. In the twentieth century, for instance, he was the subject not only of historical and religious works but also of literary fiction, movies, songs, and comic books. Nikos Kazantzakis wrote a novel about Francis, and W. E. B. DuBois once gave a commencement speech in which he urged the graduates to make Francis their model. Hermann Hesse and G. K. Chesterton wrote essays on Francis. Adolf Holl called Francis "the last Christian," and the theologian Leonardo Boff described him as the "model for human liberation." In the nineteenth century, to take just one example, Henry Thode (during the 1880s) described Francis as the initiator of the Renaissance.

There was nothing new in the attention given to Francis during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The artists who were called to Assisi in the century after his death to decorate his burial church are a who's who of Italian painting: they included, among many others, Giunta Pisano, Cimabue, Pietro Cavallini, Giotto, Simone Martini, and Pietro Lorenzetti. The name Francis was often given to boys, in Italy and beyond, during the fourteenth century. Dante devoted a canto of *Paradiso* to praising Francis. In short, Francis was an extraordinary man who has inspired people of very different ways of life and beliefs ever since he walked the roads of Italy in the early thirteenth century.

Francis was born in the small Umbrian town of Assisi, the son of a prosperous cloth merchant. Almost nothing is known for certain about his youth. Apparently, Francis was renowned for generosity, even for prodigality; and he clearly had an interest in chivalry and military affairs. When he was about twenty years old, he fought in a war between Assisi and its hated neighbor, Perugia. Assisi was defeated, and Francis spent some time as a prisoner of war. Later, he planned to enter the service of Walter of Brienne in Apulia against the Hohenstaufen king and to make a name for himself as a knight. Francis also worked in his father's cloth business, of which he was to be the heir. Literally, Francis did not get very far in his military career—he turned around and returned to Assisi after traveling only a few miles—but he was learning the cloth business, and he enjoyed the social life of wealthy, popular youth.

When Francis was in his early twenties, he began to find solace in solitary prayer in the countryside around Assisi. Soon, he came to

believe that God wanted him to rebuild churches, both by providing supplies and by helping with the reconstruction. Thus far, Francis's father had indulged him, but a crisis came when Francis sold some of his father's cloth and offered the money to the priest of San Damiano, a church in need of repair. The family conflict became a public matter when the bishop was called on to decide between Francis and his father, and this was also the moment when Francis's life crystallized. Francis stripped himself naked before the bishop and returned every stitch of clothing to his father. He had chosen a new path in life, and there was no going back to his father; even after Francis came to be famous and revered, he and his father were never reconciled. Francis was to find a different kind of family and rely on a different kind of wealth.

Francis's dramatic conversion is often represented as a complete repudiation of everything he had been taught, and as a metamorphosis of his own personality and character. However, Saint Bonaventure (d. 1274), who may have been Francis's most sophisticated biographer, did not understand Francis's conversion in this way. According to Bonaventure, Francis remained as impetuous as always, and other elements of his character were altered rather than rooted out. Bonaventure describes Francis after his conversion as a great merchant because, like the merchant of the gospel, Francis had found the pearl of great price and singlemindedly sold everything to obtain it; and as a man seeking knighthood as a loyal soldier in the army of the great king, Christ. Bonaventure describes Francis's stigmata as the coat of arms of his new lord; in feudal terms, everyone could see, from the stigmata, exactly whose man Francis was.

After breaking with his family, Francis lived for a while as a hermit and continued to help rebuild churches. One of these churches, the Portiuncula (or Saint Mary of the Angels), later became his headquarters when he was in Assisi; this church remained his favorite place, and he insisted that he be allowed to return there to die. It was during a mass at the Portiuncula that Francis had the experience which changed the focus of his religious vocation: he heard the Gospel in which Jesus tells the apostles to take nothing with them on their journey. In cities like Assisi, possessions were taking an ever larger role in shaping people's lives and values; and Francis was struck by Jesus's

call to the apostles to do without them—even to do without necessities. This deeper poverty would become a cornerstone of Francis's way of life.



Bronze statues of Francis's parents, Assisi. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

In Francis's unlikely story, perhaps nothing is more surprising than the fact that he was soon joined by other young men from Assisi and its environs. Within about three years after he broke with his father, Francis had a new family of some dozen "brothers" who shared his work, his prayer, and his poverty; went begging with him; and with him exhorted all they met to repent.

Bishop Guido of Assisi, among others, was supportive of Francis and his brothers; but certain people were suspicious about these young laymen, who seemed to them very like the Cathars of Umbria and Tuscany—enemies of the Roman church. Therefore, probably at the urging of the bishop, Francis and his brothers went to Rome in 1209 or 1210 to seek the support of Pope Innocent III for their way of life. Another surprising part of Francis's story is that he was able to see the pope; even more surprising, or shocking, is that Innocent agreed to allow the brothers to live by a simple rule, consisting largely of scriptural passages, and to preach. But Innocent knew what he was doing. The Cathars and other heretical groups were attractive partly

because, unlike most of the leaders of the Roman church, they tried to live as Jesus and the apostles had lived, Francis and his band were, then, a potential counterforce; Innocent no doubt perceived that Francis combined a zeal for the apostolic life with a passionate loyalty to the church. Innocent must also have been affected by those qualities in Francis that made it difficult to say no to him. For example, Francis was incapable of duplicity; what he said was what he meant, and how he looked reflected what he really was.

Thus the Franciscan order was established and was given the task of preaching penance. In the next decade, the order grew from a small group of Umbrians into an international brotherhood. Just as Francis had attracted followers in and around *Assisi*, he now—personally or by repute—brought thousands to embrace a hard life of preaching, working, and begging. His words and his example spoke to many who found themselves conflicted and unfulfilled in a world where trade and personal wealth were growing alongside desperate poverty. With Francis as their model and guide, the Franciscans became a great new army of the church.

Not long after the meeting with Innocent III, an event as extraordinary as Francis's own conversion took place; as a result, the Franciscan order came to have sisters as well as brothers. A young aristocratic woman of Assisi named Clare left her family and joined Francis and his brothers at the Portiuncula, where Francis tonsured her and welcomed her into the band of poor people for Christ. It is worth noting that Clare was hardly a *tabula rasa* on which Francis wrote. She had an extraordinary mother who traveled as a pilgrim to Jerusalem, and the household in which Clare had been raised was devoted to prayer and apostolic work. Still, Francis gave Clare a focus for her religious concerns and desires. Clare soon went to San Damiano, one of the churches Francis had repaired, where she lived in a cloistered environment with other sisters; and she developed a spirituality and a way of life that constitute one of the grandest statements ever made about the Christian life. However, she always remained devoted to Francis and always turned to him for guidance and support.

When Francis first returned from Rome, he had no clear idea about exactly what he and his brothers would do—whether they would be essentially a contemplative order or would live "in the world." They

decided on an active life supported by both prayer and work; later, if not at this moment, they based their decision on the fact that Jesus had lived in the world. Thus Christ and the apostles were the models for the Franciscan order.

The Franciscan friars were poor not only as individuals but as an institution. In this regard, their order was quite different from traditional monasticism, in which the individual brothers owned nothing but the monastery itself was often quite rich. Francis had originally envisioned the friars as working for their food and other necessities, perhaps as transient laborers or farm workers. They would beg only if they were unable to provide necessities for themselves by manual labor. In no circumstances were they to accept money, because Francis was aware of the problems associated with it. First, money often made people act irrationally; they took a sensuous pleasure in counting coins and running their fingers through coins. Second, some people made the acquisition of money their goal in life. Third, saving money conduced to laziness: if a brother earned enough money for several days' worth of food, he might decide not to work during those days. More philosophically, when Francis stripped himself naked before the bishop, he had decided to forgo all security but God's; and it would be impossible to depend only on God if there was a possibility of accumulating wealth. Ultimately, Francis decided to reject in its entirety the money economy that was then developing in Italy.

Francis and his band covered great distances, working to support themselves and preaching to anyone who would listen (although unfortunately we do not have a single sermon of his). Since Francis and most of the brothers were not trained in theology, they focused on calling people to penance and on trying to reconcile people who were odds with one another. As regards penance, this early ministry was a difficult one, because many of the people to whom it was directed felt that they were already followers of Jesus: they had been baptized; they went to mass; they crossed themselves and prayed. But Francis felt that such people often took Christianity for granted, as a routine, whereas he wanted them to experience Christ and seek forgiveness more intensely. Francis was on fire with the love of Christ and wanted to spread the fire throughout the world. As regards reconciliation, Francis's profound desire may have arisen because he had seen so much

divisiveness—in his family, in his town, in the church, and between secular and ecclesiastical authorities. There is evidence that he helped bring peace in several divided cities, including Arezzo, Siena, Bologna, and Assisi itself. There is a popular story, probably apocryphal, that he worked out a peace agreement between the people of Gubbio and a wolf which had eaten several of their fellow citizens.

The story of the wolf of Gubbio is, of course, only one of many stories about Saint Francis and animals. One of the most famous concerns a sermon he preached to the birds at Bevagna, near Assisi. Francis did indeed love animals; he also loved plants and even rocks, regarding all of creation as his brothers and sisters. He reasoned that God created not just humans but everything that exists, and that therefore all things had a common parent and were all part of the same family, with God as the father. Francis tried to live that belief by treating everything with respect and reverence. He is the author of a great song, *Canticle of the Creatures*, in which he sings the praises of Brother Sun, Sister Moon, and his other siblings, including Sister Death.

It is easy to romanticize Francis's love of creation and think of him as a precursor of modern conservationists and people who hug trees. However, for Francis the love of creatures was always a consequence of the love of God and of a desire to experience God through God's creation. Bonaventure writes that "in beautiful things Francis saw beauty itself," and that for Francis God's works were like footprints one could follow in order to get closer to God. In theological terms, Francis had a sacramental understanding of creation.

In the years after Innocent III approved the "primitive rule," the Franciscan brotherhood underwent tremendous growth. Eventually, the order had to change because it was no longer simply a small band of brothers wandering the roads of Italy, working in the fields, sleeping in barns, and preaching on street corners. Francis himself had no real plans for this new order. He was intuitive rather than analytical, and his charismatic personality was not very well suited for the head of a large group of men, most of whom he did not know. Thus he asked the pope for a cardinal protector to be a guide and a liaison with the hierarchy, and he was fortunate in the appointment of Cardinal Ugolino (later Pope Gregory IX), an astute churchman who was deeply moved by and devoted to Francis.



Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, near Assisi. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.



(Ed. Alinari) N. 5300 a. 85001 Firenze. - Chiesa minore di S. Francesco.
S. Francesco, particolare dell'altare. La Madonna col Fanciullo (Cimabue)

Cimabue (1240-1302), *Saint Francis*. Detail of *Madonna and Child with Angels*, fresco, San Francesco, Assisi. Photo: © Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

However, even with Cardinal Ugolino to help him, Francis was not equipped to handle the tasks of the leader of an order. Not only was he frustrated; so were many of the newer friars who did not know him personally and had not experienced his powerful attraction. There were a number of legitimate concerns. For example, could the friars build permanent places to live? Could they have books?—and if so, would they not need money to buy books and places to keep them? As more priests joined the order, where were they to say the mass? How were they to obtain and keep the vestments and vessels necessary for

celebrating the sacraments? What was to happen to friars who had grown too old to live as transients? These were not the sort of questions with which Francis had much patience, and he became perplexed and deeply troubled by the growing complexity of his order. Toward the end of his life, there was already a distance between friars who saw a need for the order to evolve and change and those who regarded any change from the way Francis lived as a betrayal of their founder. Many of these problems were not resolved in Francis's lifetime or, for that matter, for long afterward.

The "primitive rule" that Innocent III approved was little more than a collection of passages from scripture, and we have no copy of it today. By 1221, Francis had composed a longer and more complex rule; but many friars did not approve of it, and it was never made the official rule of the order. Finally, in 1223, Pope Honorius III approved a rule, the *Regula bullata*, that remains to this day the rule for the Friars Minor (the actual name of the Franciscan order). Francis no doubt had help from Cardinal Ugolino in its composition, and Francis was always uncomfortable with some of the compromises it contained.

Early on, Francis had wanted to do missionary work outside the regions where Christianity was dominant; and in 1219 he went to the Holy Land and preached to the sultan, after having seen the army of the fifth crusade and predicted its failure. Apparently Francis impressed the sultan, though without converting him to Christianity. Francis's journey established missionary activities as a part of the work of the order; for several centuries, Francis's followers would be missionaries in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. (The city of Los Angeles, for example, is named for Saint Mary of the Angels—the Portiuncola—because Franciscan friars established a mission of that name there in the eighteenth century.)

As Francis became ill, and increasingly discouraged about the development of an order that already looked very different from the one he had founded, he spent more time in prayer and contemplation. But he never lost his zeal for bringing people to closer to Christ. For instance, for a special Christmas mass at Greccio, he placed a manger with an ox and an ass in the church. Francis wanted people not just to commemorate the birth of Christ but in some real way to experience it. As his first biographer said, "Out of Greccio he made a new Bethlehem."

In 1224, while he was on an extended retreat at La Verna, a mountain in southern Tuscany, Francis had a vision and received the stigmata, the five wounds of Christ. During the last two years of his life, he tried, with some success, to keep these wounds hidden, but news of them spread quickly after his death. People interpreted this "new and unheard-of miracle" in various ways. First, it was taken as evidence that Francis was a mystic, one who experienced union with God in some significant, albeit temporary, way while on earth. Second, God's "seal"—the stigmata—were said to signify that Francis's way of life, and by extension the life of the friars, was authentic and worthy of respect and imitation. Third, the stigmata were said to mean that Francis was more than just another holy man: he was a saint among saints and uniquely Christlike.

A little more than two years after receiving the stigmata, Francis died at the Portiuncula. He was buried in his former parish church, San Giorgio (which was later incorporated into Santa Chiara); and immediately people began to report that miracles of healing were taking place at his tomb. In July 1228, his old friend Cardinal Ugolino, now Pope Gregory IX, came to Assisi for the official proclamation of Francis's sainthood. Gregory also laid the cornerstone for a new burial church; by 1230, this new church was complete enough for the translation of Francis's body to it. From then to the present, millions of pilgrims have come there to venerate Saint Francis.

Francis was the founder of a new order and a man whose personal life became widely known. For many people, his spirituality, although rooted in tradition, nevertheless revolutionized the practice of Christianity. Francis focused on the humanity of Christ, teaching that to know Christ one must be with him both at the incarnation in Bethlehem (Greccio) and at the atonement on Calvary (La Verna). Whereas much of Christian practice in Francis's day had its origins in monasteries and the feudal aristocracy, Francis and his followers were active in cities, seeking to explain and practice the great truths of the faith in ways that would make sense to urban people. Francis, who started by rebuilding churches around Assisi, ultimately rebuilt the Roman Catholic church itself.

Francis wrote several works, the most famous being *Canticle of the Creatures* (or *Canticle of Brother Sun*). The most recent edition in

English of Francis's writings is *Francis of Assisi: The Saint* (1999), the first volume of *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*; as of 2002, two more volumes were projected, to include virtually all the thirteenth-century sources for the life of Francis. Until this work is completed, readers will still need to consult *Saint Francis of Assisi: Writings* (1973).

See also Assisi; Bevagna; Bonaventure, Saint; Cathars; Clare, Saint; Dante Alighieri; Franciscan Order; Gregory IX, Pope; Honorius III, Pope; Innocent III, Pope

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Franciscan Order

The Order of Friars Minor, commonly called the Franciscans after its founder, Saint Francis of Assisi, had its beginnings in the thirteenth century. In 1209 or 1210, a dozen young men from Assisi, who had been living together in poverty as penitents and working for their daily needs, sought and gained approval of their order from Pope Innocent III. The community had begun when several local men left their families and their material goods to follow Francis. Francis had put together a rule that consisted primarily of biblical quotations, and this

was the rule— called the "primitive rule"—that Innocent III approved orally.

As the order grew during the next decade or so, there were problems that Francis had not anticipated and was not prepared for. By 1217, it was necessary for the friars to come together for a general chapter. The "primitive rule" had been sufficient when there were only a few friars, but it did not work well when the order had grown to include thousands of men from many different parts of Europe. For example, Francis had allowed anyone to join his brotherhood merely by coming along with the brothers as they traveled around; and many of those who joined him in this way must have not lasted long. By contrast, the established orders of the church required a novitiate—a time of testing—after which a brother would take vows for life.

In 1219, Francis went to the Holy Land, and while he was away the crisis in his order intensified. When he returned to Italy, he wrote a long rule that was never officially approved, in part because many brothers were not prepared to live under it. With some help from the cardinal protector of the order, Ugolino (the future Pope Gregory IX), Francis prepared a rule which was formally approved in 1223 by Pope Honorius III; it is known as *Regula bullata*. Although this rule was a somewhat watered-down version of Francis's original vision for his order, it was strict about the basic principle of poverty, both individual and corporate.

The changes in the brotherhood, in some ways reflected in *Regula bullata*, made Francis uncomfortable with what he had created. As he neared death, he dictated a testament that he thought would be a guide for the friars, along with *Regula bullata*. However, four years after Francis's death Pope Gregory IX issued a bull stating clearly that only the *Regula bullata* was binding on the friars.

For the friars, the century after Francis's death was a time of turbulence. One issue was whether the order should be made up primarily of laymen—Francis himself had not been a priest— or whether it should seek out priests to become members and should prepare brothers for the priesthood. The outcome was that the Friars Minor became "clericalized," so that they were enabled not just to preach penance but also to hear confessions and grant absolution. Brother Elias, a friend of Francis and a controversial minister general,

was the last layman to head the order. Priests need a certain degree of stability and a certain amount of property in order to perform their duties; thus, inevitably, as a larger percentage of friars came to be priests, the character of the order was stabilized. This was a far cry from Francis's wandering band. By the mid-thirteenth century, Franciscan friars were being chosen as bishops, first in the mission field and later throughout western Europe. In 1288, Brother Jerome of Ascoli, a former minister general, was elected pope, taking the name Nicholas IV.

A second issue was education. The Dominican order had been founded at about the same time as the Friars Minor, and from the outset the Dominicans were dedicated to learning so that they could preach correct doctrine to heretics. Soon, the Franciscans were also recruiting at universities and were sending their best and brightest for a university education, especially to the University of Paris, the greatest center for the study of theology. The friars' entry into the universities led to two problems. First, it created tension between the secular clergy, who had traditionally controlled the universities, and the friars, who seemed to be upstarts trying to take over these institutions. Second, within the Friars Minor there were many who objected to this emphasis on book learning; they argued that Francis had not been a scholar. Around 1300, the Franciscan poet Jacopone da Todi wrote that "Paris has destroyed Assisi."

A third issue was poverty. Francis's insistence on collective as well as individual poverty became a burning question among the friars and between the order and the secular clergy. Within a few years of Francis's death, Pope Gregory IX, in the bull *Quo elongati*, had agreed to certain legal fictions by which the friars could have property (e.g., churches, books, and liturgical vessels) de facto without actually owning it. Over time, these fictions led to so much relaxation of Francis's ideas about poverty that no one could tell by looking that the friars were propertyless. Because of Francis's uncompromising views on poverty (in one early literary work about Francis, he marries Lady Poverty) and the changes that took place in the order after his death, this issue would be the primary focus of controversy within the order and in its relationship with the larger church for the rest of the thirteenth century and far beyond.

These three issues—clericalization, education, and poverty— had a

common foundation. Did being a Franciscan mean doing literally what Francis did? Or was it an evolving concept, responding to changes in the order and changes in the order's role within the church? Some friars—particularly some of Francis's colleagues who outlived him by many years—saw any change from the order's earliest days as a betrayal of Francis. But many others applauded change because it allowed them to participate in the "rebuilding" of the church in ways Francis had not considered.

In the 1250s, there were struggles between friars and the secular clergy at the University of Paris over certain academic privileges. In the "pamphlet war," accusations were made that the friars were heretics. Specifically, their understanding of Christ's poverty was challenged. More important, however, were claims that the friars had identified their place in the history of the church with certain prophecies of Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202), whose schemes of history and apocalyptic imagination were of doubtful orthodoxy in the eyes of many.

With all these issues unresolved, the scholar and mystic Bonaventure became the minister general (1257–1274). His efforts to deal with them earned him the title of second founder of the order. Before heading the order, Bonaventure had been involved in its struggle to maintain and expand its privileges at the University of Paris. Shortly after becoming minister general, he issued revised statutes of the order called the Constitutions of Narbonne. This step was vital because some conflicts within the order were in part due to a confusing collection of statutes that had been approved by various general chapters. Bonaventure also undertook the task of writing a new and authoritative *vita* (life) of Saint Francis; in 1263, he published his *Legenda maior* (or *The Life of Saint Francis*). Bonaventure himself certainly took a progressive view of the order and its mission, but he also understood the friars who rejected some of the changes he favored. Despite considerable tension, the order held together as long as Bonaventure was in charge.

Following Bonaventure's resignation as minister general shortly before his death in 1274, the Friars Minor had a less activist, less involved leadership. Furthermore, during the last part of the century the friars received uneven support from the popes; and the last people who had known Francis personally were dead before 1290. Not surprisingly, the final years of the century were tumultuous for the

brotherhood.

In 1279, Pope Nicholas III, in the bull *Exiit qui seminat*, defined the friars' poverty as consisting of "use without right"— i.e., the friars could use goods as long as someone else actually had the legal possession of those goods. Nicholas declared that the pope himself was in legal possession of all goods that the friars used.

By this time, there were groups of friars in the Marches of Ancona, Tuscany, and Provence who were prepared to fight for their right to be poor, whether this meant opposing the government of the order or the papal privileges that the friars had received. These men became known as the Spirituals, in contrast to the main body of friars, the Conventuals. (These terms refer to certain attitudes toward the order, not to clearly defined organizations.) The Spirituals included several men of great ability, such as Peter John Olivi, whose writings were often at the center of the ensuing controversy over poverty. Tension mounted, and when the hermit Pietro da Morrone was elected pope in 1294, taking the name Celestine V, the Spirituals recognized that they had a sympathetic ear in Rome. Celestine divided the Franciscan order, creating the Poor Hermits of Pope Celestine for the Spirituals and leaving the Conventuals as the order of Friars Minor.

When Pope Boniface VIII succeeded Celestine V less than a year later, he abolished the Poor Hermits of Pope Celestine; some of its members returned to the order of Friars Minor while others fled to Greece. However, the struggle to define the friars' way of life and the idea of poverty was far from over. After several conflicting acts by the successors of Boniface VIII, there was a confrontation during the pontificate of John XXII (1316— 1334). In 1318, the Inquisition burned four dissident friars at Marseille. In 1322, John issued a bull claiming that it was legal for one pope to alter his predecessors' decrees; thus, he was not bound by Nicholas III's *Exiit qui seminat* of 1279, which the Spirituals had been using in their cause. A year later, in *Cum inter nonnullos*, John stated that it was heretical to believe that Christ and the apostles had no right of possession and use of things. Within a few years, the minister general Michael of Cessna, who favored the Spirituals, was in a papal prison, and soon afterward he escaped and fled to the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Lewis of Bavaria. Although a Spiritual group known as the Fraticelli survived into the

fifteenth century, the history of the Friars Minor after 1328 is the history of the Conventuals.

For the great majority of Franciscans in the fourteenth century, life was quite different from that of the order's founders. Most were priests with a fair amount of education in scripture and theology. Many lived rather comfortably in quarters attached to their friaries. They ate better than many of those to whom they ministered and were dressed in simple but hardly tattered habits. By the end of the thirteenth century, some people were already remarking that the friars—unlike Francis—lived in comfort and stability. For example, Dante has a friar in hell comment that the Franciscan cord once was worn by men leaner than its present wearers (*Inferno* 27.93). During the fourteenth century—a period of tragic and confusing events such as the Babylonian captivity of the Papacy in Avignon, the Great Schism, and the black death—Franciscan friars sometimes came under scathing attacks for their timid and even corrupt way of life.

Some of the friars' critics were themselves Franciscans. In addition to the Fraticelli, who had continued to exist after their condemnation by John XXII, there were always some friars who tried more zealously than the established friaries to imitate Francis's life. Paoluccio de' Trinci established a small isolated friary in the Umbrian hills and obtained permission for himself and his brothers to adhere as closely as possible to the way Francis had lived. By the end of the fourteenth century, there were several friaries committed to what became known as "the Observance," although their relationship with the governing structures of the Franciscans was often strained.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, several extraordinary men who had either entered or transferred to Observant friaries became the leaders of reform within the order. The men who are considered the pillars of the Observant movement—Bernardino of Siena, John of Capistrano, James of the March, and Andrea of Sarteano—established it as the dynamic force of the Franciscans. Bernardino, an extraordinarily skilled preacher, was probably the most famous friar of his time; he, John, and James were eventually canonized.

During the second half of the fifteenth century, there were numerous attempts by friars of both groups, and by several popes, to find a way for the Observants and the Conventuals to function as one order.

However, despite meetings, detailed proposals for constitutional arrangements, and papal bulls, it proved impossible to find a *modus vivendi* between the two factions. In 1517, Pope Leo X granted the Observants the name Friars Minor, thus ultimately dividing the order into two completely different institutions.

Missionary work was always a part of the activity of the friars. The early Franciscans, including Francis himself, sought to bring Christianity to lands outside of Christendom. Francis journeyed to the Holy Land and preached to the sultan; and five friars were martyred in Morocco before Francis's death. By 1300, there was a friary in Beijing, and a few years later friars were martyred in India. Christopher Columbus was closely connected to the Franciscans, who were therefore the first priests to reach the new world; and the first bishop in the new world was a friar.

See also Assisi; Bonaventure, Saint; Boniface VIII, Pope; Celestine V, Pope; Dante Alighieri; Francis of Assisi; Gregory IX, Pope; Honorius III, Pope; Innocent III, Pope; John XXII, Pope; Nicholas III, Pope; Preachers and Preaching

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Franco-Italian: Language

As one of the early theorists, Dante Alighieri occupies an important place in the history of medieval concepts of the origin and evolution of human language. Polyglossia, linguistic mutation, and instability are central phenomena of postlapsarian language systems, whose endless diversity made human communication difficult except among the most closely bound communities, Dante sees both synchronic and diachronic diversity, initially in the three major world languages and subsequently in the three Latin-derived idioms he examines in *De vulgari eloquentia*. He identifies each by its word of affirmation: *si* in Italian, *oc* in Provençal, and *oil* in Northern French.

In the late *Duecento*, Dante saw each of these language systems as

related to the others but at the same time unique in specific traits: Italian and Provençal excelled in lyrical qualities and were ideal for the new secular love poetry; French excelled in its facility and beauty in rendering the prose tales of the Trojans, the Romans, and King Arthur; Italian claimed, as well, the particular privilege of closest proximity to Latin, the universal language of grammar. Other authors praised the beauty of the *langue d'oïl*: an anonymous Veronese claimed of French that *qi en premier l'aprent/ja n'i pora mais autrement/parler ne autre langue apprendre*—"He who first learns it will nevermore be able to speak otherwise, or to learn another language."

Debate continues as to the authorial intentionality of Franco-Italian polyglossia: i.e., whether such writers were able to apply "correct" French usage (still of course far from standardized) but consciously chose a dual-tiered idiom, or whether the Italian elements of morphology, syntax, and vocabulary were a result of simple incompetence. The unfortunate charge of "pathological hybridism," made by nineteenth-century and some twentieth-century scholars—the lack of any linguistic systemization—has been revealed as misguided in more recent studies. No reasonable claim of incompetence can be made in the case of Brunetto Latini, a master rhetorician and man of letters, who wrote his *Livres dou tresor* while he was in France, in French that he considered as proper as the still fluid dialects he encountered there; he wrote a much different and vastly abbreviated version, *Il tesoretto*, in Italian verse. Nor should we underestimate the linguistic abilities of the anonymous Paduan author of *L'entrée d'Espagne*, whose clerical erudition in Latin and French is constantly in evidence. While equal linguistic expertise may not be evident in some of the more than 100 Franco-Italian texts, authors with sufficient knowledge of both parent languages may have wished to combine the lyrical qualities of Italian with the relatively easy, pleasurable French. Given the quantity and variety of authors and texts, many of which remain unknown and unedited, one should avoid global judgments.

The term Franco-Italian fails to situate the idiom geographically. Problems of this kind remain unresolved; since the degree and level of intra- and intertextual standardization are difficult to assess, terms such as Franco-Venetian and Franco-Lombard are often used with reference to works where we can specify the major northern Italian dialect used.

Scribal idiosyncrasies present further difficulties. The French infrastructural plane, which is often linguistically datable to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially in the *chansons de geste*, is generally older than, and even archaic in relation to, the Italian suprastructure; the French is entered as a written language known to the *trovatore* or poet through inscribed texts, while the Italian is superimposed in the form of the spoken language of the individual's period, mid-*Duecento* to latter *Trecento*. In any case, Franco-Italian, surviving only for a short time before yielding to stronger peninsular Italian dialects, was conceived as a literary language initially used in the "importation" of French works. It is unlikely that Franco-Italian was ever used as a spoken language. There is thus a series of constant dialogic interactions for the philologist and linguist to contend with, although the reader with primarily literary interests able to comprehend Old French and *Trecento* Italian will have little difficulty with these texts.

See also Dante Alighieri; Franco-Italian: Literature; French Language in Italy

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(Offers a summary of many theses concerning the Franco-Italian language, particularly those of Renzi.)

Franco-Italian: Literature

Within the Veneto-Lombard region of the mid-*Duecento* to the latter *Trecento*, the literary phenomenon variously known as Franco-Venetian, Franco-Lombard, or, more broadly, Franco-Italian appeared in a corpus of more than 100 texts. These texts—the majority of which are *chansons de geste*, romances, romance epics, religious writing, and chronicles—testify to widespread Francophilia among the aristocracy and the thriving middle classes. The Franco-Italian corpus flourished within fairly specific geographical, chronological, literary, and linguistic boundaries before vanishing entirely, eclipsed by the forces of what we know today as Italian literature.

Authors as diverse as Brunetto Latini (*Li livres dou tresor*) and Rustichello da Pisa (rendering Marco Polo's travels into *Li divisament dou monde*) are commonly identified as Franco-Italian, although Brunetto, like many others using this rather loosely defined idiom, states that he is writing correct, "pure" French. It is probable that Brunetto, like others who were competent in both languages, was considering the maximum diffusion of his work as well as the aesthetic qualities of French, *plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens*: "more pleasant and more widely known to all people."

The largest extant collection—some twenty-five manuscripts—is now in Venice, in the Marciana Library, to which it was bequeathed in the late eighteenth century. Much has been lost; sixty-seven manuscripts *in lingua francigena* are included in 1407 in the library holdings of

Francesco Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, who is considered one of the primary patrons of authors using the Franco-Italian idiom, along with other great regional potentates of the day such as the Estensi, Scaglieri, and Visconti.

Two of the extant versions (V4 and V7) of *La Chanson de Roland*, essential to a comprehension of the global text, are written in Franco-Italian. Other *chansons de geste* include *La bataille d'Aliscans*, *Aspremont*, and *Aquilon de Baviere*, plus the *Geste francor*, a long compilation of epic tales that include the so-called *enfances* (birth and youth tales) of Roland and Charlemagne, in addition to *Gui de Nanteuil*, *Bues d'Aigremont*, *Foulque de Candie*, and *Doon de Mayence*. Romances, largely those related to antiquity and Arthurian legends, include *Le roman de Troie*, *Florimont*, *Les prophesies de Merlin*, and *La folie Lancelot*. To the Venetian Martin da Canal we owe chronicles of La Serenissima, and to Nicholas of Verona three identifiable works: *La passion*, *Pharsale*, and *La prise de Pampelune*.

La prise de Pampelune belongs to a group of romance epics thematically centered on the Carolingian expedition to Spain, which forms the first part of the French *Chanson de Roland*. Of this group, the work most widely known is *L'entree d'Espagne*, in 15,805 assonanced verses, an "introduction" to the ill-fated mission which will end seven years later at Roncevaux. Written by a highly talented, erudite Paduan with impressive knowledge of classical and medieval literature, *L'entree* has received more scholarly attention than most of these generally neglected works.

Within the Rolandian corpus, *L'entrée* provides the motivations for the Spanish expedition, differing partially from those found in the *Chanson*. Charlemagne is virtually shamed into the enterprise after a dream-vision of Saint James of Compostella, who reminds him of an earlier, still unkept promise to recuperate the pilgrim route from the Muslim infidel. However, with only two Spanish cities taken and the expedition stalemated at Pam-pelune for the greater part of the extant *Entrée*, the text's literary interest lies less in narration of traditionally epic material than in the iconoclastic development of the relationship between Charles and Roland, which engenders genre modifications to romance and, finally, raises the narrative to a quasi-hagiographical plane. Increasingly serious quarrels between the two protagonists

eventually erupt into violence, resulting in Roland's abandonment of the expedition at Pampelune. The most innovative portion of the text narrates the youth's questlike journey to the Muslim east, where he reestablishes his heroic stature under the benevolent seignury of the sultan of Persia. In what is probably a lacuna of 5,000 to 6,000 verses, Roland then reconquers Jerusalem for Christendom and finally returns to Spain, where an encounter with the hermit Samson elevates him to the realm of the chosen *miles Christi* (soldier of Christ).

The sequel, *La prise de Pampelune* (*The Taking of Pamplona*), continues the battle for the pilgrim route to Compostella, introducing the Lombard king Desiderio as an important character and adding considerable romance material. *La Spagna*, a work of the later *Trecento* in the Tuscan dialect, forms a vast summary of the entire Rolandian saga, including the hero's death at Roncevaux and the execution of the traitor Ganelon. These texts and *Li fatti di Spagna*, also in Italian, would inspire Boiardo and Alios to.

The Franco-Italian corpus was produced at a particular moment in Italian literature when external influences on the nascent language and letters were revitalizing the French epic and romance traditions for the masterly adaptations of the Italian Renaissance. Evolving within the rich intellectual and cultural climate of the nascent universities of Padua amid the great courts, communes, and *signorie* of the region, the finest works of the corpus offer evidence of the brilliant prehumanist movement in its initial explorations of Greco-Roman antiquity and new ways of thinking about humanity and the world.

See also Andrea da Barberino; Arthurian Material in Italy; Brunetto Latini; Carolingian Material in Italy; Franco-Italian: Language Padua; Polo, Marco

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Frangipani Family

The Frangipani, a Roman family, go back to the tenth century. The family became significant among leading Romans in 1060 with Cencius I, who was one of the most determined partisans of Archbishop Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085). Hildebrand sought to reform the church and liberate it from imperial influence, and he opposed simony and the marriage of clergy. With the help of the Frangipani, Hildebrand's candidate for pope, Bishop Anselm of Lucca, was enthroned in Rome as Alexander II (r. 1063-1073). Cencius and his son Giovanni, who are both documented as *Romanorum consules* (Roman consuls), loyally defended the cause of the reform papacy against resistance from the old Roman nobility and King Henry IV of Germany. By c. 1100 the Frangipani and the Pierleoni had become the most powerful Roman families. Their fortresses at the Circus Maximus,

the Roman forum, and the Colosseum controlled access to the Lateran, the seat of the popes.

The sons of Giovanni Frangipani influenced the papal elections of 1118, 1124, and 1130 by applying force and bribery, and they no longer hesitated to associate themselves with the party of the emperor. Like the Pierleoni, the Frangipani sought to bring their own candidates to the papal throne. Shifting party allegiances were commonplace. Oddone II, a member of the Frangipani family, submitted in 1186—as chief magistrate of Terracina—to the authority of Henry VI. During the papacy of Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) Oddone's family, with its many branches, was pushed into the background by the pope's nephews from the Conti and Annibaldi families.

The reliance of the Frangipani on Frederick II led, in 1236, to the destruction of their city fortresses in Rome. Further losses in Latium followed. Nevertheless, during the next centuries the Frangipani were able to maintain a considerable place in the Roman elite, although they no longer had their former significance.

See also **Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gregory VII, Pope; Henry IV, Emperor; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Pierleone Family; Rome**

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Frankish Kingdom

In 773, Charles, king of the Franks, led his armies across the Alps and laid siege to Pavia, capital of the Lombard kingdom. Pope Hadrian had requested Frankish aid against the Lombard king, Desiderius, who had seized Ravenna and was threatening territories claimed by the pope in central Italy and around Rome itself. The pope's request and the subsequent papal invasion followed a pattern set by earlier papal petitions to Charles's father, Pepin. Pepin's seizure of the Frankish throne had been sanctioned by Pope Zacharias; and Pepin and his sons, Charles and Carloman, had been anointed by Pope Stephen II in 754. When Stephen appealed for the Franks' support against the Lombard king Aistulf, Pepin took his army into Italy twice, in 755 and 756, and forced Aistulf to return captured cities to papal control. The new king of the Franks also issued the so-called Donation of Pepin, which ceded most of central Italy from Rome through the Byzantine exarchate of Ravenna to the papacy. In practice, this represented a papal declaration of independence from the emperors in Byzantium.

Desiderius (r. 756-774) had tried to appease his Roman enemies and befriend the Franks. His daughter was briefly married to Charles in the early 770s. But the attacks by the Lombards in Umbria and the Pentapolis prompted Hadrian's request and Charles's invasion. The siege of Pavia lasted nearly nine months, until June 774, when Desiderius surrendered. Charles declared himself king of the Lombards and sent Desiderius and his family into exile. The more sophisticated Lombard state had been no match for the Franks' superior military power.

During the siege of Pavia, Charles made his first visit to Rome, where he celebrated Easter (774) and confirmed his father's donation. After conquering the Lombard kingdom, however, Charles was not so eager to turn over actual control of large parts of Italy to the pope. Indeed, Charles was quick to take over the administrative machinery of the Lombard state, and to confirm the privileges and properties that had been granted by previous Lombard kings and dukes to churches, to monasteries, and even to laymen. Most of the Lombard dukes and the aristocracy soon swore allegiance to their new Frankish king. They included the duke of Spoleto, Hildebrand, who had been installed in 773-774 with the backing of the papacy. When Duke Rodgaud of Friuli rebelled against Frankish rule in 774, Charles struck rapidly. Rodgaud

was killed, and any thoughts of Lombard revolt disappeared. Over the next years and decades, Charles gradually replaced Lombard dukes and counts with Franks and others from north of the Alps. For example, when Hildebrand died c. 789, the Frankish *missus* Winigis became duke of Spoleto, and in this role served Charles and later Louis the Pious as the principal protector of the popes and Rome. But many Lombard landholders retained their properties, if not their public offices. Leading Lombard families, especially in the cities, continued to control ecclesiastical offices. The control of the local Lombard aristocracy over the bishopric of Lucca is a good example.

In 780-781, Charles came to Italy again, spending Christmas at Pavia and Easter at Rome. In Rome, Pope Hadrian anointed Charles's young sons, Pepin and Charles, as kings of Italy and Aquitaine, respectively. While he was in Rome, the elder Charles concluded an agreement with the pope about the extent of the territories that would be ceded to the papacy, especially those in Sabina, Campania, and Roman Tuscany, and would form the basis of the papal state—that is, the republic of Saint Peter. Later, in 781, Charles issued a capitulary from Mantua that imposed some aspects of Frankish law and government on his Italian kingdom, Charles was now in control of northern and central Italy and exercised *de facto* authority even in those territories granted to the papacy, except in the duchy of Rome itself. South of Rome, however, the Lombard duchy of Benevento continued to be outside the rule of the kingdom of Italy. Beyond Benevento, Byzantium controlled the duchy of Naples, most of Apulia and Calabria, and Sicily.

In 787, Charles led his army into Italy and advanced as far as Capua in order to bring Benevento within the Frankish fold. Duke Arichis II, the son-in-law of the last Lombard king, Desiderius, was compelled to submit to Charles and give up his son Grimoald as a hostage. Later in 787, when Arichis died, Charles returned Grimoald to Benevento as duke, despite the protests of Pope Hadrian. Grimoald promised to pay tribute and to mint coins in Charles's name and to follow the reforms of silver coinage instituted in the rest of Italy by the Carolingians. In 788, Grimoald, along with Duke Hildebrand of Spoleto, defeated Byzantine forces in Calabria. But within several years Grimoald had asserted his independence from Carolingian authority and had begun minting coins in his own name. Subsequent Carolingian expeditions against

Benevento in 791-792, 800, and 801 — the latter two were led by King Pepin—did little to compel the Beneventans' submission. Indeed, Duke Winigis of Spoleto was captured by Grimoald in 802 and was held for eighteen months. Finally, in 812, Grimoald agreed to pay Charles an annual tribute of 25,000 gold *solidi*; still, Benevento remained largely beyond the influence and control of the Carolingian kings of Italy, Benevento was probably too far from Aachen, or even from Pavia, for effective rule. Moreover, a sense of the Lombards as separate from, and superiority to, the Franks continued to be cultivated in the Beneventan territories.

In 799, Pope Leo III was attacked by his enemies in Rome. Rescued by Duke Winigis, he was brought to Paderborn, where he met with Charles and Charles's advisers. Charles accepted his responsibilities as the protector of Saint Peter and patrician of the Romans, and sent Leo back to Rome with an armed escort. It was probably at Paderborn that plans were discussed to make Charles an emperor. But not until the autumn of 800 did Charles proceed to Rome to bring order to the affairs of the church. There he presided over an assembly at which Leo took an oath denying all the accusations of his attackers, who were subsequently punished by Charles. Then on Christmas Day 800, as Charles was rising from prayer before the tomb of Saint Peter, Pope Leo placed a crown on his head and hailed him as emperor. However reluctant Charles—now Charlemagne—may have been, this was a carefully planned event that suited the needs of both the Franks and the papacy. Charlemagne may have expected to crown himself and may have regretted the difficulties the imperial title caused him with the Byzantines, but he accepted the responsibilities that the title implied. Moreover, he had brought with him many gifts to be presented to the churches in Rome following his coronation.

Charlemagne spent the whole winter and much of the spring in Rome overseeing Rome and Italian affairs, political and judicial. He never returned to Italy following his coronation as emperor, although Pope Leo III visited him in Reims in 804. Pepin continued to act as king of Italy, usually with the help of Frankish advisers such as his cousin Adalard of Corbie, a sometime monk at Monte Cassino. Charlemagne negotiated with the Byzantines for their recognition of his imperial title until 812. They conceded that he was an emperor in return for his

giving up claims to Venice and parts of Dalmatia.

In the first years of the ninth century a new menace to Italian security appeared: Saracen raiders from North Africa and Spain, Pepin sent a Frankish fleet against the Saracens who were raiding Corsica for plunder and captives in 805-806. He had some success against these raiders in 807, but despite this the Saracens attacked Corsica and Sardinia again and again. In 813, they attacked Civitavecchia on the mainland, having raided Ischia in the Bay of Naples a year earlier. Raids on the Italian mainland abated for nearly twenty years, though attacks on the islands and on merchant shipping continued. Not until 828 did Count Boniface II of Lucca, whose Bavarian father had been appointed count c. 812, conduct a successful sea raid against the Saracens, even attacking them on the North African coast. Meanwhile, the Aghlabid Arabs from North Africa had begun their conquest of Byzantine Sicily, from whose secure ports they increasingly launched ships to raid both coasts of Italy.

After Pepin died in 810 his son Bernard became king of Italy (812-817), with Wala, Adalard's brother, as a mentor. When Bernard's uncle Louis the Pious succeeded Charlemagne as emperor and king of the Franks, Bernard, fearing that Louis would cut him and his children out of the succession, revolted. Louis quickly crushed the rebellion. He had Bernard and others blinded, an injury from which Bernard subsequently died. Louis's son Lothair (Lothar, r. 817–855) became the king of Italy. Many of the Franks in Italy who had supported Bernard were pardoned by Louis in 821, and the possessions that they had forfeited were returned to them.

In 817, Louis the Pious also granted to the papacy a new privilege—the so-called *Ludovicianum*—which confirmed the "donations" of Pepin and Charlemagne and clarified the extent of papal territory and the virtual autonomy of the papacy. The pope was still to receive protection from the Franks, but the emperor agreed not to intervene in Roman affairs unless asked. Vicious factional fighting in Rome in the early 820s, in which two of the newly crowned coemperor Lothair's men were killed, led to a rethinking of the agreements between the Franks and the papacy. The *Constitutio Romana* of 824 sharply diminished papal autonomy. The popes were required to swear an oath of allegiance to the emperor after their election but before their

consecration, and the Roman people were required for the first time to swear loyalty to the Frankish emperor. The patrimony of Saint Peter became virtually a Frankish protectorate. Moreover, an imperial and a papal *missus* were to hold court in Rome together to hear any complaints pertaining to the actions of the papal officials. Since the days of Pope Hadrian, the papacy—backed by the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne and the general protection of the duke of Spoleto, Winigis—had been appropriating lands in the Sabina. In 829, the abbey of Farfa brought a complaint against such seizures of their properties before a court in the Lateran palace, and the imperial *missus* ordered the pope to restore the illegally seized lands to Farfa. Shortly thereafter Lothair confirmed Farfa's possession.

Lothair spent much of his time in Italy from 831 to 841, especially after his break with his father, Louis, in 834. He brought a large number of his followers with him into Italy and had to find ways to support them. He forced bishops and abbots to lease estates to his followers and sometimes simply seized church properties. He also rewarded his Franks with secular and ecclesiastical offices. Lothair also legislated for his Italian kingdom. Capitularies issued in 832, for example, were concerned with the oppression of small landlords and the poor, the maintenance of proper mints and good coins, sworn conspiracies, and the upkeep of roads and bridges, among other topics. It is difficult to determine how these capitularies were actually implemented. Real power and jurisdiction in Italy were increasingly held by various regional dukes and counts as well as by the bishops of certain major cities such as Milan. Lothair and later his son Louis II used *missi* such as a certain Leo, who became count of Milan (823-844), to check the growing power of the major counts and the largest landholders.

In 844, ongoing factional strife in Rome prompted Lothair to send his young son Louis to deal with the situation, and to prevent any papal consecrations without imperial consent. Louis's troops plundered some of the estates of the Roman aristocracy in papal territory. But the pope anointed Louis as king of Italy—Louis II—and invested him with a sword. Louis's presence in Italy was hardly sufficient to stop the now nearly annual Saracen raids on both Italian coasts. Benevento itself was under almost continuous attack. Bari had fallen to the Saracens in 843 and was to remain under their control until 871. The third emir of Bari,

Sawdan, became an important figure in political developments in southern Italy. To complicate matters several rulers in the Italian south hired Saracen mercenaries to fight in their conflicts with rival cities and principalities. In 846, a large force of Saracens struck at the heart of Carolingian Italy, and indeed of all Christendom. Sailing past the poorly defended port at Ostia and up the Tiber, the Saracens plundered Saint Peter's basilica in Rome as well as other churches that lay outside the ancient Aurelian walls. Frankish forces pursued the treasure-laden Saracens but were beaten back near Gaeta. Louis II limped back to Rome. Lothair sent more troops to his son in Italy as well as funds to help Pope Leo IV build a defensive wall around Saint Peter's and the Vatican. When the Saracens returned in 849, the half-built Leonine wall was not tested, since they were defeated off Ostia by a Neapolitan fleet recruited by the pope. In the next year, 850, Louis II was crowned emperor by Leo IV.

Louis II was the first Carolingian king to spend most of his reign resident in Italy. The Franks had inherited a fairly sophisticated royal administrative machinery centered in Pavia. This system of royal officials operating along with the public jurisdiction of the dukes, counts, and gastalds had worked well for several generations of Carolingian rule in Italy. When Louis tried to strengthen royal institutions, however, he ran directly against the prevailing and growing powers of the great landowners, most of whom he and his Carolingian predecessors had invested with their lands and public offices. Louis issued capitularies condemning the abuses of the counts and others—their violence, their arbitrary exercise of justice, and their exploitation and oppression of the weak and poor. It is not evident that the king's orders had much effect. Louis was himself enmeshed in the network of aristocratic families, patronage, and clientele. The personal politics of land, kinship, and lordship was beginning to overwhelm public authority in Italy as it had done elsewhere in post-Roman Europe.

Louis's wife, Angilberga, was a member of the powerful Supponid family. Her father, Suppo I of Brescia, had helped to quell the rebellion by Bernard in 817 and had been rewarded with the duchy of Spoleto in 822. But the base of Supponid power stretched across Emilia and Lombardy from Brescia and Parma to Turin. Angilberga's niece, Bertilla, married Berengar, who was to become the non-Carolingian

king of Italy (888-924) even though he was a grandson of Louis the Pious through his mother, Gisela. Angilberga played an important role in her husband's rule over the kingdom of Italy. She shared power with Louis, going on diplomatic missions (sometimes on her own), presiding over assemblies and courts in Louis's absence, and intervening in disputes. She had close relations with the papacy, especially with Pope John VIII. Documents often refer to her as *consors regni*. Many of Louis II's donations of land went to Angilberga or to persons or institutions that she sponsored. She founded the nunnery of Saint Sixtus in Piacenza and was a particular patroness of San Salvatore (later Santa Giulia) in Brescia. San Salvatore, founded by Desiderius and his wife Ansa, was the nunnery of royal and imperial women; it received privileges from Charlemagne and Louis I, whose second wife Judith held it in benefice. Louis II's sister, Gisela, was its abbess after 861; later, King Berengar's daughter, Berta, was abbess. The ongoing patronage of San Salvatore by successive Carolingian kings and their wives, sisters, and daughters is one of the remarkable continuities from the Lombards carried through the Frankish ninth century and beyond.

Despite the efforts of Louis II and Angilberga to provide responsible government and build public works, the threat of Saracen attacks always loomed. Louis II led expeditions south of Rome against the Saracens in 852 and 860, but with little effect. The Saracens had in fact briefly captured Benevento itself in 851 and had attacked Naples in 856. From their base in Bari they plundered the lands of the great monasteries at Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno almost at will. In 866, Louis assembled the largest Italian army of the ninth century and moved south to retake Bari. The effort took him five years, and when Bari did fall in 871, it was largely with the aid of Croatian and Byzantine fleets. Five years later Byzantium took over control of Bari directly. During their long stay in the south, Louis and Angilberga had managed to alienate most of the Lombard leaders there, especially in Benevento. In the summer of 871, Louis and Angilberga, their great army having melted away after the capture of Bari, were briefly imprisoned by Adelchis of Benevento. Contemporary sources blame the captive emir of Bari, Sawdan, for stirring up suspicions concerning Louis's intentions regarding the Lombard principalities in southern Italy. Louis and his empress were released after a month of house arrest,

but only after swearing an oath never to return to Benevento. The Franks' hopes of controlling the Lombard south were finished. Louis, humiliated by the experience in Benevento, had himself recrowned as emperor in 872 in Rome by Pope Hadrian II, who absolved him of his Beneventan oath. After several abortive trips as far south as Capua, Louis II died in Brescia in 875, without a male heir. He was buried at Sant'Ambrogio in Milan. He was the last Carolingian in the direct line of succession who actually tried to rule the kingdom of Italy in person.

Louis's uncle, Charles the Bald, with the support of most of the leading men in Italy, was crowned emperor in 875. He appointed his brother-in-law, Boso of Provence, as his representative in Italy, and later Boso married Louis and Angilberga's daughter Ermengard. Charles died in 877 and was succeeded by his nephews Carloman (877-880) and Charles the Fat (880—887). During his brief stays in Italy, Charles had managed, at one time or another, to offend most of the leading men in Italy, and particularly Guy of Spoleto. Citizens in Pavia even clashed with royal troops. Elsewhere Saracen depredations continued completely unhindered by any resistance from the royal house. San Vincenzo ai Volturno was plundered and destroyed by fire in 881. Saracens sacked Monte Cassino in 885, and the monks fled to Capua. Later in the 890s, the monastery of Farfa was abandoned after several Saracen attacks.

Berengar of Friuli became king of Italy in 888 and was immediately opposed by Guy of Spoleto and Guy's supporters in northern and northwestern Italy. Guy defeated Berengar in battle and in 891 was crowned emperor. His son, Lambert, was crowned coemperor in 892. After Guy's death in 894, Lambert and Berengar agreed to share the kingdom, partly to fend off the advances of Arnulf, a great-grandson of Louis the Pious, who invaded Italy in 894 and again in 895-896. Arnulf's forces entered Rome in 896, Arnulf had himself crowned emperor, but shortly afterward he died of a stroke. Guy and Lambert were the last kings of Italy to issue capitularies, and their themes were the familiar ones—protection of small landholders against oppression by the great and powerful. When Lambert died in 898, Berengar was left as the sole king in Italy. Many leading men in Lombardy and the Piedmont, particularly the marquis of Ivrea, opposed Berengar's rule. They invited Louis of Provence, Louis II's grandson, to take over the

Italian kingdom. Louis of Provence reached Rome and was crowned emperor, but when he returned to Italy in 905 he was captured by Berengar and blinded. Adalbert of Ivrea mended his relations with his former rival by marrying Berengar's daughter, Gisela. Berengar survived as king for nearly twenty more years by carefully cultivating his wife's Supponid relatives and the supporters of his new son-in-law Adalbert. In 915, he even managed to have himself crowned emperor. Although the royal palace and its officials in Pavia continued to function, Berengar preferred to stay in Verona. From 899 on, Berengar faced a new foreign menace, the Hungarians, whose mounted warriors swept across the eastern Alps virtually unopposed and repeatedly raided the cities and monasteries of the northern Italian plain. Berengar never once succeeded in defeating the Hungarians in battle; in fact, in the 920s he was employing them as mercenaries. The king of Italy could no longer protect the church, the cities, or the greater or lesser landholders. In 923, Rudolf II of Burgundy was persuaded to come into Italy by the growing opposition to Berengar. At the bloody battle of Fiorenzuola d'Arda, Berengar was defeated, and many leading men on both sides were killed. A year later Berengar was executed in Verona. The Frankish kingdom of Italy was in practice finished. The kingdom, or at least the idea of the kingdom, survived, however, and its ideological link with the imperial crown and title tempted German kings into Italy for the next 400 years.

The Franks themselves had little impact on Italy in the eighth and ninth centuries. There were never enough of them to make significant changes in Italian social or economic structures, in law, or in culture. Those who settled in Italy for any length of time became Italian in their outlook and politics. But major changes that would affect Italy for hundreds of years did begin during the 150 years when the Frankish kingdom in Italy functioned. Political power and public authority were divided among regions and cities. Despite being weakened and fragmented by the privatization of lordship, written law and the role of public officials persisted. Urban centers, most of which had survived from Roman times, grew in size and importance during the ninth century. In many of these cities, especially in northern Italy, bishops began to exercise public authority, usually with the explicit support of the king. Cities on the periphery of the kingdom, such as Gaeta and

Amalfi in the south and Venice and Genoa in the north, began to develop commercial ties throughout the Mediterranean, though these would become much more important in later centuries. The Italian countryside also experienced economic development in the ninth century. Under the leadership of the great monasteries and their leaseholders, land was cleared and new vineyards and olive groves were planted in many parts of Italy. It was probably this process of rural development that led to the building of *castelli*, fortified villages, first in central and southern Italy and later in the north as well. This process of *incastellamento* gradually and permanently transformed much of the Italian landscape by the end of the eleventh century.

During the period of the Frankish kingdom, the foundations were put in place for the future papal state. This may be one of the few intended results of Charlemagne's invasion of 773-774. But neither Charlemagne nor the popes could have foreseen how the republic of Saint Peter would develop. In Rome, as elsewhere in Italy, the leading families took over control of the offices of state and the lands surrounding the city. Neither Charles nor any subsequent emperor from beyond the Alps was able to rescue the papacy from the Roman factions. Finally, the Carolingians failed to bring Italy south of Rome into the kingdom, despite the efforts of Charlemagne and Louis II. This failure and the subsequent division between the Italian north and south were to haunt the political development of Italy for centuries.

See also Charlemagne; Charles the Bald, Emperor; Desiderius; Grimoald of Benevento, King; Hadrian I, Pope; Leo III, Pope; Lombards; Louis I the Pious; Papal States; Rome

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Frati Gaudenti

The Frati Gaudenti ("jovial friars"), or Knights of Our Lady, were an

Italian military order founded in 1261. The official title of the order was Militia of the Glorious and Blessed Virgin Mary, but its critics dubbed its members *Frati Gaudenti* because of their ostentatious way of life and their casual approach to the rule of the order.

The Militia of the Blessed Virgin was one of several military orders founded in urban settings during the thirteenth century. These differed from older military orders such as the Templars and Hospitallers in that they professed to combat local enemies of the church, especially heretics, rather than external foes like the Muslims. They also differed from the other great urban religious organization of the period, the military confraternity, in that they took a religious vow and maintained an exclusively aristocratic membership. The Militia of the Blessed Virgin was unusual in that it was a revival of an earlier order of the same type: the Militia of Jesus Christ, founded by the Dominican Bartolomeo de' Breganza at Parma during a great devotional movement of 1233. Bartolomeo had hoped that a military order dedicated to orthodoxy would attract the patricians of the northern Italian cities away from the influence of heretics and Ghibel lines and toward the papacy. Initially, his Militia of Jesus Christ had great success and spread quickly to a number of towns, but it was unable to sustain its popularity. By the 1250s, only a few members remained.

In 1260, another great devotional movement swept Italy: bands of penitents practicing ritual flagellation. Societies of flagellants, often dominated by the *popolani*, appeared in many cities. These essentially religious groups soon came to have considerable political influence, particularly because they dedicated themselves to establishing peace among warring factions. This aroused the hostility of urban nobles, who resented the lowborn flagellants' usurpation of the traditional aristocratic function of peacemaker. Soon after the formation of a flagellant society in Bologna, several prominent Bolognese nobles suddenly announced a renovation of the town's nearly defunct Militia of Jesus Christ, now to be called the Militia of the Glorious and Blessed Virgin Mary. This exclusively aristocratic religious organization would be dedicated—like Bologna's flagellant society—to bringing peace to warring factions. Seven patricians, representing both Guelfs and Ghibellines from Bologna, Parma, Reggio Emilia, and Modena, were the official founders of the new order. The influential Franciscan Rufino

Gurgone drafted the rule and guided the petition for papal approval through the curia. When this approval was received, the last members of the Militia of Jesus Christ quickly joined the new order, along with many members of the Bolognese nobility. Loterengo degli Andalò, one of the founders, became the first *prior et prelatus* of the order. The monastery of Ronzano, near Bologna, was established as its seat.

The Militia of the Blessed Virgin proved very successful in countering the flagellant society controlled by the *popolani*. Within a few years of its formation, the militia obtained authority to command Bologna's society of flagellants in military emergencies. Its leaders soon came to dominate peacemaking in the town, displacing the flagellants. Loterengo gained a sufficient reputation to be called to Florence, Prato, and Pistoia to mediate between Guelfs and Ghibellines.

As has already been mentioned, the new Militia of the Blessed Virgin, like the old Militia of Jesus Christ, was restricted to patricians. It included both unmarried brothers who bound themselves with a vow of chastity, common possession, and obedience; and married brothers, who simply swore obedience to their superiors and observance of the rule insofar as the married state allowed. The rule was that of Saint Augustine. From Bologna, the order spread to many cities in Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, and the Marca Trevigiana. It was strongest at Bologna, Mantua, Modena, and Treviso.

Although the militia spread quickly, there is not much evidence of fervor among its members. Many lived in luxury, contravening the rule. From its first years, several prominent brothers ignored the rule's prohibition against holding public office. The militia had considerable wealth but built no monasteries, churches, bridges, or hospitals. There is no record of other pious work. By the 1280s, the militia was being called, derisively, the *Frati Gaudenti*. Dante contributed to its negative image by placing Loterengo degli Andalo and another of the order's founders, Catalano de' Catalani, among the hypocrites in hell (*Inferno* 23.82-109). Dante believed that when these men were serving as rectors of the city in 1266 they had conspired with Pope Clement IV to deliver Florence to the Guelfs.

The Militia of the Glorious and Blessed Virgin Mary survived into the sixteenth century. Its last master general, Camillo Volta, died in 1589.

See also Confraternities; Dante Alighieri; Flagellants; Military Orders in Italy

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Frederick I Barbarossa

Emperor Frederick I (c. 1123-1190), nicknamed Barbarossa ("red-beard"), was the nephew of his predecessor, Emperor Conrad III, and was a member of two powerful and antagonistic German dynasties: the Welf and the Staufen. The day following his coronation as king of the

Germans (4 March 1152), Frederick proposed an expedition into his Italian territories that would culminate in his coronation as emperor by the pope in Rome. As overlord in northern Italy, Frederick planned to aid Pope Eugenius III against restless Romans; provide justice, peace, and an imperial presence in and among Lombard cities; and confirm his feudal underlings, the Italian counts and bishops. Though he would not descend into Italy until the autumn of 1154, he established a treaty of mutual support with the pope (the treaty of Constance, 1153) and drew up plans to drive the Normans from the Sicilian kingdom. From the start, Frederick had an exalted and ambitious view of the imperial office, and on both sides of the Alps he proved tireless (if unsuccessful) in pressing his claims to full imperial authority and power.

During his first expedition he held court at Roncaglia in Lombardy, seeking to end hostilities between Milan and neighboring cities. Instead, he antagonized the Milanese, and his army looted their countryside before marching south for Rome and the imperial coronation. Frederick met Pope Hadrian IV at Sutri, near Rome, but initially avoided certain ancient rituals that expressed royal vassalage to the papacy; this gave rise to stories that Frederick had insulted the pope. The papal and royal entourage had to sneak into Rome to avoid the antagonistic Roman mob, but Frederick was duly crowned (on 17 June 1155), and he soon had the antipapal Roman leader, Arnold of Brescia, executed. He then returned to Germany, having failed to pacify Lombardy or Rome, and without assaulting the kingdom of Sicily.

Since he had not succeeded as a heroic peacemaker, Frederick decided to carve out a personal domain that would include Burgundy, Swabia, and Lombardy. In these territories he would absorb all previously lost regalian rights, jurisdiction, rights of appointment, rights to full contributions to support his military forces, and even the "minor *bannus*" rights over mills, tolls, markets, coinage, etc. Lombardy responded by organizing alliances and initiating open military defiance when Frederick descended again in the spring of 1158. He received the aid of Bergamo in attacking its rival, Brescia; and he allowed Lodi, which had been destroyed by the Milanese, to rebuild. Milan led a short-lived opposition but capitulated in September, its army beaten and its countryside devastated. The decrees of the Diet of Roncaglia were promulgated in November. These decrees—reached in consultation

with judges from Lombard cities and Bolognese jurists—recognized the communal governments but also outlined Frederick's assertions of the ancient imperial rights that he again invoked. Frederick continued to fight against opposing cities until Milan capitulated once more on 1 March 1162; after this capitulation he had the city razed. As he proceeded through Lombardy, he imposed—even in friendly cities—imperial *podestà* (podestas), many of whom were faithful German *ministeriales*, and this intensified local hostility to imperial interests. Meanwhile, the Lombard opposition was strengthened after the death of Hadrian IV (1159), which resulted in the election of two popes: Alexander III, who supported the Lombards; and the imperial candidate, Victor IV.

Frederick returned to Italy in October 1166. Ignoring pleas for imperial justice against rapacious *podestà*, he took hostages from hostile cities and headed straight for Rome in two columns. By July 1167, he defeated a Roman army and entered the city, driving away Alexander and installing Victor's successor, Paschal III. An outbreak of deadly disease in Rome, however, soon killed many of Frederick's soldiers and followers, and he beat a hasty retreat through hostile Lombardy—recently organized into the anti-imperial Lombard League. From friendly Pavia he banned the Lombard League in September 1167, but to no effect: his allies had defected, and Alexander promised to excommunicate anyone who opposed the Lombard League.



Frederick I Barbarossa. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 203r.

Events in Germany kept Frederick away until 1174, when he led a largely mercenary army against the Lombard League. He destroyed Susa; Asti surrendered; and he besieged the infant city of Alessandria, though unsuccessfully. After a further campaign of tactical maneuvering, Frederick and the Lombard League concluded the peace of Montebello (16 April 1175). Munz (1969) sees this period as the beginning of Frederick's third plan, after his roles as peacemaking lord and effective imperial overlord had both failed. Frederick would now begin to adopt more purely feudal relationships with the communes, reducing imperial interference to a minimum. The peace of Montebello crumbled, however, because Frederick refused to treat with Pope Alexander and because episcopally-led popular risings in several cities undermined the agreement. Open hostilities erupted again in early 1176

and led directly to Frederick's ignominious defeat at Legnano in May.

Frederick quickly turned away from making demands on the Lombards, and instead focused his gaze on the rich Mathildine lands in Tuscany, which he held as a fief from the pope. Following Legnano, he offered to exchange his recognition of Alexander and of the Lombard League and its liberties for full lordship over these Tuscan lands, in which his powerful ally and vassal Christian of Mainz already held sway. This general arrangement led to the treaty of Venice in July 1177 and, six years later, to the more permanent Peace of Constance. With Christian's death in 1183, however, Frederick lost his direct hold over Tuscany, and his lordship there came to mean little in fact.

Frederick's eventual accommodation to the realities of political life in northern Italy proved far more successful than his earlier attempts to rule the region. Frederick is recognized as a sound and flexible politician, yet his inability—or unwillingness—to understand that the members of the communes had developed a deep commitment to their liberties blinded him and prevented him, for a quarter-century, from formulating a satisfactory policy. This blind spot, coupled with his refusal to recognize Alexander as pope and his own perennial need to attend to imperial matters north of the Alps—and to depend on military resources from north of the Alps—ensured that he would not succeed as direct overlord in northern Italy. The successes of the communes proved to be short-lived, as old hostilities and feuding immediately reemerged; but the communes' collective resilience in the face of Europe's greatest monarch led in the longer run to a reinforced communal ethic that would survive for another two centuries and more. The reformed papacy, too, gained from Alexander's triumph over Frederick's opposition; its independence from imperial authority was buttressed if not guaranteed.

In June 1190, Frederick, who was then on a crusade, drowned while crossing the Saleph River near Seleucia in Asia Minor.

See also Alessandria; Alexander III, Pope; Arnold of Brescia; Constance, Peace of; Ghibelline; Hadrian IV, Pope; Legnano, Battle of; Lombard Leagues; Milan; Pavia; Podesta

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Frederick II Hohenstaufen

Frederick II (26 December 1194-13 December 1250) was born at Jesi in the March of Ancona and died at Castel Fiorentino in Apulia. His father was Henry VI (1165— 1197) and his grandfather Frederick I Barbarossa. His mother was Constance (1154 1198), daughter of Roger II Hauteville. After Henry died, Constance accepted papal lordship over the kingdom of Sicily and relinquished royal rights over the Sicilian church. At her death, she named Pope Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) regent of Sicily and guardian of Frederick. Innocent, however, was unable to protect Frederick during his minority. Barons, bishops, abbots, foreign merchants, Templars, Saracens, and the papacy itself exploited his vulnerability. Innocent sent legates to Frederick but consistently put papal lordship over the kingdom ahead of the young king's welfare. In 1199, Markward of Anweiler, a would-be regent and leader of the German nobles in Sicily, took Frederick hostage. After Markward's death in 1202, Frederick passed into the hands of other captors. For the rest of his life, he held the papacy largely responsible for his early misfortunes.

Frederick had a strong mind and great intellectual curiosity. Despite the uncertainty of his early years, he received a good education. He was

literate in Latin and Italian and familiar with Greek and Arabic. He cultivated wide-ranging literary, scientific, and philosophical interests. The harshness of his childhood also made him an astute political realist. Frederick combined unshakable self-confidence with a will of iron. He had an autocratic temperament. He pursued his rights ruthlessly but showed a pragmatic side when it seemed advantageous.

Innocent relinquished his guardianship in December 1208. The pope arranged a marriage in 1209 between Frederick and Constance, the daughter of Peter II of Aragon. The kingdom of Sicily was still intact, but Frederick lost many royal holdings during the papal regency. In Germany his uncle, Philip of Swabia, contended with Otto of Welf for the imperial title. Most of the German princes preferred Philip, whom they elected in 1198; other princes elected Otto in the same year. Innocent, who was fearful of the Hohenstaufen's intentions toward Italy, favored Otto. The murder of Philip in 1208 left Otto predominant, and Innocent crowned him emperor in 1209. Even though Otto vowed to stay out of Italy, he invaded the peninsula in 1210 and by 1211 controlled most of it.

As Otto prepared to attack Sicily in 1211, the Hohenstaufen faction in Germany elected Frederick king. The pope supported Frederick, who threaded his way north through Welf partisans and arrived in Germany in 1212 without money or an army. Many cities and princes welcomed the exotic *puer Apuliae* (boy of Apulia), who confirmed and granted privileges to consolidate his support. In 1213, Frederick confirmed his agreements with the Roman church in the *Golden Bull of Eger*. The defeat by the French of Otto and his ally, John of England, in 1214 accelerated the decline of the Welf fortunes. Otto withdrew to Saxony, where he died in 1218.

Frederick was crowned at Aachen in 1215. At his coronation he took the cross; this enhanced his status but later caused him many problems. Frederick spent five years solidifying his position in Germany and thus was unable to join the Fifth Crusade (1217-1221). After Otto died, Frederick negotiated with Pope Honorius III (1216-1227) for an imperial coronation. Frederick confirmed his concessions to the papacy; vowed to relinquish the Sicilian throne to his son, Henry; and agreed to go on a crusade as soon as possible. In April 1220, Frederick issued the *Constitution in Favor of the Ecclesiastical Princes*, which conferred

fiscal and jurisdictional independence on the German prince-bishops. This act changed very little and secured the support of most German bishops. Frederick had Henry elected king of the Romans in April 1220, thus violating his earlier agreement with Honorius. The pope settled for an administrative separation of the empire and the kingdom of Sicily; he apparently believed that concord between him and Frederick would best advance ecclesiastical liberty, peace among Christian states, and the crusade. Honorius crowned Frederick emperor at Rome on 22 November 1220.

Frederick then moved to reestablish royal control over the kingdom of Sicily. At Capua in December 1220, he published assizes that reaffirmed royal prerogatives. He demanded the surrender of royal charters granted since the death of William II in 1189 and reissued charters to longtime supporters and to those whose support he sought. He nullified the privileges of those who had exploited his childhood weakness and his long absence in Germany. Most of southern Italy and Sicily submitted to Frederick without resistance. He reestablished the system of justice and taxation that had been in force under the Norman kings. He founded the University of Naples in 1224 to train lawyers and bureaucrats for government service.

Frederick placed control of the Sicilian kingdom ahead of all other considerations. He deprived the church, the nobility, and foreign merchants of many lucrative privileges. Jews and Muslims received limited protection when it served royal policy. Frederick defeated the Muslims of western Sicily in 1221-1223 and transported them to Lucera in northern Apulia. He allowed them to govern themselves and to practice Islam as long as they cultivated royal lands and served in the royal army. By 1225, Frederick was in firm control of the kingdom, although for the rest of his life he faced periodic rebellions against his autocratic regime.

The crusade dominated relations between the papacy and the empire during the 1220s. Frederick failed to join the crusaders who had seized the Egyptian city of Damietta in 1219. Command errors doomed the Fifth Crusade, but Frederick was blamed when Damietta fell in 1221. Honorius excused Frederick but insisted that he soon launch his promised crusade. In 1225, Frederick vowed, on pain of excommunication, to depart on a crusade, with a large force and a full

treasury, by mid-August 1227. Frederick married Isabella (or Yolande, his second wife), the queen of Jerusalem, in 1225; this marriage allowed him to claim the title of king of Jerusalem. Conflict between Frederick and the communes of northern Italy, however, complicated his preparations for the crusade. In 1226, the emperor called an imperial diet at Cremona to promote the crusade, suppress heresy, and assert imperial rights in Italy. Many Lombard cities suspected that Frederick intended to dismantle their hard-won urban liberties. They formed a new Lombard League and blocked the Alpine passes to German forces. Frederick asked the pope to mediate to resolve the conflict. Honorius, who feared that war in Italy would stall the crusade, sent a legate to press the cities to settle with the emperor. The Lombard League reluctantly ratified a truce in March 1227.

This era of concord between the papacy and the empire ended with the death of Honorius in March 1227. His successor, Gregory IX (1227-1241), was an unbending proponent of papal supremacy and considered Frederick the principal threat to the Roman church. Gregory insisted that the emperor fulfill all his agreements with the church or suffer excommunication. A serious illness prevented Frederick from departing on the crusade in 1227; Gregory excommunicated him and launched a propaganda attack that stressed the liberties of the church far more than the crusade. The only practical way for Frederick to vindicate his position was to fulfill his vow to undertake a crusade. He departed for the Holy Land in June 1228, despite the fulminations of the pope. Frederick met resistance from the nobility of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the Latin hierarchy, and the Templars and Hospitallers. He did little campaigning in Palestine. Rather, he continued negotiations with Al-Kamil, the sultan of Egypt, that had begun in 1226. Frederick persuaded Al-Kamil to deliver Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth to him. In return, the emperor agreed not to fortify Jerusalem and guaranteed access to Muslim holy sites. Frederick crowned himself king of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in March 1229.



Castle of Frederick II, Castel del Monte. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

An invasion of the kingdom of Sicily by the *papacy* late in 1228 forced Frederick to leave the Holy Land soon after his coronation. Gregory intended to depose Frederick and rule the kingdom directly from Rome. The pope also tried, though unsuccessfully, to recruit an antiking in Germany. A rumor that Frederick had died on the crusade contributed to the early success of the papal army, but the emperor quickly recovered his kingdom after his return in June 1229. During the peace negotiations, Frederick scrupulously respected the dignity of the pope. The peace of San Germano and Ceprano in 1230 lifted the excommunication and confirmed papal lordship over the Sicilian kingdom.

Frederick and Gregory cooperated closely, if warily, from 1230 to 1235. The emperor wanted the pope to support him against the Lombard League as Honorius III had done in 1226. The pope wanted imperial forces to suppress the Roman nobles who had driven him from the city in 1228. Their mutual need produced an uneasy peace. Gregory prodded the Lombards to settle with Frederick until the pope made a separate peace with his Roman adversaries in 1235. Gregory then began to defend the Lombards, who were longtime allies of the papacy against the German emperors.

In 1235, Frederick's son Henry revolted against imperial authority in

Germany. Although Frederick easily defeated Henry, he reconfirmed the *Constitution in Favor of the Secular Princes*, which Henry had granted in 1231. Frederick thereby secured the support of the German princes against the Lombard League. He also made a bid for English support by marrying his third wife, Elizabeth, the sister of Henry III, in 1235. Frederick conducted three campaigns in northern Italy from 1236 to 1238. His greatest victory was at Cortenuova in November 1237. The harsh terms that he then offered to Milan and its allies prolonged the war and led to a defeat of the imperial forces at Brescia in October 1238. Soon afterward, Gregory abandoned his pose as a neutral mediator and cast his lot with the Lombards. The pope excommunicated Frederick on 20 March 1239. A bitter war of words accompanied the hostilities in the field. The pope preached a crusade against Frederick in 1239-1240. In 1241, he convoked a general council in Rome to depose Frederick, but the imperial fleet captured most of the council fathers. Gregory died in August 1241, as Frederick closed on Rome. Gregory's successor, Celestine IV (1241), died after less than a month in office. A two-year papal interregnum ended with the election of Innocent IV (1243-1254).

Frederick immediately began to negotiate with Innocent IV to lift the excommunication, but the pope fled to Lyon with the Roman curia in 1244 to avoid being coerced by the emperor. At the First Council of Lyon in 1245 Innocent deposed Frederick on charges of sacrilege, violation of ecclesiastical liberties, and suspected heresy. This sentence weakened Frederick, but not decisively. The war against the Lombards dragged on inconclusively for the remainder of his life. Innocent sponsored two German antikings, but they had little success against Frederick. Several conspiracies against the emperor further embittered Frederick against the pope and alienated him from important members of his court, notably Pier della Vigna. Frederick was on the offensive in Italy when he died of dysentery at Castel Fiorentino in 1250. He lies with his father and his Norman ancestors in the cathedral of Palermo.

Frederick II was the last great medieval emperor. His struggle with the papacy continued after his death and resulted in the virtual extinction of the Hohenstaufen. Only his granddaughter, Constance, survived to legitimate the claims of her husband, Peter III of Aragon, to the kingdom of Sicily. Frederick left a storehouse of imperialist

jurisprudence that later kings and emperors applied in their struggles with the papacy. Frederick was also a great lawgiver. His *Liber Augustalis* (*Book of the Emperor*, 1231) codified and expanded the laws of the kingdom of Sicily. It was often included in late medieval and early modern editions of *Corpus iuris civilis* (the civil law code). Frederick was an accomplished builder of military fortresses (e.g., Castel del Monte) and an active patron of scholars, artists, and poets. He delighted in intellectual discourse and was himself an Italian poet of middling ability. His manual of falconry, *De arte venandi cum avibus* (*On the Art of Hunting with Birds*), remains a standard in the subject.

Frederick's enthusiasm for learning and the arts and his worldly reputation have misled many scholars, who characterize him, inaccurately, as a proto-Renaissance prince. Papal propagandists depicted him as a dangerous freethinker or heretic, but Frederick was a fairly conventional Catholic ruler who persecuted heretics fiercely and took the greatest pride in his success as a crusader. During the later Middle Ages, his significance was regarded variously. Many Joachites and Spiritual Franciscans identified him as the emperor of the last days, the scourge of a corrupt hierarchy. Dante respectfully referred to Frederick as the "last emperor of the Romans" in his commentary on nobility and law in *Convivio* (*The Banquet*, 4.3.6) but consigned Frederick to the sixth circle of hell among the Epicurean heretics for his reputed skepticism about life after death (*Inferno* 10.119). German folklore merged him with Frederick I Barbarossa as the sleeping emperor who would rise up to defend his people in their moment of greatest need.

Frederick II inherited a tradition of Norman kingship that gave him a powerful instrument of government and a familiarity with cultures which seemed strange to much of the Latin west. His ideas about the place of the empire in the right order of Christendom derived from his Hohenstaufen legacy. His early attempts to forge an equal partnership with the papacy were as true to that legacy as his later challenges to papal political supremacy. Frederick II became the template for resistance to the political claims of the papacy, despite his failure to secure a place for himself and his dynasty in Italy.

See also **Aviary**; **Constance**; **Constitutions of Melfi**; **Cortenuova**,

Battle of; Crusades; Dante Alighieri; Frederick I Barbarossa; Ghibelline; Gregory IX, Pope; Guelfs; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Holy Roman Empire; Honorius III, Pope; Innocent III, Pope; Innocent IV, Pope; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Lombard Leagues; Normans; Palermo; Pier de la Vigna; Prato; Scuola Poetica Siciliana; Sicily

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Frederick III, King of Sicily

Frederick III of Sicily (or Frederick II, 1272-1337) was the youngest son of Peter III the Great, king of Aragon, and appeared to have benefited least from his father's will when Peter died in 1285. Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia were bequeathed to Frederick's eldest brother, Alfonso; and Sicily to the middle brother, James. However, Frederick's moment came in 1291, when Alfonso died without heirs; James did not separate Sicily from his realms, but he knew that he could not defend it against Spain single-handed and so left Frederick in charge as lieutenant-governor.

At this point James was eager to put to an end the continuing strife

between the house of Aragon and the French, who as allies of the Angevins still posed a considerable threat to his Spanish lands; he also sought to make his peace with the papacy. He thus concluded that a compromise with the Angevins over the future of the island of Sicily was essential. In 1295, James agreed to abandon Sicily to Charles II of Anjou and to take Sardinia and Corsica instead; Frederick would leave his post and marry into the family of the deposed Latin emperors of Constantinople, so that he could make his fortune in the east. Such an agreement could not bind the Sicilians, who had fought hard for their independence from Naples. In 1296, a Sicilian parliament enthusiastically offered a crown to Frederick, who thus became Frederick II of Sicily and called himself Frederick III because he sought to be, like his great-grandfather the Holy Roman emperor Frederick II, a focus for Ghibelline sentiment in Italy.

James lived up to his side of his arrangement with the papacy and supported the Angevins in their war against Frederick, though he avoided committing himself heavily and maintained a cordial correspondence with Frederick about family matters. The Angevins landed in Sicily in 1298, but they were never able to secure a firm foothold, despite support from the navy of the Aragonese admiral Roger de Lauria. In 1302, the treaty of Caltabellotta secured Sicily for Frederick, though he was obliged to withdraw from his mainland conquests and to accept the title "king of Trinacria," a literary artifice meant to ensure that there would not be two kings of Sicily, one on the mainland and one on the island. Under the treaty, "Trinacria" was to revert to the Angevins after Frederick's death, and a marriage alliance was to bind him to the Neapolitan royal house.

Although this put an end to the war of the Vespers, it did not end attempts by James II of Aragon and others to persuade Frederick to take another crown, whether in Sardinia or Albania, in the hope that Sicily would be ceded to Naples. Contemptuous of such initiatives, Frederick concentrated on rebuilding the economic and religious life of Sicily, which had suffered in the twenty-year war against Naples. He tried to reinvigorate religion after a long period of interdict; personally pious, he was known as a patron of the radical Spiritual wing of the Franciscan movement. He acted severely toward the Jews of Sicily, planning at one point to move the Jews of Palermo into a ghetto. He

reformed weights and measures and the system of trade taxes. His generosity to towns, which included edicts exempting them from certain tolls, brought him popularity and may have stimulated urban growth; however, it also weakened the traditionally strong position of the crown relative to the cities. Powerful baronial factions, the germ of the future Catalan and Latin factions, began to emerge, including elements favorable to an Angevin restoration. The situation was not helped by the continuing raids from Angevin Naples, or by Frederick's decision in 1322 to elevate his son Peter to the office of co-king, thereby trampling on the stipulation that the island would revert to the Angevins of Naples when he himself died. Between 1325 and 1327, the Angevins made further major attempts to invade Sicily; Frederick was thus unable to provide his kingdom with the peace the Sicilians craved.

When Frederick died in 1337, a succession of short reigns followed, during which the increasingly evident weakness of the crown was accentuated, in the face of the power of the Palizzi, the Chiaramonti, and other great noble dynasties.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Caltabellotta, Treaty of; Franciscan Order; James II, King of Aragon; Naples; Palermo; Peter III of Aragon; Sicilian Vespers; Sicily

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French Language in Italy

Practical and cultural contacts—especially the continuous pilgrimages to Rome, the crusades, and the Cluniac and Cistercian foundations, as well as commerce and literature—contributed to the dissemination of a certain knowledge of French in medieval Italy.

In southern Italy, the influence of the French-speaking Normans was quite important, and knowledge of French was indispensable at their courts. Count Henry of Montescaglioso, for example, did not know French (*Francorum se linguam ignorare, quae maxime necessaria esset in curia*: "he doesn't know the French language, which is most necessary at the court") and for that reason refused the function of regent during the minority of William II the Good of Sicily (r. 1172-1189). Furthermore, the political-administrative influence of the Angevin regime (1266-1442) kept French language and culture alive in the kingdom of Naples for a long time.

Northern Italy was even more exposed to the influence of French. This was especially true in Piedmont, because of its geographic situation, providing two approaches to the three major passes in the western Alps (Great Saint Bernard, Little Saint Bernard, and Mont Cenis); because of its repeated military occupations; and because of its dynastic ties with Savoy—its counts held Susa as early as the eleventh century. The influence was particularly strong in Asti, which was held by the French until the sixteenth century. In the Aosta and Susa valleys, although a French dialect is still spoken there today, written documentation—in literary French—does not start until the sixteenth century. However, in northeastern Italy (Cremona, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Venice) we find a peculiar phenomenon during the medieval period: the language called Franco Italian. In Franco-Italian literature, there are different degrees of hybridization of French texts with Italian dialects. *Chansons de geste*, such as the epic *Chanson de Roland*, offer striking examples. Here is an excerpt from the Franco-Italian version of *Chanson de Roland* (verses 1864-1867):

*Rollant à messo l'olinfant a sa boqe,
Inpinç il ben, per gran virtù lo toce;
Grand quindès leugue la vox contra responde,*

("Roland put the *olifant* [horn] to his mouth; he gave it a good blow; it sounds with great strength; the echo resounds fifteen miles around; Charles and all his companions hear it.") This artificial language is attested to in the poetry and prose of the region from the twelfth century to the fourteenth.

In the thirteenth century, we also find a mixture of Tuscan and French, which seems to have been limited to literature and was used specifically to ensure that a story would have a large audience. Worth mentioning in this context are *Livre dou tresor* (c. 1265) by Brunetto Latini; *Il milione* (1298) by Marco Polo, or rather Rustichello da Pisa; an adaptation of the *Roman de la Rose* entitled *Ilfiore* (after 1284), possibly by Dante; and *Intelligenza* (end of the thirteenth century), an anonymous allegorical treatise. Also important are the frequent commercial contacts, especially with Champagne, evidenced by several Florentine account books. The name of Saint Francis of Assisi—Francesco—and his knowledge of French, attested to by his biographers, reflect his father's commercial ties with France. In addition, one must consider the important relations with the papal court at Avignon in the fourteenth century, as well as the French fashions and customs at the court of Naples.

But there was also a reaction. Dante's diatribe against the presumed superiority of foreign languages in *Il convivio* (1.11) is well known. Dante's younger contemporary, the Siennese Cecco Angiolieri (c. 1260-1312), satirized the French fad in the sonnet *Quando Ner Picolin tornò di Francia*; and Franco Sacchetti (c. 1330-1400) wrote a *caccia* in which there is a character who speaks an affected, frenchified Italian. Benvenuto da Imola (d. 1388), in his *Comentum super Dantis Comoediam* (Book 2, p. 409), considers those who admire the French language stupid, *nam lingua gallica est bastarda linguae latinae* ("for the French language is a bastard of the Latin language"). Petrarch, when he was sent to the king of France in 1361, apologized for speaking Latin rather than French: *linguam gallicam nec scio nec facile possum scire* ("I don't know the French language, nor can I learn it easily").

See also Angevin Dynasty; Avignonese Papacy; Brunetto Latini;

Cecco Angiolieri; Dante Alighieri; Francis of Assisi; Franco-Italian: Language; Franco-Italian: Literature; Intelligenza; Normans; Petrarca, Francesco; Polo, Marco; Sacchetti. Franco

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Fresco

See Painting: Fresco

Frescobaldi, Dino

Dino Frescobaldi lived between 1271 and 1316 and was, in the words of Giovanni Boccaccio, *in quegli tempi famosissimo dicitore per rima in Firenze*. "at that time a very famous composer of rhyme in Florence." Dino came from a family of poets. His brother Giovanni, his son Matteo, and his father, Lambertuccio, a prominent Florentine banker, also composed verse. In *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, Boccaccio credits Dino Frescobaldi with having recovered the first seven cantos of the *Inferno*, which Dante had left in Florence when he was exiled. That episode alone would guarantee Dino's place in Italian literary history,

but he is also considered a key figure in the evolution of the *dolce stil novo* in the aftermath of Cavalcanti's death and during the years of Dante's exile. Boccaccio's favorable opinion of Dino Frescobaldi's poetry was supported by Pietro Bembo in *Prose delta volgar lingua*.

Dino's known poetic output consists of twenty-one poems (five *canzoni* and sixteen sonnets) that have been handed down to us in ten manuscripts, the most important of which is a famous collection of *stilnovo* poetry, Vaticano Chigiano L.VIII.305. Love is the dominant theme of his poetry; like Dante, Dino is infatuated with a young and beautiful woman, whose identity is unknown, suggesting that she is perhaps a literary creation. Dino is, above all, a Cavalcantian poet who effectively represents his psychological struggle with love. His reverence for Dante and Cavalcanti is evidenced by the fact that he borrows their themes and their vocabulary. In comparison with the poetry of other *stilnovisti*, however, Dino's poetry tends to be descriptive rather than lyrical in its representations of love, as in the sonnet *No spero di trovar giarnmai pietate*. Brugnolo (1984) has pointed out that Dino's syntax is contracted and analytical compared with that of other *stilnovo* poets, who tend to write in longer, more fluid sentences. In another sonnet, *La foga di quell'arco, che s'aperse*, Dino emphasizes tension by using vibrant metaphors and by juxtaposing harsh-sounding words. Besides reminding us of Dante's *rime petrose*, the sonnet reveals that Dino is less concerned with abstract considerations of love than with representing his own internal emotional and intellectual conflict. Scholars have suggested that Dino Frescobaldi has much in common with Cino da Pistoia, who was reared on *stilnovo* poetry and belonged to the generation of younger poets that moved away from speaking abstractly about love and began to represent its tangible effects on the lover. Dino's poetry is not characterized by idealistic, transcendental fervor. Rather, it reflects a secular interest in the theme of love. Poets such as Cino da Pistoia and Dino Frescobaldi, while continuing the *stilnovo* tradition, paved the way for a new poetic sensibility that was epitomized in the poetry of Francesco Petrarca.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Cavalcanti, Guido; Cino da Pistoia; Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Florence; Frescobaldi Family;

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Frescobaldi Family

The Frescobaldi came to Florence from the Val di Pesa c. 1200. Like other rural nobles who migrated to the city, they were soon active in

commerce and politics. By 1240, they were represented in the three most important guilds in Florence: the Lana, Calimala, and Cambio. In 1252, Lamberto Frescobaldi was elected to the *anziani* (elders), and in 1285 Ghino Frescobaldi was chosen as one of the priors. Other members of the family served as ambassadors to various Italian city-states and to the papal court. Even after the Frescobaldi and other magnates were banned from major public offices under the Ordinances of Justice of 1293, the family remained active in Florentine politics. They were ubiquitous in the minor posts still open to them, especially the position of *podestà* in the subject towns of the Florentine *contado* (hinterland). More important, they exercised considerable informal influence through their wealth and through their commercial and marital ties to important families of the *popolani grassi* such as the Capponi and the Guadagni. Relatives and business partners of the Frescobaldi appear repeatedly in the lists of Florentine officials from the late thirteenth century onward.

The wealth, and therefore the power, of the Frescobaldi derived from their commercial success. Combining trade, especially in wool and cloth, with banking, the Frescobaldi were active in Naples, Padua, Ferrara, Avignon, London, Paris, Bruges, and the Tirol as well as Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At times there were a number of Frescobaldi companies operating simultaneously, often in competition with each other. In England, the company headed by Berto Frescobaldi but managed locally by his sons Amerigo and Bettino succeeded the Riccardi of Lucca as the chief bankers of Edward I and Edward II, supplying the crown with ready funds in return for control of the wool customs and other sources of royal revenue. With royal patronage, the family soon became very powerful, acquiring offices, lands, and ecclesiastical benefices. Like the Riccardi, the Frescobaldi eventually suffered financially as a result of their involvement with the English crown. When the Lords Ordainers seized power in 1310, Amerigo and his brothers were stripped of their offices and privileges, were imprisoned in the Tower of London, and were fortunate to escape with their lives. Some historians have assumed that bankruptcy must have been the inevitable result of the English debacle; but Donato Velluti, a relative by marriage of the Frescobaldi, records in his *Chronicle* that one branch of the family at least managed to survive

with much of its wealth intact.

There is some indication that the Frescobaldi, like other Florentine merchant bankers, placed part of their capital in safer investments such as land and the *monte* after 1350; however, they continued to be involved in international trade and banking until well into the sixteenth century. Likewise, the Frescobaldi appear again and again in Florence's internal conflicts from the thirteenth century until the fifteenth, either among the supporters of the government or among the opposition, and sometimes on both sides. Berto Frescobaldi was a bitter personal enemy of Giano Della Bella and opposed the institution of the popular regime of the 1290s. According to Dino Compagni, Berto was the leader of a group of magnates who plotted to overthrow the new government. In the violent struggle between the Blacks and Whites that divided Florence in the first decade of the fourteenth century, different branches of the Frescobaldi family took opposing sides.

When the expansionist policy of the Florentine republic threatened the commercial interests of the merchant bankers in 1340, the Frescobaldi and the Bardi attempted a coup aimed at putting the government in the hands of the great merchant banking families and redirecting the course of Florentine foreign policy. They were exiled after the coup failed, and they were not able to return to Florence until the regime of Walter of Brienne, duke of Athens, in 1342. Like some other magnate families, the Frescobaldi were able to profit from Walter's rise and then from his fall, skillfully trimming their sails to suit the prevailing wind. Berto Frescobaldi the younger served Walter as *podestà* and castellan and was chosen as one of the magistrates of the temporary government that followed after Walter was overthrown. In 1360, less than twenty years after their return from exile, the Frescobaldi participated in another abortive coup and again suffered temporary banishment. In the early fifteenth century, they were closely associated with a political faction led by the Albizzi that opposed Cosimo de' Medici.

See also Compagni, Dino; Florence; Frescobaldi, Dino; Frescobaldi, Matteo; Walter of Brienne

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Frescobaldi, Matteo

Little is known about the life and work of the Florentine poet Matteo Frescobaldi (c. 1297-1348). His father was the *stilnovista* Dino Frescobaldi and his grandfather, Lambertuccio Frescobaldi, composed sonnets in the style of Guittone d'Arezzo. Matteo was fined in 1334 for illegal possession of a weapon. In 1340, the Frescobaldi family took part in an attempt to oust the Florentine captain of the guard, Iacopo de' Gabrielli da Gubbio. When the coup failed, the Frescobaldi fled Florence. They returned in 1342 during an amnesty decreed by the duke of Athens, Walter (Gualtieri) di Brienne, who had come to power that year. On 28 September 1342, Matteo and several relatives signed a peace agreement with members of the Bostichi family, with whom they had been feuding for many years.

Scholars have expressed doubt concerning the authenticity of the poems attributed to Matteo Frescobaldi. The manuscripts containing these poems were copied long after his death, and in several instances the poems are anonymous or are included among works of little-known poets. Hence, according to Li Gotti (1947), Matteo's actual corpus is quite small: two *canzoni*, one *ballata*, and eight sonnets. Corsi (1969) also states his reservations about the textual tradition of the *rime*.

At the same time, however, Corsi emphasizes the originality of

Matteo's interpretation of love (p. 79). Whereas his father, Dino Frescobaldi, idealized young women, Matteo expresses his own preference for widows in the sonnets *Com piú riguardo l'onesta bellezza* and *La dolce donna che sotto tier' ombra*. Andreas Capellanus formulated a theory about the love of widows, and after Matteo Frescobaldi this theme became popular among several fourteenth-century poets: Giovanni Boccaccio, Antonio Pucci, Niccolò Soldanieri, and Giovanni Pigli (Corsi, pp. 79-80). Matteo also composed two political *canzoni*: *Cara Fiorenza mia, se l'alto Iddio* and *Molto m'allegro di Firenze or io*. The first is a veiled invective against the government of the tyrant Iacopo de Gabrielli and is marked by a forceful representation of competing emotions: anger, pity, shame, and love. The second demonstrates Matteo's talent for satire and irony.

See also Florence; Frescobaldi, Dino; Frescobaldi Family; Italian Poetry: Lyric

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Frezzi, Federico

The Dominican friar and theologian Federico Frezzi (c. 1346-1416) was born in Foligno (Perugia) and died while attending the Council of Constance in Germany. He lectured on theology at the universities of Florence, Pisa, and Bologna; became bishop of Foligno in 1404; and was a humanist at the court of Ugolini Trinci of Foligno. Frezzi is known for *II quadriregio del decorso della vita umana*, an allegorical and encyclopedic poem written between 1394 and 1403. In this work, which was modeled on Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Frezzi narrates a journey through four realms; those of Love, Satan, Vice, and Virtue. Like Dante, Frezzi uses the tercet as the strophic unit in the seventy-four cantos of *II quadriregio*.

In the first book, the poet-wayfarer is guided by Cupid through the kingdom of Love. There, he fails in love with Filena, a nymph who is transformed by the goddess Diana into an oak tree. The climax of the first book is a description of a banquet held in Diana's honor, at which the poet becomes infatuated with Lippea, a nymph in Juno's entourage. Minerva, however, exhorts him to suppress his passion, and in the second book Minerva guides him through the realm of Satan. With Minerva's help, the poet ascends to earth and wages battle with Satan, ultimately defeating him in a struggle that symbolizes the victory of humility over pride. After visiting the kingdom of the seven deadly sins, the poet arrives in the earthly paradise. From there, he is guided by the prophets Elia and Enoch through the kingdom of the cardinal virtues and theological virtues. In the last cantos of the poem, Charity explains the order of the universe to the poet and leads him to a vision of God.

II quadriregio and the *Divine Comedy* have several structural and thematic features in common. Most notably, Frezzi uses the poet-wayfarer as the protagonist of the quest for salvation; he also uses guides and describes a vision of hell, the earthly paradise, and the heavens. Aesthetically, however, Frezzi falls short of his model. *II*

quadriregio is laden with moral didacticism and abstract imagery. Indeed, Sapegno (1973, 130) describes it as a partly unconscious parody of the *Divine Comedy*. Whatever its shortcomings, though, *II quadriregio* is worthy of critical attention because it demonstrates the tension within a sensibility influenced both by secular humanism and by a profound affinity with Dante's worldview.

See also Dante Alighieri; Foligno

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Fustians

Owing to a limited scale of cultivation, cotton cloth was a luxury in the ancient world. In the wake of the Arab conquests, however, the acreage devoted to cotton crops expanded exponentially across the old world. This was a direct result of the agrarian policies of Muslim rulers, which included laws favoring irrigation and land improvement. By the late Middle Ages, cotton cultivation had reached its maximum historical extension within a zone that stretched from China to Spain and from India to central Asia. The extraordinary expansion of cotton cultivation was paralleled by a proliferation of urban centers of cotton weaving and the widespread adoption of cotton fabrics by all classes of Muslim society.

The opening of new commercial routes in the Mediterranean in the late eleventh century facilitated the importation of Muslim cotton fabrics, which appealed to a growing class of urban consumers in western Europe. Knowledge of cotton weaving spread from Sicily to central Italy and Tuscany, where minor guilds of artisans used cotton, imported through Pisa and Ancona, in the production of sailcloth and specialized apparel such as veils. An even more rapid assimilation of advanced tools and techniques from the Islamic world took place in northern Italy. Merchant entrepreneurs from the populous towns of the Po Valley were the first to establish a large-scale, export-oriented cotton industry on European soil.

Unlike the decentralized Islamic industry that developed in the primary zones of cotton cultivation, the industry in northern Italy depended on distant sources of raw materials. The Italian merchants became the primary carriers in the medieval cotton trade. The ports of Venice and Genoa and the river system of the Po provided an efficient commercial network for the low-cost transport of bales of raw cotton. Cotton accounted for a substantial percentage of cargoes entering the ports of Venice and Genoa. Imports included the prime grades of Syria,

Palestine, Greece, and Lesser Armenia, as well as the lower-ranked varieties of western Anatolia, Calabria, Apulia, Sicily, Malta, North Africa, and southern Spain. The various grades of cotton were never mixed. Instead, they were utilized separately for the production of a sophisticated range of fabrics accessible to a broad spectrum of buyers.

The output of a large volume of low- to medium-priced fabrics destined for mass consumption was made possible through a standardization of products and implements and through a regional division of labor. Warp threads and yarn made in standard lengths and counts by peasant women in rural areas of Lombardy were distributed by specialized merchants to urban entrepreneurs who guided the processing of cloth through various stages from weaving to dyeing and pressing. These steps required a large and diversified labor force, which numbered several thousands in the prime industrial cities.

The adoption of common norms of production contributed to the commercial success of the industry. The growing demand for Italian fustians in regional and international trade was in part a response to aggressive marketing of a diversified line of recognized brands. Each type of cloth was identified by trademarks, affixed by guild and city inspectors, that guaranteed uniform quality and workmanship. The generic Italian term *fustagno* (derived from Arabic) referred to the entire range of pure cotton and mixed cotton fabrics produced by hand-loom weavers. Many Italian fabrics were made in imitation of Muslim prototypes such as buckram or muslin. To these, the producers added their own brand names and specialties. In European markets a variety of bleached, dyed, and patterned cotton fabrics, in standard weights and dimensions, competed with linens for use in apparel and household goods. Flannelettes provided an affordable alternative to medium- and low-priced woolens, as did quilted cottons, which were widely adopted for military tunics. Heavy cotton canvas was used for sailcloth on Mediterranean ships, while coarser grades were used for sacks and packing materials. Mixed fustians with warps of linen, hemp, wool, or silk extended the range of designs and options for discriminating customers.

Through the early fourteenth century, the principal markets for Italian producers were north of the Alps. However, Italian fustians also competed directly with Islamic cotton goods in Mediterranean trade.

Large quantities shipped to the North African ports of Tunis and Bougie were destined for the Saharan caravan trade. Italian-made cottons often functioned as currency in the Black Sea ports. Consignments of Italian fabrics were exported to territories held by the crusaders in the eastern Mediterranean, as well as to Greece, Sicily, and southern France.

The hegemony of the Italian cotton industry was challenged in the fourteenth century by new production centers that arose in southern Germany, including Ulm, Augsburg, and other, smaller towns. Initially, German *barchent* were deliberate imitations of Italian brands, marketed under names and trademarks copied from the originals. *Barchent* were woven in the surrounding country districts and finished and inspected in urban workshops. In many traditional outlets, ordinary Italian fustians lost ground to lower-priced German goods. Despite intense price competition, Italian producers retained a share of the market by virtue of superior dyeing and finishing techniques. However, in the course of the fifteenth century, the fulcrum of production was displaced from the towns to the Italian countryside (in Lombardy, the Piedmont, and the hinterland of Genoa), which offered the advantages of cheap labor and freedom from guild legislation. Following the decline of the northern Italian and southern German urban textile industries after 1550, the proto-industrial production of cotton goods persisted in rural Lombardy until the industrial revolution.

See also **Agriculture; Wool Industry in Italy**

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G

Gaddi, Agnolo

Agnolo Gaddi (c. 1350-1396) was the son of the Florentine painter Taddeo Gaddi and himself occupies an important place in the history of Florentine painting. Agnolo ran one of the largest workshops in Italy in the 1380s and 1390s and produced some of the best and most important works of the time. Although a number of artists working in Florence in the last quarter of the 1300s—such as Giovanni del Biondo, Antonio Veneziano, and Spinello Aretino—were pursuing similar lines, it was Agnolo who most forcefully redirected Florentine art away from the stiff, austere idiom of mid-century painters such as Andrea Cione (Orcagna) and his brothers. Agnolo's redirection led, on the one hand, to a more decorative, lyrical style in his large-scale narratives, paving the way for the elegant patterns and ornate richness of Lorenzo Monaco and Gentile da Fabriano in the next century. On the other hand, it led to a more naturalistic, monumental style in his panel paintings, pointing toward the heroic conceptions of Donatello and Masaccio in early Renaissance Florence. Agnolo's contemporaries may have been sensible of his revival of Giotto's monumentality after an interval of harsh, planar abstraction, for in *Il libro dell'arte* (late *Trecento*) his pupil Cennino Cennini pointedly declared Agnolo's direct descent, through his father, from the tradition of Giotto.

Little is known of Agnolo's artistic formation or his early career, although the influence of his father, Taddeo, on his style is unmistakable. Agnolo is first documented in 1369 among a group of pupils working under his brother Giovanni on decorations (now lost) for the Vatican Palace in Rome. His earliest documented work for Florence dates from as late as 1380, when his career must have been in full stride; this was an Annunciation (also lost) painted for the hospital of the Bigallo. Vasari (1568) attributed the choir frescoes of Santa Maria del Carmine to Agnolo, as an early work, but no documentary evidence

supports this ascription of the cycle (which, again, is now lost).

Much of Agnolo's subsequent documented activity in the 1380s and 1390s has to do with works designed but not executed by him and constitutes a perfect example of the diverse commissions a medieval workshop typically received, and of the collaborative nature of the art it produced. These works include drawings for a number of sculptural programs, such as a series of virtues for the Loggia de' Lanzi and apostles for the facade of the cathedral in Florence; plans for equestrian monuments to John Hawkwood and Pietro Farnese; and a series of stained-glass windows, again for the cathedral of Florence. Among the many commissions directly executed by Agnolo and his workshop, some of the more important are frescoes of the *Life of Saint John the Evangelist* in the Capella Castellani in Santa Croce (c. 1384) in Florence; a polyptych, the *Coronation of the Virgin* (early 1380s; the central portion is now in the National Gallery in London); the fresco cycle *Legend of the True Cross* in the choir of Santa Croce in Florence (1388-1393); frescoed decorations (done in collaboration with Niccolo di Pietro Gerini and Ber-tozzo di Bartolomeo, documented 1391) for the palace of the merchant Francesco di Marco Datini in Prato; frescoes of the *Story of Mary and Her Sacred Girdle* for the Cappella della Sacra Cintola in Prato Cathedral (documented 1392-1395); and an altarpiece for the chapel of Saint Minias in San Miniato al Monte in Florence (documented 1394-1396).

A panel painting such as the *Madonna and Child with Four Saints and Angels* (now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.) shows Agnolo's renewed interest in Giottesque form. In color, compositional structure, and even content, this altarpiece reasserts the accessible, humane, believable godhead depicted during the early *Trecento*. Mary directly addresses the viewer with a warm gaze as she presents the Christ child. Her throne is firmly planted on the ground and projects forward into space, as in Giotto's *Ognissanti Madonna*. Agnolo's work is similar to the *Ognissanti Madonna* in another way as well: the worshipping angels kneel at each side of the throne so that a viewer kneeling before the altarpiece completes the circle of adoration. The saints and angels at the sides either return our gaze to or help focus our attention on the central characters. All the figures, with their ample proportions and broad folds of drapery, are carefully modeled to

emphasize their material presence; and although the horizontal band of carpeting is still patterned in the flat two-dimensional manner of paintings from the 1350s and 1360s, the upper part of this band is shaded as if receding into the distance, suggesting a breadth of space surrounding the four saints. In Agnolo's compositions, color is applied in large blocks, helping to convey the structure of the forms depicted; and soothing light-toned color harmonies of pink, yellow, and green—unlike the strident color relationships of many works by the Cione brothers—give Agnolo's paintings an airiness that is one of the hallmarks of his style.

See also Gaddi, Taddeo; Giotto di Bondone; Painting: Fresco; Painting: Panel

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Gaddi, Taddeo

Taddeo Gaddi (fl. mid-1320s, d. 1366) was the leading painter of the Florentine school after the death of Giotto in 1337, as early sources and documents confirm. In the general literature, Giotto continues to overshadow this very capable artist, but specialists have long recognized not only Taddeo's continuation of Giotto's monumental style but also his innovative, earthy wit; his subtle understanding of light and color; and his extensive and varied work in fresco, panel painting, and window design.

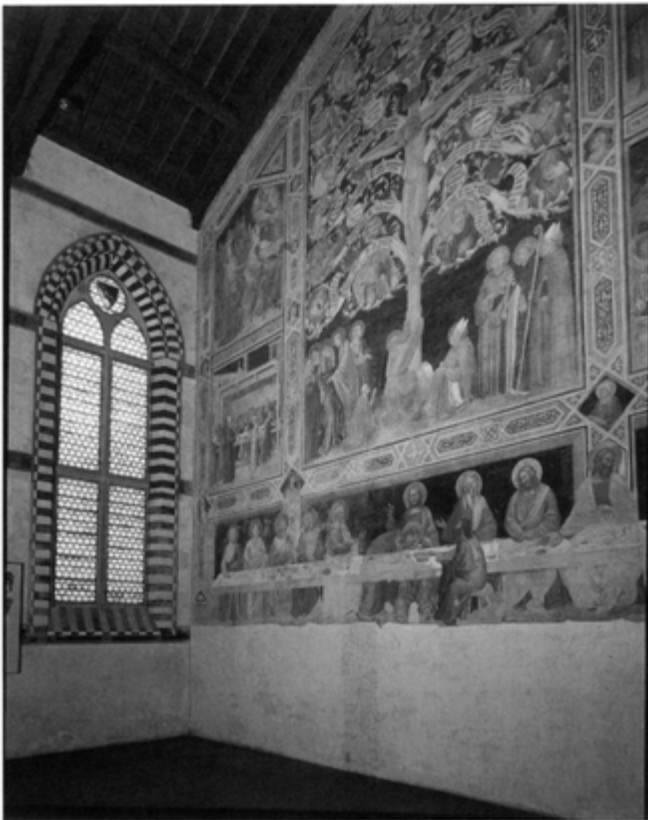
About 1330, Taddeo matriculated in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali. Between 1331 and 1337, the account books of the Bardi banking company (Ser Miniato di Ser Biagio Boccadibue, 1322-1343, Archivio di Stato, Notarile antecosimiano B 1951) note that Taddeo decorated Gualterotto di Jacopo de' Bardi's chapel of Saint Louis of Toulouse and Saint Louis of France at Santa Croce in Florence. Nothing of this project remains. The first documented extant painting by Taddeo is from 1334: a signed and dated beautiful small, portable triptych (now in Berlin, Gemaeldeg. 1079-1081). This work is in the tradition of Bernardo Daddi and suggests Taddeo's interest in the less monumental form that was then gaining popularity.

The major extant fresco cycle attributed to Taddeo from these early years is in the Baroncelli Chapel at Santa Croce. Its chronology is debated by scholars. The earlier suggested date, February 1328, is based on a tomb inscription in the chapel, for members of the Vanni and Baroncelli families. The later possible date, the 1330s, is based on a series of documents associated with the Augustinian friar Simone Fidati, believed by some scholars to have inspired the iconography of the cycle. These frescoes— which are devoted to the life of the Virgin— exemplify Taddeo's early style. Although Taddeo was influenced by Giotto's cycle in the Peruzzi Chapel in Santa Croce, he is more fascinated with pictorial space, lighting, and lively anecdotal episodes than Giotto, who favored greater psychological subtlety. As Ladis (1982) has noted, Taddeo's *Marriage of the Virgin* seems to refer considerably to the *mattinata*, the shivaree that satirized widowers' marriages and other unlikely marriages. The imagery is in the spirit of Boccaccio rather than the heavy morality of an Augustinian preacher. Taddeo's innovative use of light to convey miraculous revelation is exemplified in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, where natural light from a window is transformed into a divine light emitted by an angel and falling on the awakened shepherds.

An equally important commission in these earlier years was a collection of panels (now in the Accademia in Florence) devoted to the parallel lives of Christ and Saint Francis of Assisi. These panels were broken apart in 1810, and scholars have debated both their original configuration and their attribution. Taddeo is now the undisputed creator of the small quatrefoil images, probably dating from before the

frescoes in the Baron-celli Chapel; but their arrangement as part of a reliquary cabinet remains disputed. The saturated color of the sacristy panels in tempera, combined with the miraculous expressive light, represents an alternative to the monumental figures more typical of fresco as a medium and is an important element of Taddeo's powerful compositions.

In the period from Giotto's death (1337) until the onslaught of the black plague (1348), Taddeo and his shop had many commissions, although the evidence has been poorly preserved for the best-documented frescoes, done between 1341 and 1342 in the crypt of San Miniato al Monte in Florence. Taddeo's works for the Gambacorti family in Pisa and subsequently for the Strozzi in Florence do not survive, nor does the documenting letter itself, apparently the first written by an Italian artist to have been recorded.



Taddeo Gaddi (c. 1300-1366). *Tree of Life (Tree of the Cross)*. Side view. Santa Croce, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Following Meiss's groundbreaking study (1951) of the effect of the plague on the arts of central Italy, critics argued for a significant stylistic change among the new generation of artists, such as the Cione brothers, Andrea (known as Orcagna) and Nardo. For many critics, Taddeo's own reputation after 1348 is captured in *Il libro delle trecentonovelle* (c. 1390) of Franco Sacchetti. In the pertinent story, Orcagna asks a group of friends gathered at San Miniato al Monte to name the best painter after Giotto, but they cannot agree. Taddeo observes that art is in decline, a remark that stops the conversation until someone suggests that the cosmetics used by the women of Florence qualify them as the best artists. Taddeo's bleak view has, according to some scholars, obscured his own genuine accomplishment in coming to terms with the aesthetics of the new generation. Certainly, he continued to receive considerable commissions that allowed him to live comfortably in the Santa Croce quarter, as his tax records indicate.

The Florentines respected Taddeo's judgment, however somber, as is indicated by the fact that he served as an adviser to the Opera del Duomo (cathedral works) between 1355 and 1366. His presence, which is documented—and for which the documentation is augmented by accounts from Antonio Billi, the Anonimo Gaddiano, and Giorgio Vasari—led to the idea that Taddeo was also an architect and that in this capacity he finished Giotto's campanile, worked on Or San Michele, and created the model and design for the Ponte Vecchio after the flood of 1333. Architectural historians remain skeptical about this; but it is clear that in any case, as Ghiberti noted in *I commentarii*, Taddeo was very learned.

In 1348, Taddeo appeared on a list of painters who were being considered for the completion of Alesso di Andrea's unfinished polyptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints for San Giovanni Fuorcivitas in Pistoia. In 1353, he was paid for this work, portions of which remain in the church. On 3 April 1353, Taddeo returned ten florins and paid restitution for breaking his contract with the Commune of Florence by failing to paint the tribunal of the *mercanzia*, the high court of the merchants. That year he also signed a Virgin and Child for

Giovanni di Ser Segna for the church of San Lucchese, Poggibonsi (it was recorded as being there in seventeenth century but is now in the Uffizi in Florence).

In this last period Taddeo completed one of this most memorable fresco projects, for the refectory of Santa Croce. Vasari claimed that Giotto had created this fresco, but scholars now accept Taddeo as the artist. Although the date is still debated, it is increasingly thought to be c. 1360. This unusual composition includes the a Tree of Life, inspired by Saint Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, flanked by four pictorially framed scenes devoted to saints important to the Franciscan order. Beneath these paintings, spanning the entire width of the wall at the end of the refectory, Taddeo did a fresco of the Last Supper. He depicts a table that gives the illusion of projecting outward, at which sit Christ and the apostles, with Judas relegated to the side nearest the friars at their own tables in the refectory. This decidedly Franciscan iconography concluded Taddeo's long devotion to artistic projects for the priory and private quarters of the Franciscans in Florence, and it was one of the first of many depictions of the Last Supper in refectories of religious houses over the next two centuries. It also reflects Taddeo's lifelong commitment to—and success in handling—problems of pictorial illusionism.

In 1366, Taddeo Gaddi was recorded in the register of the Compagnia di San Luca, and that same year his wife was identified as a widow. Taddeo was buried, as Vasari notes, by his sons Angnolo and Giovanni at Santa Croce in the tomb he had made for his father, Gaddo.

See also **Gaddi, Agnolo**

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Gaeta

Medieval Gaeta centered on the ancient castle that sits at the tip of the promontory at the southwestern corner of the Bay of Gaeta on the coast between Rome and Naples. The Normans rebuilt the castle, as well as the cathedral of Saint Erasmus, which contains some notable medieval artworks.

Gaeta remained under nominal Byzantine control after the Germanic invasions, and it did not succumb to the Lombards in the fifth century. The town coalesced around the castle in the mid-ninth century, when the bishop and civic officials sought its protective proximity after many Arab raids and finally the sack of the old town, Formia, across the bay. The Arabs' activities, however, also seem to have helped Gaeta establish its independence from the control of both Naples and the papacy. Their activities, and possibly even their outright support, may have helped Docibilis I replace the Neapolitan nominees, sometime before 867, as ruler of the town. His grandson Docibilis II was the first to claim the title *dux*. His family continued to rule until the coming of the Normans; after taking Capua as his princedom, Richard of Aversa seized the city in 1062. Thereafter, the duchy of Gaeta was part of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, fought over by various claimants.

Gaeta had a role in Mediterranean commerce during the High Middle Ages. Compared with cities such as Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, Gaeta was only a second-rank commercial power. However, after Gaeta was incorporated into the Norman kingdom in the mid-twelfth century, the size of the city's fleet and its overall volume of commerce do not appear to have declined; in this regard Gaeta was unlike Amalfi. In the following centuries Gaetan ships carried Campanian olive oil, soap, and linen to places such as Sicily and also contracted to haul goods produced in other lands, such as Sicilian grain and cheese.

See also **Normans**

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Gaiseric the Vandal

Gaiseric (Geisericus, r. 428-477, d. 25 January 477) succeeded his half-brother Gunderic as king of the Alans and Vandals. In May 429, Gaiseric transported his troops from southern Spain to Mauretania Tingitana (now Morocco). After several years of fighting, including an attack on the city of Hippo Regius, Gaiseric sought a peace treaty with the western emperor Valentinian III. Consequently, the Vandals became *foederati* and were permitted to settle around Hippo Regius. This was not enough to sate Gaiseric's ambitions in Africa; in 493, Gaiseric attacked Carthage, occupied the city, and declared his independence from Rome. After negotiations with Valentinian III in 442, the Vandals obtained proconsular Africa, Byzacena, and eastern Numidia. Gaiseric used his powerful fleet to control the western Mediterranean during his reign. In addition, he successfully defended himself against attacks from the eastern Roman empire in 431, 441, and 467. After his famous sack of Rome in June of 455, his troops occupied the city and plundered it for two weeks. Gaiseric was succeeded by his son Huneric.

See also **Vandals**

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Galla Placidia

Aelia Galla Placidia (Placidia, c. 388 or 390-27 November 450) was the daughter of Emperor Theodosius I (r. 379-395) and his second wife, Galla, and thus the half sister of emperors Honorius (r. 393-423) and Arcadius (r. 383-408). In the early 390s, Galla Placidia was granted her own household, which made her financially independent. In 394, she was summoned to Milan, and there she witnessed the death of her father in early 395. During her childhood she was called *nobilissima puella* ("most noble girl"). She seems to have been raised in the care of her cousin Serena, the wife of the western general Stilicho. She presumably received a classical education; she also knew how to weave and embroider.

When the Visigoths attacked Rome in 408, Galla Placidia remained in the city, where, for whatever reason, she concurred in the execution of Serena. By the time of the sack of Rome in 410, Galla Placidia seems already to have been in the hands of the Goths. She was carried off with them to Gaul, and in 412 she was married in a Roman ceremony to the Visigothic chieftain Athaulf at Narbonne. She may have been a factor in Athaulf's eventual pro-Roman outlook. She subsequently traveled with the Goths to Spain. She and Athaulf had a son, Theodosius, who died in infancy; his death precluded any opportunity for a rapprochement between the Romans and the Visigoths.

In 416, after Athaulf's death, Galla Placidia was finally restored to the Romans. In 417, rather against her will, she was married to the powerful Roman general Constantius; she and Constantius had two

children: Justa Grata Honoria and the future emperor Valentinian III. In 419, she and her husband became involved—on the losing side—in a controversy over the election of a new bishop of Rome. She personally summoned the African bishops to a synod in Italy, and three of the letters she wrote regarding this matter still survive. In 421, Constantius became coemperor in the west, and Galla Placidia was made *augusta* (empress); their elevation, however, was not recognized in the east. After Constantius's death, in the same year, she quarreled with her brother, and she and her children sought refuge in Constantinople with her nephew, the eastern emperor Theodosius II (r. 402-450).

After the defeat of the western usurper Johannes in 425, the eastern government belatedly recognized the claim of Galla Placidia's son Valentinian to the western throne, but only at the price of part of the western empire. Galla Placidia and Valentinian accompanied the eastern army to Italy, where Johannes was overthrown and Valentinian was proclaimed *augustus* of the west in 425.

Placidia served as Valentinian's regent for the first twelve years of the young emperor's reign. An early supporter of the new regime was the count of Africa, Boniface, who had not recognized Johannes. A rival for influence was Aetius, who had the support of the Huns. Galla Placidia's initial choice for supreme general was a certain Felix, who, however, was murdered in 430 on the orders of Aetius: according to one report, Galla Placidia had instructed Felix to kill Aetius. In Africa, Galla Placidia's erstwhile ally Boniface had meanwhile declared his independence, and after she sent an army against him, Boniface was said to have responded by inviting the Vandals to come to his assistance. The threat posed by the Vandals became so great, though, that a reconciliation between Boniface and Galla Placidia was reached. In 432, Boniface returned to Italy and defeated his rival, Aëtius, but was killed in the process. After a brief period of exile, Aëtius was restored to favor and became patrician and master of soldiers. The rise of Aëtius, coupled with Valentinian's eventual majority, had the effect of reducing Galla Placidia's direct authority, although she remained in a position of influence until her death.



Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Galla Placidia was a devout Christian and a patroness of religion. She was involved in the building and restoration of several churches. In Rome she assisted in the restoration of the Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls and contributed to embellishments of the church of Holy Cross in Jerusalem. In Ravenna, she built the churches of the Holy Cross and of Saint John the Divine. The latter was the result of a vow she had made in 423 when she and her children were caught in a storm on the Adriatic Sea: the dedicatory inscription reads: "Galla Placidia, along with her son Placidus Valentinian Augustus and her daughter Justa Grata Honoria Augusta, fulfilled their vow for their liberation from the danger of the sea." Placidia also favored the church of Ravenna in other ways, seeing to its elevation to the status of archbishopric. She also built a church of Saint Stephen at Rimini.

Galla Placidia died in Rome. Her burial place is unknown: there remains much doubt as to whether the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna is actually her tomb. It is reasonably certain that either she or her son was responsible for its construction, but the building probably was initially intended as a chapel of Saint Laurence, not as a tomb. Galla Placidia exemplifies the strong-willed imperial women—Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius II, is another example—who exercised great influence in the fifth century in default of effective male

leadership. For Placidia's extant correspondence, see Guenther (1895).

See also **Aëtius, Flavius; Honorius, Emperor; Stilicho; Valentinian III**

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Galletto Pisano

Gallo (diminutive, Galletto; died c. 1301) is well documented in the 1270s and 1280s as an ambassador, city counselor (in Pisa), and *podestà* (in Volterra). He is also mentioned by Dante in *De vulgari eloquentia* (l.xiii.l) as having used the local language rather than the courtly vernacular, the *volgare illustre*, in his poems. Gallo is a good example of a Tuscan poet of the *Duecento* whose verses reflect the transition between the influence of courtly lyric motifs (advanced by Bonagiunta da Lucca) and Guittone d'Arezzo's studied formalism.

Gallo's two surviving *canzoni* are contained in three manuscripts: Laurenziano Redi 9, Vatican Latino 3793, and Florence B.N. Banco Rari 217 (II only). The first poem, *In alta donna*, is marked by mnemonic devices (strophic linkage through repetition, *coblas capfinidas*) and the courtly and uniquely Occitanized lexicon of the Sicilians (*amadori*, *leansa*). The second poem, *Credeam*, imitates the equivocal rhymes, labored forms, and metrical structure of Guittone's popular *Tuttor, s'eo veglio* and concludes with a rhyming play on Gallo's own name: *Di bella donna gallo,/ch'amo; ben dico Gallo*.

See also Guittone d'Arezzo; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody

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Galvano Flamma

Galvano Flamma (born c. 1283) came from a family of notaries in Milan. He joined the Dominican monastery of Saint Eustorgio at an early age. After a brief period in Pavia teaching theology, he returned to Milan, where he lectured on various subjects, including moral philosophy, ethics, and economics. Galvano is remembered chiefly as a

historian and a supporter of the Visconti family. His most important work, called *Chronica maior*, was a history of the Dominican order from its founding to c. 1344. Although it is no longer extant as such, much of it survives in his earlier *Chronica parva*. His many volumes dedicated to Milan contain invaluable information regarding the city's medieval history.

See also **Milan; Visconti Family**

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Garigliano, Battle of

Several strongholds in central Italy, established by Arab raiders in the ninth century, became concentration points for marauders (some Christian) who destabilized the area. Official attempts to evict these raiders failed, but a spontaneous resistance movement expelled the Arabs from the Roman area in the spring of 915. The Arabs retreated to their main base, at the mouth of the Garigliano River, which runs into the Gulf of Gaeta. There Pope John X gathered Roman and Spoletan forces, which were soon joined by troops from most of the southern Italian states. Gaeta's adherence to this unusual coalition of Italian powers, envisioned by Pope John VIII in the ninth century, was

achieved only with major territorial concessions. A Byzantine fleet under an able *strategos* proved crucial in isolating the Arabs from their reinforcements. After a two-month siege, an Arab sortie was annihilated in August 915.

Pope John X, who, like many tenth-century clerics, boasted of his fighting, gained prestige from the battle of Garigliano, as did Alberic of Spoleto (who was thus introduced into Roman society). The battle did indeed rid central Italy of Arab raiders (their focus moved northward); but it was the Byzantines who best exploited the victory, bringing most southern Italian states into allegiance with them soon afterward.

See also Arabs in Italy

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Gelasius, Pope

Gelasius I (saint, d. 29 November 496) became pope in 492, during a time of growing friction between east and west. Constantinople had been trying to move the center of secular and religious power eastward, away from the increasingly Germanic west. Furthermore, the eastern portion of the empire was troubled by the Monophysite controversy. Emperor Zeno (474–491) and his patriarch, Acacius, had tried to effect a religious compromise between Monophysites and Chalcedonians without consulting the papacy, which seemed distant in the Ostrogothic kingdom then ruling Rome. Gelasius's predecessor, Pope Felix III, had reacted to the escalating problems in the east by excommunicating Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople in 484. When Gelasius took office, he inherited the Acacian schism, which had to do as much with power as with orthodoxy.

These difficult issues made Gelasius's four-year papacy influential despite its brevity. Gelasius wrote more than 100 letters and tracts, including works against heretics—Pelagians and Manichaeans as well as Monophysites. However, he is best-known for his articulation of the primacy of Rome and his vision of the relationship between church and state. His theory of the political hierarchy grew out of his correspondence with Emperor Anastasius I (who had Monophysite inclinations). Gelasius argued that there were two powers by which the world was governed: the consecrated authority (*auctoritas*) of bishops and the power (*potestas*) of rulers. Of these, episcopal authority was the higher, since bishops were responsible for the spiritual well-being of their flock, and rulers were of that flock. Gelasius further claimed, in a famous formula, that the role of the emperor was to learn religion, not teach it. Finally, Gelasius asserted that of the bishops, the pope was preeminent as the "vicar of Christ," a phrase first used in Gelasius's papacy. Subsequent popes looked back to Gelasius's hierarchic theory as they worked to build the powerful medieval papacy.

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Genoa

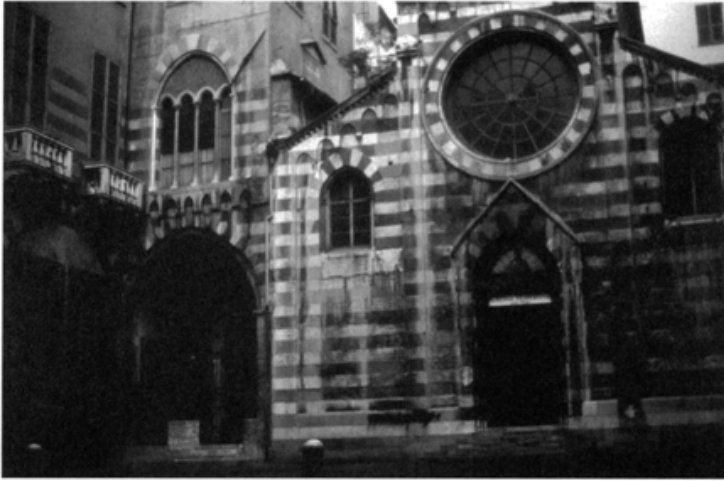
Genoa is a maritime amphitheater, formed rather like a Greek theater: the Apennines, branching from the Alps, dramatically frame the natural semicircular harbor. The city and its harbor are in the center of Liguria, one of the most picturesque regions of Italy. Rugged mountain passes isolated Genoa and its smaller coastal dependencies from the rich Po River valley of Lombardy to the north; this isolation impelled settlements toward the sea to become ports, and the sea was the source of their wealth and fame. The Bisagno and Polcevera valleys slice into Genoa on the east and west, only partially relieving the dense, restricted, vertical thrust from the harbor to the mountains above. Narrow coastal plains and harbor enclaves also interrupt the mountainous cascade into the sea. This rough terrain is punctuated by medieval family castles and religious sanctuaries that once divided the landscape into local fiefs (*feudi*) and were later overlaid by Renaissance and Baroque terraced villas, gardens, and farms, all facing the sea. The aristocratic residences towered over small fishing villages and maritime trading centers that, lacking sufficient agricultural production,

depended on imports from other parts of Italy and the Mediterranean to support the population. The result was a social, political, economic, and cultural emporium influenced by diverse elements from northern Europe and the Mediterranean.

Genoa always faced the sea. Its origins are shrouded from us, since the archaeological and literary evidence is fragmentary, but ancient Genua probably originated in the sixth century B.C. as a Ligurian settlement of warriors, fishermen, and shepherds, based on bronze age technology. In the first century after Christ, Strabo (*Geography*, 4, 6) mentioned "Genua, the emporium of the Ligures" as the center of the Ingauni and Intemelii tribes who settled the Ligurian coast. These coastal hill-town centers were already controlled by the Romans during the second Punic war against Hannibal in northern Italy c. 218 B.C. (Livy, *History of Rome*, 21, 32); they were connected to Rome and the republic (later the empire) by an extension of Via Aurelia up the west coast of Italy through Pisa and Genoa to Massilia and the western provinces. During the third Punic war (148 B.C.), Via Postumia linked Genoa inland to Lombardy and Emilia, piercing the mountain passes for military and commercial trade with the northern and northeastern provinces. This military-commercial network eventually became the basis for Genoa's role as strategic port of entry into northern Italy, with strong cultural ties to Lombardy. Genoa became a junction between sea and land.

Genoa's early development from a Ligurian fortified agrarian hill town to a Roman trading and entry port of secondary importance can be traced in the urban plan. In the southeastern part of the medieval city, above a small finger of land protecting the old harbor front (*ripa*), the twelfth-century church of Santa Maria di Castello stands at the center of the ovoid acropolis of the Ligurian *castrum*, which outlines the original system of streets and defensive walls. This inward-oriented fortress culture was opened up by the Roman grid plan of the *civitas*, a colony laid out to the north beneath the acropolis during the second century B.C., directly on the waterfront. Despite conquests and sacks by Lombards, Franks, and Saracens in the seventh and eighth centuries, the Ligurian *castrum* and Roman *civitas* were expanded by the linear-radial pattern of the medieval *burgus* and by trading suburbs (*faubourgs*) extending northward along the coast, from the tenth

century through the early fourteenth century. Lopez (1976) called this process the "commercial revolution" of the Middle Ages. These three divisions—*castrum*, *civitas*, and *burgus*—were united within the successive city walls of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries and were linked by arcades, streets, and marketplaces to the harbor and sea, which in effect became the *piazza* of the medieval city.



Church of San Matteo, Genoa. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

History and Municipal Institutions

Classical Genoa was a modest Roman provincial town situated at the head of the gulf of Liguria and on the great Via Julia Augusta, the coastal road connecting Italy and the western provinces. With the collapse of the empire in the western Mediterranean region in the fifth century, Genoa became part of the Ostrogothic kingdom. From 537 on, the Byzantines ruled the city and probably established its maritime tradition. The subsequent periods of Lombard rule (641 or 642-774) and Carolingian rule (774-ninth century) are the most obscure in Genoa's history. In 934-935, Muslim raiders from North Africa sacked Genoa. No local records survived this attack, and the city may have been abandoned for a few years.

A document from 958 reveals a refounded town eager to reassert

local laws and property rights. Local nobles, the bishop, and the townspeople struggled for power; and Genoa's theoretical overlords—the kings of Italy and the Obertenghi and Mala spina lords of Liguria—were usually occupied elsewhere. By 1016, Genoa had recovered its naval strength and joined with Pisa in attacking the Muslims on nearby Sardinia. A charter of 1056 reveals that the Genoese enjoyed a generous measure of self-rule, but the city's actual governing institutions remain unknown until the emergence of the medieval commune in 1099. In that year, the historian Caffaro informs us, a *compagna*, or sworn association of citizens, was established, and six consuls from the neighborhoods constituted its executive. Probably, a formal town government had existed throughout the late eleventh century. Genoa's extensive preparations for the large fleets that headed to the Holy Land to join the First Crusade in 1097 and 1100 explain the need to place the government on a sound footing when thousands of citizens would be absent. This crusade helped the Genoese gain valuable trading privileges and possessions in the newly established Latin states.

In the twelfth century, the Genoese continued to administer their city through a board of consuls, usually consisting of both nobles and prosperous merchants. The consuls' job was to foster Genoese trade overseas by securing commercial privileges and occasionally by fighting Pisa, which was Genoa's main rival during this period. Locally, the consuls extended the commune's authority over the nobles and over smaller towns such as Savona, Ventimiglia, and Portofino in Liguria. The consuls also presided over the system of taxes, which provided revenue needed to defend Genoa's interests; and over the judicial system, which was necessary to resolve commercial disputes and keep the peace among an increasingly unruly merchant elite, headed by the della Volta clan. By 1130, the city controlled the Ligurian coast from San Remo in the west to Portovenere in the east, as well as the mountain passes to the north. In 1133, the papacy raised Genoa to an archbishopric. By mid-century, the ambitions of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in Italy threatened Genoa's independence; the citizens therefore built the first great circle of walls around the city in 1158 and gained virtual independence from the empire in a charter of 1162. The rest of the century witnessed increased civil strife among clans, and wars with Pisa over supremacy in Corsica and Sardinia. In 1190—again

in conjunction with a naval effort overseas, this time the Third Crusade—the Genoese abolished the old commune and established a regime of a *podestà*, a professional city manager. The *podestà* was invariably a foreigner whose impartial rule was supposed to dampen local feuds and ensure justice.

Genoa settled down under rule by a *podestà* in the early thirteenth century, and the *podestà* also became responsible for commanding the city's land forces. Genoa's increasing prosperity from trade drew it into more intense rivalry with the Venetians in the eastern Mediterranean and the Catalans and Provençals in the west. In Italy, Genoa became involved in the wars between the Ghibellines, who supported Emperor Frederick II; and the Guelfs, who opposed him and were allies of the papacy. Genoa became a Guelf town because its own ambitions in southern Italy and its fears of Frederick's territorial aims in the north made it a natural ally of the popes; also, a Genoan, the canonist Sinibaldo Fieschi, became Pope Innocent IV in 1243. However, a Ghibelline party did exist in Genoa and in the subject towns of Liguria.

The death of Frederick II in 1250 brought victory to Genoa's side, but economic problems after the wars and inept leadership in a trade war with Venice in the east fostered a popular revolt in 1257. The *popolo*, middling merchants and master artisans who had been largely excluded from political life, established a regime under Guglielmo Boccanegra, who ruled as captain of the people until 1262. His regime pursued policies favored by the *popolo*, established advantageous ties with the Byzantines, reformed the public debt and taxes, and began building a secular administrative center, the present Palazzo San Giorgio. When Guglielmo Boccanegra was overthrown by the nobles and some of the *popolo*, Genoa reverted, uneasily, to rule by a *podesta*. Genoa opposed domination by Charles of Anjou and the Guelfs in Italy, largely because domination by the French to the west of Liguria and in Naples and Sicily threatened its security and trade. Also, continued trouble with Pisa over Sardinia provoked war. These external challenges caused a change in government in 1270, when the nobles Oberto Spinola and Oberto Doria, representing the leading Ghibelline families, became captains of the people and de facto rulers of Genoa. A Guelf party, under the Grimaldi and Fieschi families, remained in the city, but the opponents of the Angevins dominated the city until 1317. These years

witnessed famous victories over Genoa's rivals: the Pisans were crushed at Meloria in 1284, and the Venetians at Curzola in 1298. Pisa never again threatened Genoa, but Venice was still a powerful rival.

Continued rivalry between Guelfs and Ghibelline nobles, in which the restive *popolo* usually sided with the latter, produced periods of anarchy in 1296 and disorders that continued into the fourteenth century. The political leaders tried to cure domestic ills by submitting to foreign rule in 1311, handing the city and its possessions over to Emperor Henry VII. This experiment ended with Henry's death in 1313. From 1314 to 1331, the city was nominally Guelf, but it experienced a protracted and costly civil war that damaged both overseas commerce and the Ligurian countryside. From 1318 to 1335, another invited foreigner, Robert, king of Naples, ruled the Guelf capital. In 1331, the weary Genoese ended the civil war, allowed Robert to remain the nominal ruler, divided governmental offices equally between Guelfs and Ghibellines, and consolidated the huge debts of both sides into a great new funded debt. In 1335, civil strife resurfaced, Robert of Naples resigned, and two noble captains ruled the city. In 1339, the Ghibelline *popolo* rose against the nobles, and Simon (Simone) Boccanegra, a grandnephew of Guglielmo, became doge for life. This new system of government, partly inspired by the Venetian model, established a strong executive doge who presided over a bureaucracy and advisory bodies and was expected to serve for life. The regime favored the merchants and people, and it set about reducing the crushing burden of debt, pacifying Liguria, and fostering trade. Although a revolt turned Simon Boccanegra out in 1344, he was replaced by another doge and returned to office himself in 1356. From 1339 to 1528, Genoa alternated between self-rule under its "perpetual" doges (the term is a misnomer, since the doges were almost invariably overthrown), short-lived republics, and foreign rule.

The plague of 1348 devastated Genoa and greatly reduced its military forces, which were never again able to defeat Venice. After a disastrous defeat at Chioggia in 1380, Genoa became a second-rate naval power. Continued civil strife and incompetent rule—largely under Antoniotto Adorno, who was elected doge for life four times between 1378 and 1394—led Genoa to submit itself again to foreign rule, this time under Charles VI of France, from 1396 to 1409. Such periods of external rule

seldom brought peace to Genoa, because its local institutions continued to function poorly and a royal governor substituted for the weak doge. The phase of French rule in 1396-1409 did supply one effective governor, Jean Le Meingre, marshal of France, called Boucicaut, who ruled sternly for eight years. His lasting accomplishments were a new, comprehensive code of law and the founding in 1406 of Casa San Giorgio. This institution, originally intended to consolidate Genoa's vast public debt, became in the course of the fifteenth century the city's most important body, as it controlled public credit and functioned as a state bank and the chief tax collector. Machiavelli called Casa San Giorgio "the state within the state" because of its extensive political and economic powers.

In 1409, a revolt ended French rule; and during much of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth there was a bewildering series of revolts and dogeships by the rival Fregoso and Adorno families. Again Genoa resorted to long periods of foreign rule, now by the dukes of Milan (1421-1435, 1464-1478, 1487-1499) and the kings of France (1458–1461, 1499–1507). Genoa's own interests were subordinated to the ambitions of the Milanese or the French, and Genoa increasingly became a pawn in the rivalry between France and Spain for control over Italy. After a disastrous sack in 1522 by Spanish forces, and the defeat of the French in 1525, Andrea Doria's coup of 1528 established Genoa as an aristocratic client state of Spain.

Economic Life

Genoa and its region, Liguria, include approximately 200 miles (331 kilometers) of coast from just west of Ventimiglia to around Portovenere. The medieval city also eventually controlled the mountainous region that circumscribes this rocky coast, and part of the hilly land to the north, on the fringe of the Po Valley. Genoa's economy, however, did not thrive on local agriculture, because Liguria has little flat land and few areas of good soil. Having almost no minerals and few natural resources other than beech and chestnut forests, the hardy Genoese people turned to the sea. But no sizable rivers enter the sea along Genoa's stretch of coast, and the fishing was poor because the

seabed dropped quickly, producing deep and relatively barren waters. Genoa's main natural advantage was its good harbor, the northernmost harbor along this coast. The harbor, and the shorter but still arduous passes through the mountains, made Genoa the port of the upper Po Valley.

The earliest phase of the medieval Genoese economy, known to us mostly as it existed in the tenth and eleventh centuries, marked the first efforts to establish maritime trade. Local agriculture produced wine, olive oil, and other bulky commodities that were moved more easily by sea than by land, and the local forests yielded a good mix of timber for building ships. This early trading phase probably involved short trips in small galleys that hugged the coast; these vessels also brought back grain, salt, and cloth to the refounded small town. Genoa also faced rivals— the Muslims, who were still a naval power in the western Mediterranean during the early eleventh century; and the nearby Pisans, who were interested in the same markets and commodities as the Genoese. Local merchants probably doubled as pirates, and the origins of Genoese capitalism have often been associated with combative, lucrative preying on Muslim shipping. By the mid-eleventh century, however, the Genoese were trading with the Muslims in Sicily, Spain, North Africa, and Egypt, so retaliatory piracy would have been risky to Genoese merchants trading peacefully overseas.



Tower of the Embriachi, Genoa. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

By the First Crusade (1100), Genoa was one of the main sea powers in the Mediterranean, and its merchant galleys, always armed and carrying a crew of about 120 men, were its main economic resource. A burst of information now becomes available from legal documents and especially from a precious source—the notarial cartulary of Giovanni Scriba and its hundreds of commercial documents from the years 1154 to 1164. These documents reveal a sophisticated economy. Overseas trade, Genoa's economic backbone, relied on three types of contracts:

the *commenda*, the *societas*, and the sea loan. In a *commenda* contract, a traveling partner took an investor's capital on an overseas trading venture; on that partner's safe return, the investor received back the capital and three-quarters of the profit while the traveling partner received one-quarter. A *societas*, or bilateral *commenda*, required both partners to contribute capital, typically two-thirds from the investor and one-third from the traveling partner, who received half the profit for his efforts. In a sea loan, a merchant borrowed a sum from a creditor, who received back the capital and a premium on the safe return of the borrower. These contracts involved various degrees of risk and reward but in general enabled retired merchants to live by wise investments and gave young men with little or no capital a chance to begin a trading career. Disputes over contracts were resolved by a sophisticated body of merchant law and a system of arbiters, and the commune protected its merchants by securing privileged trade through treaties.

Giovanni Scriba's cartulary reveals that Genoese trade centered on the eastern Mediterranean. Trade with Egypt and Latin Syria was the most lucrative and involved the fabled eastern luxuries—spices like pepper and cinnamon from distant east Asia, and local products like silk, cotton, sugar, and gold. The Byzantine empire was a secondary but important supplier of similar luxury goods. In the central Mediterranean, trade with the islands, mainly Sicily, predominated. In the west, Genoa's trade focused on North Africa and its gold. The slave trade was already well established, and slaves were procured everywhere, but in this period they were especially Muslims. In the late twelfth century, the Genoese exported luxury goods over the mountains to the upper Po Valley and the fairs of Champagne, where the goods were sold or exchanged for woolen cloth and silver, at a vast profit. Genoa had several advantages in this trade. Its fast galleys were ideally suited for transporting lightweight, valuable products, and it controlled access to two valuable markets—Lombardy and northeastern France. Its potential rivals in the west, Marseilles and Barcelona, were not yet in a position to challenge it; and although its Italian rivals, Pisa and Venice, competed in the east, they had their own local markets.

Genoa thrived as a nexus between the eastern Mediterranean and northwestern Europe. It needed commercial privileges in Latin Syria

and obtained these by aiding the crusades; it also needed treaties with the Byzantines, who still controlled access to the Black Sea. Trade with Egypt was the prize, but there the Genoese found established markets and highly skilled traders who dominated the spice trade. Elsewhere, commerce with Sicily involved the Genoese in disputes between the Norman kings and the German emperors. Genoese artisans supplied good ships and the sails, oars, barrels, biscuits, armor, rope, and other products that sustained the fleets. Genoa was not a manufacturing town, except for ships and some local services. It produced no valuable trade goods other than gold thread made by its skilled women, and so it depended on things made elsewhere, to be shipped wherever they yielded a profit. The galleys employed thousands of free rowers and gave both nobles and self-made men a chance to make—or lose—a fortune at sea. Women had property rights, secured in law, that allowed them to invest in commerce, and thousands of women labored in the maritime artisan trades.

Early in 1252, Genoa introduced the first regular gold coinage in the west, narrowly edging out Florence. By then Genoa dominated trade in the Greek lands and rivaled Pisa and Venice in the crusader states, and Egypt remained the heart of the eastern trade. During years of expensive warfare Genoa had been on the winning side, that of the Guelfs; and soon the city again opened trade with Sicily and southern Italy. In the west, the Catalans and Provençals were now its trading rivals, and its struggles with Pisa over supremacy in Sardinia and Corsica were reaching a climax. By the 1270s, regular galley service from Genoa to Bruges began to open up markets in England, northern France, and the Low Countries. Genoa's galleys, unlike those of Venice, remained completely private ventures. Because of vast war debts, the popular regime under Guglielmo Boccanegra had to reorganize the commune's finances, which relied heavily on excise taxes, a modest tariff, and borrowing during wartime. Revenues had been routinely mortgaged years in advance, and the common people paid most of the taxes. In 1259, Guglielmo restructured the public debt into a great *compera*, or fund, divided into 100-*lire* shares that paid 8 percent interest. A precocious market in public securities developed as new laws allowed creditors to sell shares. Public finance, needed for wars against the Pisans and Venetians, increasingly consumed Genoese

capital, but these investments were not as lucrative as overseas trade, which by the 1290s had reached nearly 3 million *lire* a year.

The civil wars of the early fourteenth century devastated Genoa's trade as rival fleets fought and created new debts. The revolution of 1339 destroyed the records of public debt and the customs house. The new doge honored the old debts, whose interest was paid from excise taxes dedicated to specific debts. In the east, Genoa's largely self-governing possessions, principally Pera near Constantinople and Caffa in the Crimea, were vital to trade, now that Latin Syria was lost and trade with Mamluk Egypt became more problematic. A privately funded fleet in the eastern Mediterranean seized the island of Chios and the alum mines at nearby Phocaea in 1346. The government, which was too poor to reimburse the participants in this venture, agreed in 1347 to recognize the shipowners as a company, the Mahona of Chios, which received the right to administer and profit from the island for twenty years; after that time, the state had the option to buy out the shares in the Mahona. Genoa never had the money to buy the shares, and a series of deals with the Mahona and its successor represent an early experiment in colonizing and exploiting a region through a private company. The experiment benefited some Genoese investors but burdened taxpayers with the island's defense.

The Genoese economy, weakened by war and debt, suffered in the aftermath of the plague of 1348. The city's population fell from perhaps 70,000 to 40,000; and its labor-intensive shipping paid the price. A switch from galleys to the cog, a laborsaving great sailing ship, helped preserve Genoa's trade. Cogs carried eastern luxuries to Europe, which now had more capital per person and an appetite for finer things. The customs records of 1376 show that trade had recovered considerably, amounting to nearly 2 million *lire*. Imports from Flanders (mainly cloth) and Egypt still constituted the bulk of trade. Genoa's industrial base remained weak, and its niche in the European economy seemed increasingly fragile and contested.

Disputes with Venice over control of the eastern trade led to defeats, and to new debt and taxes. The period of French rule from 1396 to 1409 witnessed the rise of the city's famous financial institution, Casa San Giorgio. This *compera*, another restructuring of the public debt, absorbed nearly 3 million *lire* of debt to pay the shareholders 7 percent,

instead of the higher return promised during wartime. Casa San Giorgio acquired all the taxes pledged to make the interest payments, thus becoming a separate arm of the state, run by the creditors. Its shares became the foundation of the Genoese securities market. In 1408, Casa San Giorgio began a banking business, lending money to its shareholders and providing services such as bills of exchange. By 1437, the bank also managed the mint. Continued state borrowing and undercapitalization brought the bank down in 1444, but Casa San Giorgio continued to function until 1807. It was one of the most durable financial institutions in European history and was worthy of Machiavelli's respect.

Genoa's trade slumped between the 1420s and the 1490s as the Venetians dominated Mediterranean commerce. Genoa now competed with Spain, Portugal, England, and France as well. The advance of the Ottomans also hurt Genoa, which lost its eastern possessions, notably Pera (1453) and Caffa (1475); only Chios remained Genoese, until 1566. During the fifteenth century, Genoa became an increasingly industrial town, engaged in some old manufacturing businesses such as wool and in relatively new ones such as silk, cotton, and paper. These new industries, especially silk, employed many people and brought some prosperity to Genoa. Genoa had only a small market in Liguria; therefore, success in manufactures required active overseas commerce, at a time when its fleets were dwindling in size.

The Genoese economy rebounded in the 1490s, only to suffer again in the early sixteenth century as wars and the sack of 1522 destroyed its resources. During this period, the state was a pensioner of Casa San Giorgio, which collected all its revenues and paid out the lion's share to the creditors. By 1509, the debt had reached 20 million *lire*, a considerable sum. Under the guidance of Andrea Doria, Genoa assumed the status of a loyal junior client state of Spain; as a result, it shared in Spain's prosperity during the early and middle sixteenth century. But Genoa served Spain primarily as a banker, not as a trading center, and much of its new prosperity vanished during the Spanish bankruptcies later in the sixteenth century.

Art and Architecture

After visiting Genoa in 1352, Petrarch (*Le familiari*, 14.5, 23– 25) wrote an important early humanist encomium to city life. He stressed Genoa's close relationship to nature and described the landscape in an idealized Virgilian pastoral-arcadian mode:

[Genoa] seemed to me not an earthly place, but a celestial abode which the poets place in the Elysian Fields, as the peaks of the hills [rise] with their amenable paths [above] the fertile little valleys and in these valleys [live] happy people. Who would not have gazed with amazement from high [on the surrounding hills] at the towers and palaces, nature vanquished by man, the rough hills covered by citrons, vineyards, and olive groves, the buildings of marble at the foot of the hills, second to no one in royalty and enviable to any city?

The art and architecture of medieval Genoa had a major role in this idealized classical image of the city, reminiscent of the golden age. It was, to quote Henri Pirenne, a rebirth of Mediterranean trading cities, in a symbiotic relationship with its natural harbor, a maritime theater of art representing the particular interests of business, family, religious, and communal patrons. Three themes are central to Genoese medieval art and architecture: appropriation, spoliation, and transformation.

From its Lombard background and its ascent in the Mediterranean, Genoa appropriated diverse cultures, representing its feudal and commercial development; and spoliation became a defining element of its artistic landscape and its historical narrative. From the First Crusade of 1097-1104 through the Fourth Crusade and the Latin occupation of Constantinople in 1204-1262, Genoa competed fiercely with Pisa and Venice for the despoliation of Byzantine and Muslim sacred sites, the "translation" of Mediterranean power to the west. This process transformed Genoa (as it transformed Pisa and Venice) "from a city of austere stone and wood to one of marble," to paraphrase Suetonius on Augustan Rome.

French, Lombard, Byzantine, and Islamic influences merged in the cathedral of San Lorenzo, the major civic-ecclesiastical commission of the medieval period. The cathedral was rebuilt from the early twelfth century through the early sixteenth; and its Lombard Romanesque, Gothic, and early Renaissance styles embodied its cultural ties to northern Italy. In particular, the cathedral reflects Genoa's links to

Milan, to the stone quarries of Lake Como, and to the Certosa di Pavia—from which Lombard stonemasons, sculptors, painters, and master builders came to Genoa. These artists and artisans eventually dominated the local culture, forming their own guilds of *maestri antelami* (analogous to the less prominent *arti genovesi*) and supervising and strongly influencing the cathedral works and other Ligurian commissions. The black and white marble that decorated the cathedral—and highlighted the massive religious center above the dense medieval port—was quarried in Promontorio (Val Polcevera) and Carrara; it is an example of this Lombard-Comasque tradition.

Petrarch and other travelers praised the distinctive black-and-white marble facades of the Genoese palaces and churches. Towering over the harbor enclosure, this urban scenography rivaled Venice's sumptuous palaces and churches: classical spoils defining public spaces in a Byzantine orientation. In contrast to San Marco in Venice, with its luminous Byzantine baldachin style and the theatrical sequence of triumphal arches forming its entry, Genoa's San Lorenzo faces west. San Lorenzo is a Lombard Romanesque-Gothic longitudinal church of northern Italy, competing in size and grandeur with other Italian and European cities and trumpeting Genoa's rise to an archbishopric in 1123; it was a proper place for sacred relics stolen by crusaders—relics that became the ceremonial focus of communal development.

Within the high Romanesque black-and-white nave sanctuary, gold and silver chalices, censers, emerald plates, ivory figurines, jewel-studded crosses, precious reliquaries, and sumptuous vestments and fabrics—of Byzantine, Muslim, and Asian origin—served as liturgical implements and even as objects of worship: these treasures were both the booty of the Mediterranean conquest and signs of divine favor. Miracle-working icons, such as the Volto Santo, the cloisonné image of Veronica's veil of Christ, framed in gold relief and housed in the Convent of San Bartolomeo degli Armeni, were examples of Byzantine "sacred art" for Genoese and Lombard artists. They also became sacred objects in communal pageants and processions during feast days, crises, and victories, as described in Caffaro's annals.

Within San Lorenzo, the relics of Saint John the Baptist, taken by crusaders from Mira in 1097, gave Genoa an additional new patron saint, of water, rivaling Florence. John the Baptist joined Saint

Lawrence (a remnant of Genoa's early ties to Rome and Ambrosian Milan), the Virgin Mary, and the bellicose Saint George as a spiritual protector of and an intercessor for this unruly crusading port. Carved and painted images of the patron saints, in particular Saint George, appeared throughout Genoa in lively Byzantine, Lombard, and international Gothic styles over portals and within chapels, presumably sanctifying the alliance of church, family, and commune with military crusades and commerce in the east. The saints were ubiquitous in urban life. Even today, the relics of John the Baptist, in their late Gothic reliquary, are taken from their chapel in the cathedral on the feast day of his nativity (24 June) and carried by the archbishop and the communal government to the harbor front for a mass and a ceremonial blessing of the sea, Genoa's version of Venice's *sposalizio al mare*. Art and architecture shaped the public and private life of medieval Genoa.

As one approaches the triumphal entrance facade of San Lorenzo, with its deeply splayed portals and spiral colonnette clusters from the early thirteenth century, one sees the first example of the French Gothic style in Italy. However, the facade is also studded with colored glass, stones, and decorative patterns, characteristic of Byzantine and Muslim Mediterranean influences. Genoa's *spolia*—Roman and Byzantine—including columns and sculptural reliefs, were mounted on the facades of the church and within the sanctuary, to celebrate the city's ancient foundations and its competition with Venice for dominance in the Mediterranean. This "sacred city" was announced on the central portal by flanking rampant lions and by the Tree of Jesse and pilaster reliefs of the incarnation, which support the solemn tympanum figure of Christ and a Last Judgment above a Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence. All this prefigures the salvation represented by the high altar; artistically, it reflects diverse stylistic influences and religious-political ties, from the Tree of Life on the medieval papal church of Orvieto to the Last Judgment tympanum reliefs of the lie de France, Chartres, and Notre Dame.

Under a communal regulation, black-and-white marble facades were reserved for major churches, such as the cathedral and the late thirteenth-century mendicant churches of San Francesco di Castelletto and San Domenico (both destroyed during urban expansion in the 1860s); and for the rival old noble families, such as the Fieschi and

Grimaldi (who were Guelfs) and the Doria and Spinola (who were Ghibellines). These families rebuilt their urban neighborhoods (*alberghi*) and country retreats (*ifeudi*) during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a period of conflict for control of the weak communal government and the unstable coastal regions. In Genoa, as in Venice, displays of marble, *spolia*, and commemorative inscriptions became a distinctive element of power—ecclesiastical, civic, and noble. Through such displays, the Genoese celebrated their crusades and their naval victories over Pisa and Venice.

The short-lived government of Guglielmo Boccanegra built the first communal palace (later Palazzo San Giorgio) in 1260, thirty years before the communal palace and *piazza* of Florence. Genoa's communal palace was erected directly on the harbor front, the *piazza* of the medieval city. Designed by the cleric-architect Frate Oliverio, who is identified by inscription and date on the entrance portal, the Lombard-Gothic block form set the style for Genoese palaces, inspired by the communal palaces of northern Italy (e.g., Como). Crenellations with the cross of Saint George, Gothic arcades, and hard stone and brick facades with black-and-white marble fenestration defined the polychrome style of the communal government in competition with noble patrons. According to a contemporary continuator of Caffaro, the Byzantine emperor Michael Paleologus gave the Genoese a "large and ample palace" in Constantinople "in the form of a castle that the *Veneti* occupied in that city," in gratitude for their support against Venice in lifting the Latin occupation in 1262; and "the Genoese, amid the clamor of trumpets, bugles and horns, tore down that palace to the foundations, and they transported certain stones to Genoa in their ships, of which several were placed in the *casa del Comune* built on the harbor front." Art and architecture, through ceremony, blended with military and church history in creating new civic narratives.

The Boccanegra palace was converted to the *dogana* (customs house) in 1291 and to the Banco di San Giorgio in 1407, during the French reforms of Jean Le Meingre, marechal de Boucicaut. In 1290, during the period of feudal conflict among the old nobles, a new Palazzo Ducale was constructed inland, amid the narrow protected streets near the cathedral of San Lorenzo; it is in a rusticated fortress style with a campanile and is contemporary with other communal town halls in

central Italy. The Palazzo Ducale and the family *alberghi* neighborhoods of Genoa became the locus of patronage for the so-called perpetual doges and the foreign rulers, and for the old noble families, who controlled the city through their military, economic, and political power. Entire districts, such as the thirteenth-century church and neighborhood of the Doria family at Piazza San Matteo, preserve the private character of medieval art and architecture in Genoa. That art and architecture anticipated the comprehensive, balanced, symmetrical Renaissance urban planning of Leon Battista Alberti, a Florentine who had been born and raised in Genoa.

See also Caffaro Family; Crusades; Doria Family; Embriaco Family; Pisa; Venice

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Geography and Cartography

The legacy of geographical knowledge from the classical world was accepted only selectively in the Middle Ages, as the needs of Christian societies warranted. These needs were related to the cosmographical and historical teachings of the newly established church, the finding of pilgrimage routes, local land and water management, the crusades, and mercantile navigation in the Mediterranean and Black seas. Such knowledge was usually gathered and used on a specific local and timely basis, with no need for complex mathematical structures, such as global coordinate systems, in which to compile the information. Broadly speaking, textual media for the representation of geographical facts and ideas were deemed sufficient and were commonly joined by graphic representations only later in the Middle Ages, as the subject matter became more complex.

Scholars in the Italian peninsula generally took an active part in these geographical activities, sometimes assuming an undisputed position of leadership, as with the development of Mediterranean sea charts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In other types of geographical scholarship at other times, such as the compilation of encyclopedic geography and theoretical cosmography during the early Middle Ages, Spain and northern Europe were in the vanguard.

Pilgrimages and Itineraries

The *itineraria picta* or *scripta*, illustrated (either as maps or with paintings—the interpretation varies) or written itineraries, were an important legacy of the Roman empire. Examples of written itineraries from the late Roman empire include the Antonine itinerary (late third century) and the Bordeaux itinerary (surviving as a ninth-century manuscript based on a fourth-century archetype). The oral or written (rather than drawn) itinerary became the primary means of communicating directions in the early Middle Ages. It was adapted to describe pilgrimage routes after Christianity became officially recognized. Such itineraries have also been shown to have been used as sources of place-names for later geographical compilations or world maps. *Tabula Peutingeriana*, originally of the mid-fourth century (but perhaps relying on first- or second-century sources for some sections),

survives in an eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript on vellum in eleven sheets designed to be fitted together to form a map 21 feet long and 1 foot wide (about 6 meters by 33 centimeters). It, or something very like it, was also used as a source for the early cosmographies, particularly the one known as the *Ravenna Cosmography*.

Books of sailing directions, or *itineraria maritima*, were the seaman's version of the land itineraries and were used for navigating in the Mediterranean. The classical Roman and Greek versions (the latter were called *periploi*) had parallels in the Middle Ages (for example, *Lo compasso da navigare*, thirteenth century) and must have provided at least some of the data for the portolan charts beginning in the thirteenth century.

Worldview: Encyclopedias, Cosmographies, and World Maps

The worldviews adopted for cosmographical purposes were thus simple, diagrammatic, and schematic. They followed basically two types of schema: the zonal climata stemming from Aristotle's *De caelo*, consisting of frigid, temperate, and torrid latitudinal zones; and the tripartite world—traceable back to Sallust's *De bello Jugurthino*—in which the world was divided among the three primary continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe. When it was adapted to Christian cosmography, this system developed into the familiar T-in-O maps, representing the world as divided among Noah's descendants.

Geographical encyclopedias and cosmographies of the patristic period were more likely to follow Pliny, Pomponius Mela, Solinus, iMartianus Capella, Macrobius, and Orosius rather than the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy and the Greek tradition. Early examples include the *Cosmographia* of Julius Honorius (c. a.d. 376), an erratic compilation of settlements, tribes, and rivers, all under the rubric "towns." In the beginning of the sixth century there appeared a tract by Julius Aethicus containing a detailed account of the tradition of Julius Caesar's measurement of the earth; the rest of the "cosmography" is practically identical with Honorius's work. Aethicus writes as a patriotic Italian, emphasizing the glories of Rome; his work, like that of

Honorius, is, however, made up largely of lists of place-names.

This tract of Julius Aethicus is often confused with a very different and probably later treatise, the cosmography of Aethicus of Istria (perhaps from the seventh century at the earliest). Aethicus of Istria's work appears as a narrative of an "exploration" by him translated from the Greek by a priest masquerading as Jerome (a favorite traditional authority of geographical thinking). It is one of the longest and liveliest early Christian geographical documents and was quoted by much later writers, including Roger Bacon and even Walter Raleigh. The author was clearly a copyist of bishop Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) and of other encyclopedists.

In the early eighth century in Ravenna, then the Italian center of the Byzantine world, a cleric now known as the Ravennate ("Ravenna geographer") compiled an elaborate description of the world from varied sources, including Ptolemy, Orosius, Isidore, and possibly something like *Tabula Peutingeriana*, in addition to a number of otherwise unknown Greek, Roman, and Gothic works. The main importance of this *Ravenna Cosmography* is that it demonstrates the breadth of written and graphic geographical sources available at the time. In several passages, the author is apparently referring to a map, or even constructing one to go along with the text. The general structure of the work seems to follow twelve radiating zones, broadly conforming to the position of the sun during the day and night, and it is possible that a map following this "sundial" pattern was also compiled, as several authors have reconstructed. The *Ravenna Cosmography* seems to have been the major source for an encyclopedia by a certain Guido of Pisa in a twelfth-century manuscript, which also contains a world map and a sectional map of Italy.

In Italy, unlike in the rest of Europe, there appear to be few references to large mural world maps made for clerical or secular purposes before the fourteenth century, and we assume that the paucity of the record is not deceiving us. The map known as the Vercelli world map, now dated to the late thirteenth century, was probably not made in Italy, although its link to the English geographical culture of the thirteenth century has also been cast into doubt. There are, however, written references to public mural maps in the fourteenth century that have since been destroyed: In Siena, Ambrogio Lorenzetti painted a

large rotating planisphere in 1344 for the Palazzo Pubblico; in Venice, a *map-pamundi* decorated the public loggia at the Rialto market in the fourteenth century and wall maps of the world were made for the ducal audience chamber under Doge Francesco Dandolo (1329-1339).

Cosmographies and geographical works from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries include Godfrey of Viterbo's topographical poem *Denumeratio regnorum imperio sub- jectorum* (mid-twelfth century), Ristoro d'Arezzo's *La composi- zione del mondo* (1282), Riccobaldo da Ferrara's *De origine urbium Italic et ipsius Italic prirno incolatu* and *De locis orbis et insularum et marium*, and the anonymous *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, a booklet on the topography and monuments of Rome,

The importance of Ristoro d'Arezzo's *La composizione del mondo* derives from its identification of some basic processes in physical geography and geology, such as erosion, deposition, and earthquakes, as well as a recognition of the varying resistance to erosion among shales, clays, sandstones, and conglomerates of the gullied landscapes of the Tuscan Apennines. Many of these natural phenomena had been recognized by classical authors, particularly Pliny in *Historia naturalis*.

The extraordinary *cartes moralisées* by the Pavian cleric Opi-cino de Canistris (1330s) are in a category by themselves. In a sort of spiritual diary, Opicino appended several maps that are based on the accurate outlines of the Mediterranean in portolan charts of the time, but he stylized the coastal shapes into profiles of figures in a kind of geographical graphic pun, to comment on spiritual and political issues.

Geography at the Courts of Roger II and Frederick II

Although their influence on the geographical activities of the court of Roger II of Sicily (1097-1154) was not felt in Christian Europe until they were translated from Arabic, the maps and books of al-Sharif al-Idrisi deserve mention here. Idrisi was born in Ceuta, Morocco, in 1100 and was invited to Roger's court in Palermo c. 1138. Idrisi had rich experience in North Africa and western Europe, and Roger asked him to compile a world map engraved on silver and a geographical compendium, *Nuzhat al-mushtaq* (the *Book of Roger*), containing a

small circular world map and seventy sectional maps (ten maps for each of the seven climatic zones). Although the silver map, which was probably intended as some form of master, is no longer extant, the contents of the book survive in at least six fourteenth-century manuscripts and several more dated later.

Frederick II (1194-1250), grandson of Roger II, inherited Roger's interest in scholarship and developed a penchant for natural history. He invited Michael Scot (d. 1236), who had studied in Spain, to become his court astrologer, to whom he posed questions on physical geography, particularly on volcanic activity and the hydrological cycle.

Italian Geographical Interest in Asia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

The series of attacks by the Mongols on eastern Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century prompted a series of diplomatic, missionary, and mercantile expeditions. The reports of these travels provided varying amounts of valuable geographical information, and the efforts by Italians were in the vanguard. Following the Council of Lyon in 1245, two diplomatic missions to the east were organized. One of them, the pioneering expedition of Giovanni de Piano de Carpine, a Franciscan of a house near Perugia, succeeded in reaching the Mongol capital of Karakorum (1245-1247). Giovanni de Piano gives a clear description of the customs of the Mongols, but the geographical and topographical value of his work is overshadowed by the accounts of his successors, William of Rubruck (whose account found its way into the *Opus maius* of Roger Bacon), Niccolo Maffei, and Marco Polo (1298). The impact of the amazing geographical information in Marco Polo's *Book of Marvels* was curiously delayed: the *Catalan Atlas* of the later fourteenth century and Fra Mauro's map of c. 1459 stand out as two of the very few cartographic expressions of his narratives before the printed editions in the Renaissance had their full effect. Other travelers included John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan (c. 1247-1328) whose strictly religious mission, dispatched in 1278, provided valuable accounts of India and China; Odorico da Pordenone (c. 1265—1331), whose journal *Descriptio Orientalium Partium* was dictated in 1330 in

Udine; and Johannes Marignola (Marignolli), a member of the Santa Croce monastery in Florence, whose travel notes in his *Cronica Boemorum* (*Annals of Bohemia*) provided a detailed account of the rivers of paradise and an identification of Sri Lanka with the site of the garden of Eden.

Crusades

Land routes were used in the First Crusade (1096-1099), but the value of maritime routes was learned during the Second Crusade, and Venice above all was in an attractive position to benefit from the carrying trade. The geographical and mercantile basis of the crusades was expressed most articulately by Marino Sanuto the Elder, of Torcello, whose *Liber secretorum fidelium Cruris super Terrae Sanctae*, begun in 1306 and presented to Pope John XXII in September 1321, laid out, in text and maps, how Christian Europe could obtain the exotic goods it needed without trading with Egypt. The plan relied on a conquest of Egypt, full use of the northern trade routes through Persia, and the establishment of Christian hegemony in the Indian Ocean. Along with the text, four detailed maps of the world, the eastern Mediterranean, Egypt, and the Holy Land compiled by Pietro Vesconte were included.

Among the members of the commission chosen by John XXII to examine the *Liber secretorum* was Paolino Minorita (Fra Paolino Veneto), whose own geographical writings stressed the importance of using both written and graphic evidence. Paraphrasing his *De mapa mundi*: "Without a world map, it is impossible for the mind to grasp what is said about nations and regions in divine and human writings." His own manuscripts include a world map, a map of the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamia with a detail of the Holy Land, Palestine (similar to the inset on the coastal map), large-scale maps of the Italian peninsula (one- and two-page versions), and maps of Lombardy and Ferrara, all from the early fourteenth century.

Another source of geographical information is Francesco Balducci Pegolotti's *Libro di divisamenti di paesi*, usually known as *Pratica della mercatura* (*Merchant's Handbook*, c. 1340). It was of considerable value to commercial traders and travelers during the fourteenth century, as it

described trading customs and chief trade routes.

Land Management

Along with the legacy of itineraries from the Roman empire, medieval Italy also inherited from the Roman *agrimensores* a tradition of large-scale mapping (or centuriation) of landholdings. The primary source of information about this form of geographical description is *Corpus agrimensorum*, of which the earliest illustrated manuscript can be traced back only to the fifth or sixth century, even though it clearly contains treatises composed as early as the first century after Christ describing a practice that started as early as the fourth century B.C. Although the early medieval period yields manuscripts of this tradition, this form of land division was not continued anywhere in Italy after the fall of the Roman empire, except as fossilized in a checkerboard landscape. Apart from diagrammatic plans of Rome and Jerusalem, the earliest large-scale territorial map of which we have a record is one of the Monferrato in a manuscript of 1292. It is unlikely that later large-scale medieval maps were related to those of the *agrimensores*; it is more likely that the earlier tradition of republican Rome died out and was replaced by one responding to different needs. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which the paucity of the record is biasing the picture; Harvey (1987) has characterized medieval Europe as a society that knew little of maps. Yet the existence of isolated examples of maps, such as that of the Monferrato, and a reference to a "professional surveyor" of Milan known as Hellia Magadizzo, responsible for a plan of Venice from the fourteenth century, suggest that other evidence may still await discovery.

Sea Charts

Venice, Pisa, Genoa, and Amalfi—independent maritime republics—are recognized as early leaders in the commercial maritime trade in the Italian peninsula during the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Genoese mariners spearheaded the earliest marine exploration outside

the Mediterranean. In 1291, the brothers Ugolino and Vadino Vivaldi planned a voyage down the coast of eastern Africa in search of a sea route to Asia, but they were lost in the Atlantic. Two of the Canary Islands—Lanzarote and Gomera—were reached in 1336 by an expedition led by Lanzarotto Malocello in the service of Portugal, and these appear on the Dulcert portolan chart of 1339. In 1341, Nicoloso da Recco and the Florentine Angelino del Tegghia sighted all the islands in the archipelago. Later in the fourteenth century, Italian navigators pushed further into the Atlantic, naming Madeira "Legname" and reaching the Azores during the tenure of Lanzarote Pessagno as admiral of the Portuguese navy (1365-1385).

An improvement in navigational skills and instruments went hand in hand with this expansion. Sea charts, now known as portolan charts, survive from the late thirteenth century and are celebrated for their astounding accuracy, the origin of which has been a subject of much speculation. Most of the fourteenth-century examples are either Genoese or Catalan in origin. Despite its name, *Carte pisane*, bestowed originally because of its supposed provenance from a Pisan family, the oldest extant example in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is often considered to be of Genoese workmanship and is usually dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. A chart in the Biblioteca Comunale in Cortona (the "Cortona chart") may be the second oldest in terms of compilation, if not drafting, for its sketchy representation of France and Belgium is similar to that in the *Carte pisane*, it has an unusual and clear representation of the Danube River and would definitely repay further study.

Pietro Vesconte also declared himself to be Genoese, but he was working in Venice on the two occasions when his work mentions the place of manufacture; he is responsible for one chart of the eastern Mediterranean (dated 1311) and seven atlases dating from between 1313 and c. 1325, some of which are associated with the *Liber secretorum* of Sanuto; Vesconte was the first chart maker we know of who routinely dated and signed his work.

A chart signed by "Giovanni the priest, rector of Saint Mark's in the port of Genoa," associated with Giovanni da Carignano, was missing and presumed destroyed in Florence in 1943. It is often put forward as the earliest signed chart and assigned an early date of 1300 or 1310, but

the evidence of geographical content points to a more likely compilation date in the late 1320s, toward the end of Giovanni's life.

Italian charts seem to be the earliest to show town views as small vignettes with a modicum of verisimilitude. The atlas of the brothers Domenico and Francesco Pizigano (1367) contains an unmistakable Campanile in its vignette of Venice; the atlas signed by Francesco alone six years later may represent the first attempt to depict Genoa in a portolan atlas.

Other chart makers or charts do not fit as clearly within the scope of this essay. There is, for example, controversy over the Italian origins of Angelino da Dalorto, whose chart of 1325-1330 is in the Catalan style. And the so-called Medici map, usually dated 1351 from a date found on a calendar in the atlas, has now been dated to the first half of the fifteenth century on the basis of toponymic evidence.

The tradition that the magnetic compass was invented in Amalfi by Flavio Gioja at the beginning of the twelfth century rests on scant foundations; but allusions by several commentators—including Alexander Neckham, a professor at Paris (c. 1180-1190); Guyot de Provins, a satirist of Languedoc (c. 1203-1208); and Jacques de Vitry (1218)—to the uses of magnetism for navigation are good evidence that there was some, if not common, use of this device. The development of the device just before the appearance of the portolan charts, as well as a general easterly twist in the orientation of these charts, has led many scholars to postulate a direct causal relationship between the two. Some evidence for this is compelling, but it should also be recognized that the use of the compass was by no means as widespread as is sometimes claimed, nor was its precision as great as has sometimes been supposed.

Literature and Geography

The geographical allusions in the great Italian literature of the fourteenth century have not been the subject of a general work, although many books and articles on specific subjects have appeared. Dante, whose combination of poetry and an understanding of natural science has probably never been equaled, nevertheless preferred the literary and scholarly tradition represented by his teacher Brunetto

Latini and Ristoro d'Arezzo, rather than the empirical tradition represented by the activities described above. Even in his strict treatment of a scientific question, whose authorship is disputed, on the relationship between water and land—*De situ et figura, sive forma, duorum elementium, aque videlicet et terre*—he was not particularly original; he selected and propounded the most attractive theories of the time and, on the weight of his reputation, encouraged their persistence. Like Dante, Boccaccio was also more indebted to the learned tradition than to the reports of travelers, merchants, and missionaries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

See also Arabs in Italy; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Giovanni di Piano Carpini; Mirabilia Urbis Romae; Navigation; Normans; Opicino de Canistris; Polo, Marco; Ristoro d'Arezzo; Roger II; Rome: Guidebooks

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Geography: Physical

The medieval period saw the transformation of the Italian landscape from Roman to modern. The factors involved in this changing geography were not specifically medieval, nor was the pace or direction of change peculiar to the medieval period. Rather, the postmedieval landscape emerged from a convergence of physical and cultural tendencies that had already been present in classical times. The result was a landscape which by the end of the Middle Ages had more in common with that of today than with that of the Roman or early medieval period.

Some of the most remarkable changes that took place throughout the

medieval period concerned the physical geography of Italy. By the end of the fourteenth century, much of the coastline and many valleys would already have been unfamiliar to a Roman. Coastal indentations were being smoothed out, valleys were being filled in, and rivers were swinging into new courses. Sand, silt, and marshes were fast accumulating at the heads of bays and in lagoons while rivers prograded their deltas, filling the estuaries. Travelers would already have been using roads that crossed these former estuaries and ran along now unbroken shorelines. Lagoons once sailed by Roman and early medieval craft bound for inland ports were stagnant and marshy, their channels blocked, their fish stocks reduced, and the ports vanished or in decline. The situation was similar inland. Shoals of silt and sand choked river channels. Floods receded, leaving new courses. Marsh encroached on cultivation. At Salpi (Roman Sa-lapia) in Apulia, vineyards that had surrounded the city since Roman times were engulfed by marsh vegetation. Today, they are discernible only on air photographs or from documentary records.

None of this was new. The late Roman period had already suffered the inconvenience of encroaching marsh and advancing deltaic silts. Estuarine ports lost first trade, then inhabitants, and by the seventh century were in a decline from which some, like Luni (in Liguria), never recovered. Even where urban life did redevelop, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the environmental problems remained. Toward the end of the ninth century a canal was cut at Ferrara (Emilia) to divert stagnant water from marshy areas around the town toward the Po. By the eleventh century, vast tracts of those northern lowlands were being drained, diked, and reclaimed for agriculture. At Mantua, leases bound tenants to keep the banks protecting their land from flood in good repair.

Up to a point, the adversity was natural. Physical factors were working against human endeavor. The general (eustatic) level of the sea is thought to have reached a high point roughly between the years 1000 and 1200. This alone would have increased the risk of flood and siltation. But in addition, in some districts, the land itself tended to sink for tectonic reasons. And from c. 800 to the 1300s, Italy's climate, like that of Europe in general, seems to have "improved," shifting toward slightly higher average annual temperatures and total rainfall.

The latter change was a double-edged advantage. The moist warmth brought some immediate benefits. New crops (sugar, cotton, rice, silk, melons, the date palm, the pistachio tree) were introduced into Sicily, where they were largely dependent on irrigation or took their place in intensive *huerta* agriculture. Other consequences of this unusual proximity of Saharan warmth were fortunately rare, such as the plague of locusts that devastated Apulia in 1231 and led Frederick II to offer a reward for every basketful of the insects gathered. At the same time, these benign conditions, together with the upward swing of the demographic curve in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, encouraged expansion of settlement up into the hills and mountains. The *agri deserti*—abandoned fields—that had characterized the landscape of the lowlands since the fifth and sixth centuries were coming under the plow again as the demand for arable land intensified. However, clearance of scrub and forest for cultivation exposed the soil to erosion. Erosion led to siltation. Human activity was exacerbating the physical adversities to which the environment of so much of Italy is prone. For instance, the new forms of land use tended to leave the ground without plant cover during the wet winter months, even where the mountain slopes were replanted with sweet chestnut (the staple food of the poor), as in the Apennines, or with hazel, as in Campania; or where entire hillsides were terraced, as in Emilia. In upper Italy by the thirteenth century, exploitation of the great riverine forests of the Arno, Serchio, and Po led to complaints of shortages of timber, fuel (especially industrial fuel), and other forest resources. By the time the late fourteenth century brought a return to cooler, wetter, and stormier weather, the ecological tendency had set hard. Rain fell mercilessly on freshly created arable and newly planted, but often clean-tilled, fields and deciduous chestnut woods alike, washing the fine soil into the streams.

There were additional problems in much of the Apennines, where *frane* (landslips) let sandy strata literally slide off the underlying clay beds. In a country where three-quarters of the land is officially classed as hill or mountain, and thus at risk of erosion, the medieval intensification of settlement patterns and associated land use almost inevitably brought further instability. It is possible that as much silt was deposited along the valleys and coasts of Italy in the sixteenth century

alone as in the whole of the medieval period, but there can be little doubt that human activity throughout the preceding medieval centuries was a major factor in these changes.

Other aspects of the physical landscape of medieval Italy were different from those today. During much of the Middle Ages, the main rivers seem to have been much fuller, for instance. In Apulia, boats reached Civitate (ancient Teanum Appulum), some 5 leagues (about 9 miles, or 15 kilometers) up the Fortore, and a similar distance up the Ofanto. In Sicily, the Erminio and San Leonardo rivers were navigable. A five-span bridge was built in 1113 in Palermo over the Oreto where one span would suffice today. And in Liguria as late as 1384, a shipping company was established at Sarzana, 6 miles (10 kilometers) up the Magra.

In addition to contrasts in the physical landscape, within regions and from region to region, the human geography of medieval Italy was also diverse. This diversity was chronological as well as spatial. Changes in social structure, land tenure, and land use tended to occur at different times throughout the country or even within a single region. The contrast between northern and southern Tuscany in the twelfth century, for instance, or between west and east in the Po lowland (Lombardy and the Veneto, respectively), could be as fundamental as the contrast between upper Italy on the one hand and Lazio, the south, and the islands on the other. Detailed information is uneven, either because data are lacking or because studies are, for the moment, inadequate. Broadly speaking, however, the geographical individuality of Italy in the Middle Ages is conveyed in the contrast between intensive and extensive land use. This regional diversity was above all a function of demography.

From c. 1100 to 1350, the population in Italy grew. One estimate suggests that the increase was from some 5 million people to 7 million or 8 million. Despite the black death and other plagues of the middle and late fourteenth century, which in fact left many districts little affected, some regions—such as parts of Tuscany around Pistoia and San Gimignano—seem to have achieved rural population densities not surpassed until the nineteenth or twentieth century. Whether consequent on or independent of the demographic trend (it is not always clear), changes in agrarian management initiated in the tenth

century had by the thirteenth century transformed rural life and the rural landscape in three fundamental respects: the old feudal system was all but eliminated; agricultural production had been vastly increased and diversified; and what was to be the settlement pattern of modern times was already being established.

Italy was precocious with respect to the disappearance of the manorial system in upper Italy even before its real establishment in the south under the Normans. By the fourteenth century, a new agrarian system had replaced the old feudal one. Personal services had given way to fixed (money) rents or to commercial (share or *mezzadria*) tenancies. Direct farming of demesne land was replaced by indirect farming through family-size tenant farms (*poderi*) that often drifted into peasant proprietorship. Such changes in the structure of society had their counterparts in the landscape as the nature and pattern of rural settlement were altered. Unfortified *ville*, like the fortified *castelli* that had sprung up in response to the threat of foreign invasion and internal disorder in the ninth century, were abandoned. The *castelli* were left as places of refuge or were used by farmers as stables or barns. While smallholders remained in the villages, so that these nucleations remained reserves of laborers and artisans, farmers went to live on their fields. The new farmsteads that were built on these *poderi* underlie much of the modern pattern of rural settlement. Tracks linking the hilltop *castelli* were abandoned for valley routes. In regions of intensive farming, such as northern Tuscany and much of the Po plain, especially in Lombardy and Emilia, farmers enclosed their land, using vines and to a lesser extent olive trees as hedges. They practiced *coltura promiscua* (mixed land use). Viticulture was encouraged by many landlords in the fourteenth century, as was, though to a lesser extent, the growing of olives. After the fourteenth century, northern Italy took over from the south and Sicily as the center of silk production. Mulberry trees as well as dye plants began to be grown in Lombardy around Milan, and in Tuscany around Lucca. On arable land within the closes, or between the olive and mulberry trees, wheat, barley, sorghum, and millet were grown. On irrigated land, several grass crops a year could be taken, and flax and other industrial plants were produced for the urban centers. In Lombardy and elsewhere in the Po plain, where canals for navigation had continued to be built since the

twelfth century and where the upper plain is watered by *fontanili* (springs), there was plenty of water for irrigation. Irrigation ensured an abundant supply of fodder, which in turn supported an increase in livestock in response to a growing demand from the relatively affluent towns for meat, leather, and above all wool.

Little of this agricultural innovation and dynamism characterized southern Italy after the early part of the period. Here, the agrarian structure remained dominated by feudal estates (*lati-fondi*) or by common field farming with fragmented holdings farmed from centrally located, and often very populous, unfortified villages (*castelli*). This situation was reflected in the landscape. Each village was surrounded by a zone of intensively cultivated enclosed plots containing vineyards and orchards as well as arable land. Beyond that zone stretched a seemingly endless expanse of hedgeless, dry-farmed cereal land. A three- to five-year fallow period was the rule; in drier areas, five years were typical. Like stubble after the harvest, a fallow field was systematically grazed and thereby manured. Yet despite the manure, cereal yields in the south seem to have been low. Average returns would have been four- or fivefold rather than the tenfold or even higher yields anticipated by some contemporary optimists. The ability of the granary districts of the south, such as interior Sicily or the Apulian Tavoliere, to produce regular grain surpluses is explained less by any inherent fertility than by the fact that these regions had a relatively low urban (i.e., non-food-producing) population.

Under the Hohenstaufen and the Angevins, farming in the kingdom of Naples was rigidly organized. The royal demesne was administered on a provincial basis. The *masseria* (estate centers) were managed, as in Lombard times, by an overseer who often had to work to written instructions sent from the court. After exceptionally good harvests, surplus grain from all communities was bought up by the crown to be sold at inflated prices in times of need. The hard wheats of Apulia were favored because they stored well (up to fifteen years); they were kept in underground silos like those at Foggia and Cerignola in Apulia. It was the crown, too, that from the thirteenth century onward promoted the large-scale institutionalized pastoralism of the south, which led to interregional transhumance and which by the late fourteenth century was threatening village land use and even the villages themselves.

However, the decline and desertion of settlements was as characteristic of upper Italy as of the south. Desertion of settlements was not an exclusively medieval phenomenon: many of the older Roman settlements had already declined by the time of the invasions that saw the collapse of the Roman empire, or during those invasions. The new economic opportunities of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, provided yet another set of circumstances in which some settlements prospered at the expense of others. A significant factor was the conversion of land use as grain prices slumped relative to rising wool prices. The grain market was stagnant as a result of the falloff in total population and was disadvantaged by the increasing demand from the relatively prosperous urban sector for meat and other livestock products. At the same time, in Italy as in Europe in general, the wool industry was expanding. From north to south, all categories of livestock were on the increase; no one group, however, increased more than the ovi-caprines (sheep and goats).

The greatest frequency of desertion of villages was correlated with regions of surviving feudalism, or those dominated by a grazier economy with its large-scale transhumance; and this correlation is too close to have been a mere coincidence. For instance, about 10 percent of Tuscan villages disappeared during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; however, farther south the proportion rises to 25 percent in Lazio and 50 percent in Sardinia, Sicily, and the Tavoliere of Apulia. Even within a region the frequency of desertion seems to have varied, presumably in relation to the same factors. Thus the figure rises for some parts of Tuscany to 20 percent for villages and nearly 70 percent for hamlets or isolated homesteads. For similar reasons, the desertion of settlements had a greater effect on lowlands and plains than on mountain regions, where, among other things, estates tended to be more fragmented.

Italy was also precocious in western Europe with regard to the emergence of its towns. In large measure, the urban infrastructure was inherited from Roman times. For some Roman towns, especially in the south, their decline during the late empire or the early medieval period proved final. Ports like Ostia (which served Rome, Luni, and Cosa) and inland towns like Ortona, Saepinum, Alba Fucens, and Veii failed to recover even with the improved economic and political circumstances

of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Elsewhere, though, especially in the north and center, where perhaps three-quarters of the Roman towns have survived to the present day, medieval town life regenerated within the carcass of the Roman site.

The growth of urban economies, with their increased purchasing power, was a critical factor in the social and economic dynamism that characterized Italy from the eleventh century to the early fourteenth. The towns of Byzantine and papal Italy—Ravenna and Rome, Bari and Amalfi—were first to gain in importance, as early as the tenth century. Ports in general prospered, in the north as in the south. Gradually, as trade routes were redefined, inland towns too were able to take advantage of the economic upsurge. New towns were created on new sites. Some, like Manfredonia in Apulia (founded in 1253, about 2 miles, or 3 kilometers, north of Roman Sipontum) were laid out as much to replace an earthquake-shattered settlement as to secure trading and political advantage through the prestige of a new royal endowment. Some, like Ferrara, where new quarters had been created toward the end of the ninth century, derived additional prestige from systematic planning: the *Addizione Ercolea* of 1498 at Ferrara represents the earliest attempt at urban planning in the Renaissance. In the Venetian lagoon, former villages like Torcello had been endowed in the tenth and eleventh centuries with a basilica and other major monuments. Other towns gained at the expense of decayed and derelict Roman centers: the end of Roman Luni (in Liguria) was finally signaled by the removal of its bishopric in 1204 to the small town of Sarzana.

By 1300, a three-tiered urban hierarchy existed. At the head, outstanding for their size in the whole of Europe, were the four "great cities": Milan, Venice, Genoa, and Florence, each with a total population approaching 100,000. Next in rank came a group of towns varying from 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants: most of these (including places such as Pisa, Siena, Lucca, Bologna, Padua, Pavia, Verona, Mantua, and Perugia) were in the north; only three (Palermo, Naples, and Messina) were in the south. At the base of the pyramid were the small towns, with populations between 5,000 and 20,000; these small towns were almost exclusively in the north. The great cities depended on trade for their survival, since they could not possibly provide sufficient food from their own territory for their populations. Florence, for example, had

enough from local supplies for no more than five months a year. Likewise, for places like Venice and Genoa with agriculturally disadvantaged hinterlands, the securing of trade monopolies also ensured economic as well as political survival. The vast majority of urban centers could depend directly on their own territory for food and other supplies, but even in these cases the policy was to establish an urban hegemony over the entire commune as a means of economic as well as political gain.

Urban authorities fixed the prices of rural produce and might also fix the agricultural calendar itself. The earliest date for the *vendemmia* (wine harvest) and the minimum number of plowings before sowing was permitted (four at Bologna and Reggio, three at Parma and Modena) were matters to be decided by the town council. Some councils insisted on a minimum annual acreage of certain crops (hemp, flax, and sorghum at Modena, for instance). In part, the close link between town and country was a function of the way the urban centers had developed since the thirteenth century, when their governments could still include landlords who owned serfs. Gradually, not only the rights of these feudal lay and ecclesiastical lords but also their lands were taken over by the commune. But gradually too, the functional dichotomy grew more pronounced—the *contadini* producing and the townsfolk manufacturing and consuming. As far as possible, industrial raw materials—wool, hemp, flax, leather, dyes, pitch, domestic and industrial fuel, building timber, brick earths, quarry goods, and metals—as well as foodstuffs came from the local territory. It was this sort of intense exploitation of forest, field, and mountain that contributed so much to the changes in the landscape of medieval Italy.

See also **Agriculture; Geography and Cartography; Transhumance; Viticulture**

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George of Antioch

The multilingual George of Antioch (d. 1151) was a leading figure in Norman Sicily during the formative years of the kingdom. Antioch, in northern Syria, was then an ethnically diverse city; it had been under Islamic rule from late 1084 until its capture by crusaders in 1098 and was from 1099 on the capital of a Frankish principality founded by a southern Italian Norman, Bohemond of Taranto. According to later Arab accounts, George, a Greek Christian, began his career in Syria as a financial administrator and later entered the service of the Zirid rulers of Mahdia in present-day Tunisia, where he became the chief fiscal officer. Sometime between 1108 and 1114 he moved on to Sicily, which was ruled by the Normans but was still largely Arabic-speaking. Here he served Count Roger II in administrative, diplomatic, and military capacities, achieving the rank of *amiratus* (emir), a title of Arabic origin now usually translated as "admiral" but at the time by no means restricted to purely naval competencies. On the death or retirement of Admiral Christodulus, usually placed in or shortly after 1126, George was the court's most powerful official. By 1133, he had added to the Greek form of his title (*amerâs*) the phrase *árchon tôn archón-ton* (archon of archons, or magnate of magnates), signifying chief minister. Contemporary and later Arab sources refer to him correctly as Roger's vizier.

With the creation of the kingdom in 1130 George became more widely known abroad as an executor of his sovereign's policies. He

commanded the fleet in the subjugation of Amalfi in 1131 (the land forces were commanded by another admiral, John). George also led naval expeditions against Pisa in 1134 and 1135, as well as a series of campaigns in North Africa during the 1130s and 1140s that ended in the conquest first of Tripoli (1146) and then of Mahdia and adjacent areas (1148). It was probably George who directed the campaign against the eastern Roman (Byzantine) empire in 1147-1148 that involved the occupation of Corfu, the invasion of Boeotia, the sack of Thebes (and the abduction to Sicily of some of its silk workers), the sack of Corinth, and later raids on Athens and Euboea. In a second campaign in 1149 George raided the outskirts and harbor of Constantinople, shooting flaming arrows into the Blachernae palace, and won a battle off the Peloponnese that released the crusading French king Louis VII from the custody of the eastern Roman navy. In a subsequent engagement, several Sicilian ships were taken by elements of the emperor Manuel's fleet while Louis escaped toward Italy. George did not always sweep the seas for Sicily.

We are poorly informed about George's domestic administrative activities. He was almost certainly responsible for a major reform of the *duana*, a fiscal office whose structure and precise functions remain controversial; and he presided over the transformation of the central government from a comital staff to a bureaucracy capable of handling the affairs of a kingdom. His role in the building of the Admiral's Bridge at Palermo, a masterpiece of Arab-Norman stone construction, is often referred to as fact but cannot be confirmed from the surviving records. The bridge is not precisely dated, and there were other admirals after whom it could have been named. George's undisputed monument in Palermo is his church of Saint Mary of the Admiral, now also known as the Martorana. This church was established shortly before 1143 as a Greek-rite foundation and was originally designed in the form of a Greek cross within a square; it has since been much rebuilt. Among its famous mosaics are a widely reproduced depiction of Christ crowning *Rogérios Réx* ("Roger, King," a Greek phrase consisting of Latin loanwords) and a dedicatory portrait of George, prostrate at the feet of the Virgin.

See also Normans; Palermo; Roger II; Sicily

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Gerardo Pateg

Gerardo Pateg, a Lombard poet from Cremona, lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. His given name is also spelled Gherardo, and Pateg is pronounced *Patèc*; its Tuscanized form, once widely used, is *Patècchio*.

Two works of Gerardo's have survived: *Splanamento de li proberbii*

de Salomone (*Explanation of the Proverbs of Solomon*) and the so-called *Frotula noie moralis* (*Poem on Troublesome Things*). The first, *Splanamento*, is a didactic poem consisting of 606 alexandrines in rhymed couplets, preserved in a thirteenth-century manuscript of Venetian origin and hence, linguistically, not very reliable: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 390 (Saibante Hamilton), cc. 86-96. In this work Pateg "explains"—i.e., freely translates into his Lombard vernacular—the maxims contained in two books of the Bible (*Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*), taking the liberty to insert here and there popular sayings drawn from different sources. The content is arranged thematically. After a short introduction in the name of the Lord (verses 1–20), the following subjects are treated: (1) how to use and restrain one's tongue (verses 21-112); (2) the vices of pride and wrath versus the virtue of humility (113-190); (3) the shameful behavior of *mati* ("foolish") worldly men (191-264); (4) how to deal with women (265-334); (5) friends and friendship (335-404); (6) wealth and poverty (405-478); (7) miscellany (479-596). At the end (597–606) Gerardo enumerates the crucial topics he has just covered and invokes God's assistance, thereby resuming the prayerful cadence of the prologue.

Frotula noie moralis is shorter and much lighter in tone. It was apparently appreciated and recopied over a longer period of time. As a result, we must read it in a late-fifteenth-century notebook (Milan, Brera or Braidense Library, AD XVI 20) penned by the Milanese humanist Bartolomeo Sachella; not only is this inconvenient, but Sachella's knowledge of medieval Lombard was far from sure. The title *Frotula noie moralis* was introduced by Sachella, who was himself a *frotulista*. Friar Salimbene da Parma (1221–c. 1290), who wrote a Latin chronicle in which he repeatedly mentions Pateg (as Girardus Pateccclus), called the poem *Liber Tedium* or *De Tediis*. It is, in fact, a Lombard *noia*, whose Provençal model was provided by the four *Enueg* of the Monk of Montaudon (twelfth century). As a genre, the *enueg* (also *enoi*) could be considered a comic counterpart of the *plazer*, a lyric mode that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, was to find a remarkable poet in Folgòre da San Gimi-gnano. In the *plazer* most pleasurable things and situations, according to a refined aristocratic taste, are dreamed of in a nostalgic and lyrical vein; by contrast, the *enueg* assembles lists of annoying and irritating items, and

the outlook we may perceive behind such fastidiousness, at least in the Lombard production, is mainly bourgeois and at times even Goliardic (as in "the fussy whore," "the old lecher," etc.). This is not to deny, of course, that by the beginning of the thirteenth century wealthy bourgeois could have acquired or affected aristocratic manners and penchants. Pateg's *noia* (verse 84), called by its author *canzone* (80) or *canzoneta* (81), is addressed to a fellow citizen of Cremona, Ugo di Perso or Persico (82). It consists of eight stanzas (plus envoi), whose rhyme pattern is invariably abababccc, and so on (envoi: zzzz). The verse, which seems to contain nine or ten syllables, probably derives from Montaudon's masculine (or oxyton) octosyllables. In Sachella's notebook the poem is followed by two "replies in kind" (*nsposte per le rime*-, verses 70 and 84) composed by Ugo di Persico. All three poems were once attributed to Pateg and at one time were even read as texts reflecting the heretical opinions of Lombard Catharism (Pataria); they are usually referred to as *le noie cremonesi*. With regard to this genre, it is worth mentioning that in 1259 Salimbene himself wrote a *Librum Tedium ad similitudinem Pateccli* in his chronicle.

See also Folgòre da San Gimignano; Italian Prosody; Salim-bene de Adam

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Gherardello Da Firenze

Gherardello (*Ser Ghirardellus*, Niccoló de Francesco; 1320s-c. 1362 or 1363) was a member of the middle generation of Florentine *Trecento* composers. Like many of these composers, he became a cleric, first in the service of the cathedral of Florence; he was ordained in 1345. In 1351, he entered the Vallombroian order, taking the name Gherardeilo. Later he became prior at the Florentine church of San Remigio. We know that he had a son, Giovanni, and a brother, Jacopo, who were both also composers, but of their reported music nothing has survived.

Gherardello himself was highly esteemed in his day, especially for his sacred works. Of the sacred works, only two movements for the mass have survived; these suggest familiarity with French *ars nova* styles of the period of Machaut. However, a small and important body of Gherardello's secular pieces is preserved in the famous Squarcialupi Codex, which also contains a portrait that is apparently his. These pieces consist of five monophonic *ballate*, ten two-voice madrigals, and a single three-voice *caccia*, one of the most famous of its type. Stylistically, Gherardello followed a conservative tradition, particularly as identified with the work of Giovanni da Cascia. Gherardello somewhat extends the part-writing techniques, though he limits florid passages in the monophonic pieces; his madrigals mix contrasting passages of syllabic simplicity with melismatic flourishes.

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Ghibelline

The term "Ghibelline" emerged in the mid-thirteenth century to designate the Italian partisans of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (r. 1220-1250). Their anti-imperial opponents, known as Guelfs, often collaborated with the papacy against the emperor and his allies. Neither

term necessarily indicated a direct or firm attachment to either the empire or the papacy. Rather, these terms served as convenient labels for parties to the fierce political and social struggles that afflicted northern and central Italy before, during, and after the struggle between Frederick II and the church. Feudal magnates, communes, and urban factions readily adopted the Ghibelline-Guelf nomenclature in their brutal and relentless competition for power, status, and resources. Control of Italian city-states frequently oscillated from one party to the other according to the prevalence of one or another internal faction or in response to external factors. The many permutations of Ghibelline and Guelf, whatever their provenance or specific applications, reflected the increasing economic complexity and chronic political instability of the Italian communes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The words Ghibelline and Guelf are italianate versions of German battle cries used during the dynastic wars of the mid-twelfth century between the Hohenstaufen emperors and the Welf dukes of Bavaria and Saxony. "Waiblingen," a Hohenstaufen fortress in Franconia, became "Ghibelline" in Italy; "Welf" became "Guelf." These terms apparently migrated to Italy during or perhaps just after the imperial expeditions of Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1152-1190). The intrusion of the emperor into Italian politics had a strong polarizing effect, especially on the communes. Pro-imperial and anti-imperial coalitions and parties emerged throughout Italy. Anti-imperial magnates and communes made common cause with the papacy to thwart the ambitions of Barbarossa. So, too, popes Gregory IX (r. 1227-1241) and Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254) coordinated their efforts to destroy Frederick II and the Hohenstaufen with those of anti-imperialists in Liguria, Piedmont, Lombardy, the Romagna, and Tuscany.

Ghibelline and Guelf were first used as partisan designations in Florence during the 1240s. These labels quickly spread throughout Tuscany and beyond. By 1250, Ghibelline and Guelf factions, parties, and diplomatic alliances were present and active in every part of northern and central Italy. Although the papacy was deeply involved in the struggle against the Hohenstaufen, allegiance to the papacy was seldom a major factor in the partisan antagonism that surfaced or in the political coalitions that were formed. In practical terms, the popes were much like the other Italian magnates who fomented strife and

constructed alliances to cope with imperial power. In those cases where the terms Ghibelline and Guelf signaled broader political loyalties, they indicated support for or opposition to the claims and policies of the Hohenstaufen until Charles I of Anjou defeated Manfred and Conradin (in 1265-1268). After 1268, the main external issue became support for or opposition to the political axis of the Angevins and the papacy. More commonly the labels designated the parties to local or regional political conflicts.

The participants in many specific struggles, especially those in Tuscany, adopted the terms Ghibelline and Guelf as party labels; but the ever-shifting political landscape of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy complicates any effort to characterize the actual parties, even within the relatively straightforward context of the conflict between the papacy and the Hohenstaufen. Feudal magnates seem to have been more willing than communes to align themselves with or against the Hohenstaufen or, after 1268, with the alliance between the Angevins and the popes. Those magnates who wished to exploit imperial power or the idea of empire to solidify or extend their lordships adopted the Ghibelline label. Thus many Ghibelline parties were essentially aristocratic factions. In some cases, as during the siege of Parma in 1248, major urban factions refused to become actively involved in what they considered a dispute among magnates.

Several Ghibelline magnates established local or regional lordships, or *signorie*, in Tuscany, the Romagna, Piedmont, and Lombardy. During the last years of the Hohenstaufen, these lords included Ezzelino da Romano (in the Veneto) and Uberto Pelavicini (in eastern Lombardy). During the first three decades of the fourteenth century, they included Guido da Montefeltro (in the Romagna), Matteo Visconti (in Milan), Cangrande della Scala (in Verona), Tommaso di Savoia and Guglielmo da Monferrat (in Piedmont), Ugucione della Faggiuola (in Pisa), and Castruccio Castracani (in Lucca).

The great age of Ghibelline communes corresponded to the reign of Manfred of Sicily (1258-1266). Manfred was particularly strong in Tuscany and eastern Lombardy. Staunchly Ghibelline communes included Arezzo, Pisa, Faenza, and Mantua. The high point of the Ghibelline cause in Tuscany, and of the Ghibelline communes generally, was the battle of Montaperti in 1260: the Tuscan Ghibellines crushed

the Guelf forces, seized control of Florence, and exiled the Guelf leaders. However, the Guelfs regained Florence in 1266 and initiated another round of exiles. The final victory of Charles I of Anjou over the Hohenstaufen in 1268 accelerated the destruction of other Ghibelline communal regimes. Siena, Lucca, Pistoia, and Forlì fell to the Guelfs by 1280. Many politically divided communes—such as Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Ferrara, Genoa, Padua, Pavia, Rimini, and Vicenza—fell to Guelf parties in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. By 1300, the term Ghibelline usually identified either opposition to the papacy and the Angevin kings or membership in a local or exiled faction of that name. Only occasionally did the two identities overlap.

In the first half of the fourteenth century, Ghibelline factions took control of a handful of communes, but by then the traditional party labels seldom had more than local significance. The Italian expeditions of emperors Henry VII (1310-1313) and Lewis the Bavarian (1327-1330) and King John of Bohemia (1330-1332) lent confidence to Ghibelline exiles and offered support to several northern Italian Ghibelline *signorie* that were established between 1310 and 1328. The expedition of Henry VII may have inspired Dante to write *Monarchia*, his treatise on universal government. Marsilius of Padua wrote *Defensor pads* in support of the imperial claims of Lewis of Bavaria. Imperial intervention in Italy produced limited and temporary effects. Throughout the 1320s, the forces of Pope John XXII (r. 1316-1334) and his Angevin and Guelf allies warred relentlessly against the Ghibelline lords of northern Italy. The pope also used the accusation of heresy to undermine Ghibelline *signori*, especially the Visconti of Milan. Neither the emperors' nor the popes' efforts to take hold of Italian politics succeeded. Savage local and regional rivalries continued to dominate the scene.

Within the city of Rome, the terms Ghibelline and Guelf meant little. Baronial or communal factions sometimes adopted a pro-imperial stance, but usually in opposition to the papacy or another local faction. The Colonna family led a peace party that more or less doubled as the pro-imperial party in Rome, but they were mainly concerned with containing their enemies— the Annibaldi, the Orsini, and the Caetani. Partisan labels carried greater meaning in the papal state than in Rome itself. Urban factions engaged in violent conflicts with the feudal

magnates of the Romagna and within the larger cities, such as Bologna. The papacy briefly abandoned its partisan support for the Angevins and Guelf communes during the pontificate of Gregory X (1271-1276), who attempted to reconcile the factions of Tuscany, and that of Nicholas III (1277-1280), who negotiated a truce between Guelf Bologna and the Ghibelline magnates. These attempts to make peace failed almost immediately. Pope Martin IV (r. 1281-1285), a Frenchman, returned the papacy to more familiar ground. He strengthened it with the Angevins and launched an offensive against Ghibelline *signori* up and down Via Emilia. In the mid-fourteenth century, Cardinal *Albornoz* enjoyed modest success against the stubborn Ghibelline lords of the Romagna. He achieved this with a combination of force and inducements meant to defeat the *signori*, reconcile them to papal government, or both.

In all Italian communes, the victory of one party resulted in the exile of leaders of the defeated party, confiscation of their property, and loss of their political rights. As Guelf parties progressively established their predominance in communal Italy, accusations of Ghibelline sympathies often served to settle local grudges and justify profitable confiscations. Political exiles routinely negotiated their return to their cities, but they usually had to pay large fines and accept the loss of property and rights. Some parties in exile, especially in Tuscany, were able to retain their corporate identity—complete with captains, councillors, and treasury—as they struggled to regain power in their cities. More commonly, individual exiles negotiated the terms of their return, joined like-minded forces in other communes, or became mercenary soldiers. Even though the imperial connection lent a certain glamour and dignity to Ghibelline exiles, many of them could find work only in the armies of Manfred or the Ghibelline lords.

Political conflicts divided Italian communes well before Frederick II entered the picture, and they continued to do so long after the Angevins and the papacy had exterminated the Hohenstaufen. Family and party allegiances existed independently of imperial, royal, or papal considerations. However, the presence of the Hohenstaufen in Italy magnified local conflicts, as lords, communes, and factions attempted to exploit or to block imperial power. The formation of distinct Ghibelline and Guelf parties contributed substantially to the factional strife and political instability that chronically vexed northern and central Italian

communes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Endemic factionalism encouraged division, indecision, and weakness in communal government, which left many cities unable to generate adequate revenues, maintain public order, or meet external threats. In the thirteenth century, powerful lords began to fish in these troubled waters; they offered the communes a firm hand on the rudder in turbulent seas. By the second half of the thirteenth century, would-be *signori* were collaborating with interested communal factions to secure *signorie*. As a *podestà*, captain-general, or captain of the people (*capitano del popolo*), a feudal magnate or warlord (*condottiere*) exercised substantial executive power within a commune, although usually through existing republican forms. The durability of individual lordships varied from place to place, but by the mid-fourteenth century they had become the norm. The intrusion of imperial power into Italian politics, and the subsequent emergence of deeply antagonistic Ghibelline and Guelf parties, greatly accelerated the establishment of *signorie* in communal Italy.

See also Alborno, Gil Alvarez Cabrillo de; Angevin Dynasty; Cangrande della Scala; Castruccio Castracani; Charles I of Anjou; Ezzelino III da Romano; Florence; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gregory IX, Pope; Guelfs; Guido da Montefeltro; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Innocent IV, Pope; John XXII, Pope; Lewis of Bavaria; Marsilio of Padua; Montaperti, Battle of; Uguccione della Faggiuola; Visconti Family

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Giacomino Da Verona

Giacomino da Verona (thirteenth century) was a notable figure in both Lombard (northern Italian) and Franciscan literature. He is known for two vernacular poems: one about paradise (in 1,108 verses) and the other about hell (in 1,348 verses). The verse form is caesured

alexandrine (7 + 7 syllables), arranged in a sequence of monorhymed quatrains; however, the presence of shorter hemistichs often brings the lines near the epic decasyllable of the jongleurs. There are four manuscripts. The one in Venice (V, Marciana Library) and the one in Seville (S, Co-lombina Library) are closely related and provide the best reading of the poems. They also feature, before each poem, a long title (Latin in V and vernacular in S) in which paradise is called a "heavenly Jerusalem" (*De Jerusalem celesti*) and hell a "hellish Babylon" (*De Babilonia infernali*). The other two manuscripts are found in Udine (U, Arcivescovile Library) and Oxford (O, Bodleian); the latter, O, contains only the first poem (*Jerusalem*). The two poems were initially published only from V by Ozanam (1850) and, more competently, by Mussafia (1864) but were finally edited from the four extant manuscripts (with critical apparatus) by Barana (1921) and again by May (1930). May's edition includes an ample commentary on Giacomino's culture and sources. The text established by Contini (1960) and R. Brogginì was the first edition based on a genealogical presentation of the manuscripts and is therefore, strictly speaking, the only critical edition available as of the present writing.

In *De Babilonia infernali* (335), the poet clearly identifies himself as "Iacomino da Verona—de l'Orden de Minori." This poem and *De Jerusalem celesti* are followed, in V and S, by five other religious poems. Mussafia was inclined to attribute these five to Giacomino as well, on the basis of linguistic (Old Veronese) and cultural (Franciscan), though not metrical, affinities. The most relevant of these poems is the one titled *Delia caducità delta vita umana*, "On the transience of human life" (Contini 1960, Vol. 1, 653–666). The question whether the selection was made to include works of the same author or simply of the same genre cannot be decided.

There has been much speculation about Giacomino's life, but little is known for sure. He was a Franciscan friar from Verona who lived in the Veneto, in a city other than his own (possibly Venice) during the mid-thirteenth century. Judging from the musical expertise he shows in *Jerusalem*, he might have been a *magister cantus* in his convent.

Giacomino represents heaven and hell as two cities; this was a quite common view during the Middle Ages, and it also turns up in the topography of Dante's *Inferno* (the city of Dis) and, at least figuratively

(as metaphors and similes), in his *Paradiso*. In this instance, however, the reference may well be to imperial Rome rather than to Jerusalem. Drawing mainly on biblical sources, Franciscan visions, and the repertoire of preachers, Giacomino produces a vivid, if naive, picture of the Christian afterlife; he also resorts to fictitious examples and comparisons in order to evoke a sense of marvel in his readers (*Jerusalem*, 165–168; *Babilonia*, 35–36). *Jerusalem* is, as one might expect, more descriptive; *Babilonia* tends to be more dramatic. In *Jerusalem*, crystal, silver, gold, and precious stones are combined with the vernal delights of the *locus amoenus* (pleasant place) in order to build up the heavenly city, from which all earthly miseries and dangers are banned. The angels and the blessed, in splendid attire, gather around the throne of God (unpretentiously visualized as Jesus Christ) and sing his praise in the most melodious way, while being directed by Jesus himself (170). At the end of the poem, particular attention is given to the glory of Mary: in a courtly vein, she is introduced as a dignified *chatelaine* surrounded by her champion knights, to whom she graciously offers fragrant wreaths, dazzling palfreys, and well-deserved coats of arms (285–316).

As an urban landscape, Giacomino's hell in *Babilonia* is the terrifying opposite of his paradise. Bronze, iron, and steel are the metals that make up its walls and even its sky. The fire is blazing, the stench unbearable. The watchmen perched on the main gate do not let any inmate escape but are eager to lay hands on newcomers. The reader discovers many of these horrors through the experience of a newly arrived sinner, and both reader and sinner are bound to be appalled by the rigor of divine justice. Swarms of hyperactive, sadistic, raving devils torture the damned with great inventiveness while making sarcastic comments about the futile laments of their victims. Two unforgettable highlights are a sinner roasted on a spit by chef Balzabu and then presented in spicy sauce to the king of hell, who predictably finds the meat only half-cooked and sends it back to the fire (117–136); and a shocking debate between a father and son who fiercely blame each other for their damnation.

See also **Dante Alighieri**

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Giacomino Pugliese

Nothing is known for certain about the thirteenth-century poet Giacomino Pugliese. His name appears three times as Giacomino in the Vatican Codex (Vat. Lat. 3793), but the many attempts to identify him remain unconvincing. The most persistent claim (Monti 1924) is

that our poet is identical with Iacobus de Morra, mentioned by Rolandino in his *Cronica delta Marca trevigiana*. Iacobus de Morra belonged to one of the highest-ranking families in Sicily, where his father, Enrico, was viceroy and *capitano generate* and later *gran giustiziere*; Iacobus himself served as *podestà* of Treviso in 1239, as *capitano generate* of Spoleto in 1240, and as *vicario generate* of the March of Ancona in 1245. Suspected of participation in a conspiracy against the emperor in 1246, Iacobus sought refuge with Pope Innocent IV. But although this identification was received enthusiastically by Torraca (1902) and Lazzeri (1942), among others, it has been convincingly refuted in more recent scholarship. Certain elements undermine the theory that Giacomino belonged to the highest level of the Sicilian society, notably the consistent use of the diminutive form of his name with no title such as *ser* or *messere*. Furthermore, the passage *solea avere sollazzo e gioco e riso più che null'altro cavalier che sia*—"I used to have solace and joy and merriment more than any knight in the world" (in *Morte perché*, verses 11-12)—may not necessarily be autobiographical or even imply that he was a knight. Giacomino's predilection for the light *canzonetta* genre has led some scholars to theorize that he may have been a humble *giullare* (minstrel); but this, too, is far from certain, since high-ranking *magna curia* poets such as the notary Giacomo da Lentini and Rinaldo d'Aquino did not refrain from using popular genres.

Giacomino's poetic legacy consists of eight poems, the most famous of which is *Morte perché m'hai fatta sì gran guerra*, a lament over the death of the poet's lady. Though it has been praised for its popularizing vein, this poem also reveals great technical virtuosity. Its autobiographical value is probably nil, and attempts by scholars to unravel the story of Giacomino's own amorous experience from his poems by arranging them in a certain sequence are unconvincing. Of his eight compositions, one—*Donna di voi mi lamento*—is in dialogue form. In another poem, *Quando veggio rinverdire*, Giacomino sets the poet's suffering against the backdrop of spring, a traditional troubadour inspired motif. This poem contains a series of moral reflections, ending with a concrete note, the image of the lady who gives the poet a lock of her golden hair. *La dolce cera piagente* is a song of separation. *Donna per vostro amore* is a *discordo*, showing some affinity with Giacomo da

Lentini's *Dal core mi vene*. Giacomino calls the poem a *caribo*, a mysterious word that has not been fully elucidated.

Dante makes no mention of Giacomino, and Giacomino's lyrics were slighted by early editors; not until 1875 did a complete edition of his works appear, in the D'Ancona-Comparetti anthology. Nineteenth-century critics tended to bestow excessive praise on Giacomino's poetry because of its popular characteristics and its supposed portrayal of sincere emotions.

See also Giacomo da Lentini; Italian Prosody; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Giacomo D'arena

The thirteenth-century jurist Giacomo d'Arena taught at Padua beginning in 1261. He also taught at Siena, Bologna, and Reggio before returning to Padua c. 1286. Next, he taught in Naples c. 1296—this is the last recorded date in his career. Giacomo wrote annotations on the *Digest* and the *Code*, as well as several legal tracts that were still in circulation late in the sixteenth century. Cino da Pistoia made use of Giacomo's glosses in his commentary on the *Code*.

See also Cino da Pistoia

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Giacomo Da Lentini

Little is known about the life of the thirteenth-century poet Giacomo da Lentini. His fame as one of the most important notaries at the court of Frederick II was so firmly established that Dante refers to him simply as the *Notaro*, and in the codices Giacomo's name is usually preceded by this title; but there are surprisingly few documents testifying to his professional career. The year of his birth is unknown; but there is no room for doubt about his birthplace, since in two or three of his poems he describes himself as having been born in Lentino (*nato da Lentino*), a small locality on the eastern coast of Sicily. The documents bearing witness to his juridical activities date from 1233 and 1240. In 1233, two privileges were drawn up by the hand of Giacomo da Lentini—*per*

manus Iacobi de Lentino (or *Lintin*)—the first one in March at Policoro on the Basilicata coast, and the second in June in Catania. The formula *per manus Iacobi notarii* is encountered in a document from Palermo and in a letter from Castrogiovanni (modern-day Enna) that same year; thus we have enough evidence to show that the *Notaro* must have accompanied the emperor on a journey in March–August 1233 from Policoro via Messina and Catania to Palermo. A document issued in Messina on 5 May 1240 bears the signature *Iacobus de Lentino domini Imperatoris notarius* (Giacomo da Lentini, notary of the emperor). Nothing else is known of the biography of the founder and most famous poet of the Sicilian school, and his end is veiled in mystery.

Internal evidence is of little help in establishing a chronology for Giacomo's life. In the canzone *Ben m'è venuto prima al cor doglienza*, he compares his lady's arrogance to the pride of Milan over its *carroccio* and makes a brief reference to a feud between Florence and Pisa. Sanesi (1899) and Gaspary (1882) assumed that Giacomo must have written this passage before the battle of Cortenuova in 1237, a battle at which the Milanese suffered a humiliating defeat. Torraca (1902), however, opted for 1246–1248 as the period when these lines were composed. In 1246, the Guelf Florentines voiced their dissatisfaction with the *podestà* appointed by the emperor, and in 1248 they were defeated by the Ghibellines. Zenatti (1896) dated the war between Florence and Pisa to 1233 and Santangelo (1959) suggested the summer of 1234, but Langley (1915) considered these references too vague to be of much use in dating the poem. A reference in *La 'namoranza disiosa* to a naval encounter near Syracuse, tentatively dated to 1205 by Cesareo (1924), offers no proof of the composition date, and it remains highly unlikely that this poem could have been written during the decade 1200–1210. The period of Giacomo's most intense poetic activity probably coincided with the years of his documented professional duties at the imperial court. The episode involving Bonagiunta da Lucca in Canto 24 of Dante's *Purgatorio* (verses 55–57) confirms Giacomo's role as the chief representative of the Sicilian school, and Dante praises the poem *Madonna dir vi voglio*, though without mentioning the poet by name. Giacomo's prestige may also be inferred from the poem *Di penne di paone e d'altre assai*, in which Chiaro Davanzati accuses Bonagiunta of plagiarizing the *Notaro*. In the Vatican Codex (Vat. Lat. 3793), Giacomo

is given more prominence than any of his contemporaries: his poems are listed first in each genre section; and with some forty pieces definitively attributed to him, he far outdistances all other Sicilian poets in sheer numbers.

We have little reason to doubt that Giacomo was instrumental in choosing an Italian dialect for poetry composed in the Provençal mode in Sicily. He may also have played a decisive role in imposing a very narrow thematic orientation on the school, and he is usually credited with being the inventor of the sonnet form. Except for a single sonnet on friendship, Giacomo wrote solely on amorous themes. Most of his *canzoni* are conventional in theme and style; and his sonnets, twenty-one in all, with four more of uncertain attribution, show the same adherence to the Provençal mode. Even at this early stage in its evolution, however, the sonnet tends to become more philosophically oriented, serving as a forum for discussions of the nature and power of love. In the poem *Amor non vole ch'io clami*, Giacomo ridicules the abuse of lovers' laments, but this satirical approach is itself purely conventional and does not reveal any beginnings of disenchantment with a stereotyped motif. This poem, therefore, is not to be considered a literary manifesto. Giacomo wrote many *canzoni* or *canzonette* of great technical simplicity, but other poems of his testify to his mastery of some of the most complex metrical schemes inherited from the troubadours.

See also Bonagiunta Orbicciani degli Averardi; Carroccio; Chiaro Davanzati; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Scuola Poetica Siciliana; Sonnet

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Gianni Degli Alfani

Gianni was a thirteenth-century Florentine poet of the *dolce stil nuovo*, whose poems are included in the Chigiano manuscript (L.VIII.305), one of the most prestigious collections of early Italian poetry. The poet has been identified with Gianni di Forese Alfani, who was born between 1272 and 1283 and was *gonfaloniere della giustizia* (standard-bearer of justice) in 1311. This identification would make Gianni one of the youngest poets of the *stilnuovo*. However, if the poet was the person of that name who matriculated in the silk guild in 1243 and died before 1310, he would have been considerably older than his fellow *stilnovisti*. In any case, we learn from his poetry that he traveled abroad as far as

the Danube River and that he was a political exile.

Seven poems of Gianni's have been transmitted in the Chi-giano Codex and reveal his poetic affinities with Guido Cavalcanti. In the graceful composition *Ballatetta dolente* ("Sad ballad"), Gianni speaks of Guido with great admiration: *perché egli è sol colui che vede Amor* ("because he is the only one who understands Love," verse 19). He also wrote a humorous sonnet to Cavalcanti, *Guido, quel Gianni ch' a te fu l'altrieri* ("Guido, that Gianni who greeted you yesterday"), seeking the poet's advice on love. Cavalcanti responded with a motet, *Gianni, quel Guido salute* ("Gianni, that Guido whom you greeted").

In Gianni's poetry, as in Cavalcanti's, death and fear are prominent themes, although Gianni's outlook is more optimistic. In *Ballatetta dolente*, for example, the exiled poet sends his composition to his lover in Florence; at the same time, he requests that the poem be read by Cavalcanti in the hope that it will inspire pity in him. Unlike his more renowned counterparts, Gianni does not wish to examine the origin and meaning of love, yet his stylized representations of the emotions are meant to inspire a sense of community among poets who are capable of finer feeling. That Gianni was more interested in the phenomenology of love than in its allegorical meaning can be seen in the *ballata Quanto più mi disdegni, più mi piaci* ("The more you scorn me, the more you please me"), in which the poet revels in his mistress's reluctance to reciprocate his love. Although the speaker's heart is gripped by fear, the reader senses that the speaker rejoices in, or thrills to, his lover's disdain: *una paura nel cor mi discende/cbe dentro un pianto di morte v'accende* ("a fear comes into my heart and kindles a weeping akin to death," verses 3-4). In another *ballata*, *Donne, la donna mia ha d'un disdegno* ("Lady, my lady has with her disdain"), the poet expresses sympathy for a friend who is suffering the pain of unrequited love. For Gianni Alfani, poetry was, above all, an experience binding people emotionally rather than intellectually.

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Italian Poetry: Lyric

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Gidino Da Sommacampagna

The Veronese poet *Gidino da Sommacampagna* (fl. late fourteenth century), like his father, *Manfredo*, was in the service of the *Delia Scala* (Scaliger) family of Verona. *Gidino* was the author of an important treatise on vernacular poetry, *De li rithimi volgari* (1384), dedicated to *Antonio Scaligero*. This treatise, a popularization of *Antonio da Tempo's Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis* (1330), has come down to us in only one manuscript, the fourteenth-century codex *CCCCXLIV* of the *Biblioteca Capitolare* of Verona. Although *Scipione Maffei* in the eighteenth century and *Giulio Perticari* in the nineteenth century discussed the manuscript and the attribution to *Gidino* (whose name appears in the colophon and in an acrostic poem), the treatise was not published until 1870.

Following his model closely, *Gidino* describes seven principal genres and their numerous variations: the sonnet (which has eighteen variations); the *ballata* (*grande*, *mezzana*, *minore*, *co-mune*, *minore*, *piccola*, *minima*)-, the *canzone distesa* (of which there is only one form); the *rotondello* (of which there are at least four types); the madrigal (five forms); the *sirventese* (of which there are seven types, including one in three languages); and the *moto confetto*, which is modeled on the *frottola* but which deals with a serious theme. This first part is followed by a brief explanation of the rules governing the composition of the poetic forms. The author then gives a description of other kinds of sonnets that are based on sophisticated wordplay. He

concludes his treatise with a discussion of the *contrasto*. With the exception of one verse borrowed from Dante, Gidino draws his examples from his own poetry. His treatise, therefore, is also the primary source of his poems.

The word *rithimi* in Gidino's title is a synonym for "poem." Rarely does he discuss what modern readers would consider rhythm, that is, the visual and auditory effect created by meter and syntax. He is primarily interested in the structural features of a poem. Giuliani (1870) found in the treatise a wealth of knowledge about linguistic features of the Veneto region and about comparative philology. Modern readers should pay attention to Gidino's detailed descriptions. Besides revealing the range of poetic types, Gidino's taxonomical exposition may be interpreted as an attempt to codify poetry as an elite and artistic form of communication. As a popularization of Antonio da Tempo's Latin treatise, *De li rithimi volgari* was perhaps intended as an instructional guide to be readily shared with others. Yet it may not have circulated as widely as its form would suggest, given that it has come down to us in only one manuscript.

See also Antonio da Tempo; Ballata; Canzone; Delia Scala Family; Italian Prosody; Sirventese; Sonnet

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Giles of Rome

Giles of Rome (Egidio Romano, Aegidius Romanus, Egidio Colonna; c. 1245-1316) was an Augustinian friar and a prominent scholasdc

philosopher and theologian. He was born in Rome to a family of small landowners, but they were probably not the Colonna as is often supposed. Against his family's wishes, he entered the new mendicant order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine (founded 1256), which c. 1260 sent him to study at the University of Paris, where he became the order's first bachelor of arts (1266), doctor of theology (1285), and official theologian (1287). He probably studied under Thomas Aquinas, who certainly influenced him more than any thinker except Aristotle; and although Giles often criticized and diverged from Aquinas's teachings, he did so with marked respect. In 1277, the bishop of Paris, Etienne Tempier, condemned some of Giles's doctrines as heretical; as a result, Giles had to abandon his university career until a retraction was effected through the intervention of the pope (1285). In the interim he wrote a treatise, *On the Education of Princes*, for the future king of France, Philip IV the Fair, whose tutor he may have been. During the same period he was frequently in Italy, where he performed responsible administrative functions for his order. Eventually, in 1292, he was elected head of the order and had to resign his professorship in Paris, although he continued to live there. Then, in 1295, he was appointed archbishop of Bourges by his friend Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303), who also made him a cardinal in 1302. During Boniface's papacy, Giles spent much of his time at the papal court, where he wrote his treatise *On Ecclesiastical Power* (1302), asserting the subordination of temporal rulers to the authority of the pope. Giles's influence waned when his old rival, the archbishop of Bordeaux, became Pope Clement V (1305); he spent his later years mostly at Bourges, always writing and occasionally giving expert opinions, e.g., against the Templars and Peter John Olivi. He chose to be buried in the Augustinian convent at Paris, his spiritual home, to which he bequeathed his library.

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Augustine, his order's eponymous patron. Giles is not quite of the first rank among scholastic thinkers, but his works have nonetheless been extensively studied (although there is as yet no complete edition of them). His career indicates the extraordinary prestige he enjoyed in his own generation as an accomplished, Paris-educated theologian.

See also **Boniface VIII, Pope**

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Giotto

Giotto is the nickname of a Florentine painter or the second half of the fourteenth century. The name was first applied in the late fifteenth century to a painter, Giotto di Maestro Stefano, who has been a subject of continuing controversy concerning identification and attribution. Giotto di Maestro Stefano is documented only twice: in 1368 he was inscribed in the guild register of Florentine painters, and in 1369 he appears as one of a team of assistants, alongside Giovanni da Milano and Agnolo Gaddi, working under Giovanni Gaddi on fresco decorations (now lost) for the Vatican Palace. The profession of his father, Stefano, is unknown, though some modern scholars have

(conjecturally) associated this Stefano with Stefano Fiorentino, a pupil of Giotto who was also, according to the seventeenth-century historian Filippo Baldinucci, Giotto's grandson. If these assumptions are correct, Giotto would have been Giotto's great-grandson.

Early chroniclers, including Villani and Ghiberti, mention followers of Giotto such as Stefano and Maso di Banco but, troublesomely, make no reference to Giotto. Antonio Billi, in his *Libro*, compiled between 1481 and 1530, provided the earliest list of works attributed to Giotto. The Anonimo Maglia becchiano (c. 1540) was the first to identify Giotto as the son of Maestro Stefano. Giovanni Battista Gelli's unfinished biographies of artists (c. 1550) first conflated Giotto with Maso di Banco; Vasari (1568) finally codified the process of entanglement by writing a biography of Tommaso di Stefano, called Giotto, and attributing to him works now known to be by Maso di Banco. Here, three distinct personalities—Maso di Banco, Maestro Stefano, and Giotto himself—were melded into one; and to make matters worse, another painter of the late *Trecento* named Tommaso di Stefano may have been involved.

Today, only two works are attributed to Giotto with any unanimity. One, *Madonna and Child and Saints*, is a detached fresco, possibly from the 1350s, from a tabernacle on Via del Leone in Florence, which had probably already been removed in the eighteenth century from a tabernacle in Piazza Santo Spirito (and is now stored in the Florentine Galleries). The second, *Lamentation Over the Dead Christ*, is a panel, perhaps from the 1360s, formerly from San Remigio in Florence (and now at the Uffizi in Florence).

The problem of Giotto and his confusion with other artists would matter little were it not that these two works are of the highest quality and point to a distinct personality of great importance. The *Lamentation* shows a distinctly Florentine, Giottesque monumentality in the bulky forms arranged across the panel. However, as more recent scholarship has emphasized, attention is also given to surface naturalism and detail—as in the carefully traced windings of the Magdalene's hair, or the superb foreshortening and modeling of John the Evangelist's complex turn of posture—that seem more northern Italian in origin and were perhaps influenced by the presence in Florence of the Lombard painter Giovanni da Milano in the 1340s and

1360s. The *Lamentation* conveys a reverential, meditative stillness that may reflect the pietistic turn of the arts after the black death. Unlike the detached, iconic imagery of Orcagna, however, this panel evokes a profoundly felt pathos that goes to the core of Giotto's approach as well.

See also **Giotto di Bondone; Orcagna, Andrea di Cione**

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Giotto Di Bondone

Giotto (Giotto di Bondone, c. 1266-1337), a Florentine painter from Colle di Vespignano, near Florence, was the single most important figure in the redirection of the arts away from medieval stylization to Renaissance naturalism. During his lifetime, Giotto received a level of

acclaim accorded to no other medieval artist. The revolutionary aspect of his accomplishment was already understood by his contemporaries. By 1316, Dante proclaimed Giotto the most famous painter of the day in a passage (*Purgatorio*, 11.94–96) decrying the folly of pride:

*Credette Cimabue ne la pittura
tener lo campo, e ora ha Giotto il grido,
sì che la fama di colui è scura.*

(Once, Cimabue thought to hold the field/in painting; Giotto's all the rage today; / The other's fame lies in the dust concealed.") Boccaccio, in the *Decameron* (c. 1350), credited Giotto with bringing back to light a true, intellectual art, which had lain in neglect for centuries. Giotto's work continued to serve as a model for Florentine artists from the *Quattrocento* to the high Renaissance, when the young Michelangelo copied motifs from the Peruzzi Chapel in Santa Croce in Florence.

Administrative, legal, and literary documents attest to Giotto's long, prolific, and far-ranging career. Despite this, little is certainly known or agreed on about the artistic career of this master. Only a select core of work is today ascribed to Giotto with any consensus. Among these works, the Arena Chapel in Padua, decorated with frescoes as a family chapel or oratory for Enrico Scrovegni between 1302 and 1306, serves as the most secure anchor for an understanding of Giotto's style. The interior of the Arena Chapel is covered from floor to vault with an epic cycle of frescoes illustrating the redemption of humankind, leading from the lives of Joachim and Anna, Mary, and Christ to an enormous Last Judgment covering the west entrance wall.

The other major series of undisputed works are the fresco cycles for two adjacent chapels—those of the Bardi and the Peruzzi—in the Franciscan church of Santa Croce in Florence. The Bardi Chapel, immediately to the right of the high altar, features seven scenes from the life of Saint Francis; the Peruzzi Chapel, painted in *fresco secco* and now in poor condition, depicts three scenes each of the lives of saints John the Evangelist and John the Baptist, themes probably suggested by the patron's name, Giovanni Peruzzi. These two cycles are key works in any reconstruction of Giotto's career, but both lack any documentation whatsoever. The only certainty is that they postdate the cycle in the Arena Chapel and give us our best indication of Giotto's later activity.

Most of Giotto's documented works— such as his frescoes for the Lateran Palace in Rome, painted for the jubilee year of 1300; and the Navicella mosaic for the facade of old Saint Peter's in Rome (possibly 1310), Giotto's most celebrated composition in his own day—survive only in much altered fragments. His signed works, such as the Baroncelli Altarpiece (in Santa Croce, Florence; possibly 1328) and the Bologna Polyptych (in the Pinacoteca, Bologna; possibly 1332), are manifestly not products of his own hand but rather workshop assemblages probably following his designs.

Giotto's great success and fortune in his day is attested to by numerous known circumstances: the large workshop under his training, including such subsequently successful artists as Bernardo Daddi, Maso di Banco, and Taddeo Gaddi; his numerous land purchases and business transactions, recorded in various archives, including guarantees of loans and the lease of a loom for a considerable sum; and his extensive sojourns in the Italian peninsula and beyond. He went to Rome, Rimini, Padua, Naples (from 1328 to 1334; there, he was made first painter to King Robert of Anjou), Milan (where he was sent by the commune of Florence to work in the service of Duke Azzone Sforza in 1336), and possibly Avignon. Late in life Giotto was honored with appointments as head of works at Santa Reparata, the cathedral of Florence; and as chief engineer to the city of Florence, in which capacity he designed the campanile, or bell tower, of the cathedral.



Giotto di Bondone (1266-1336), *Madonna Enthroned with Child, Angels, and Saints* (Ognissanti Madonna), 1306-1310. Uffizi, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The magnitude of Giotto's accomplishment is still breathtaking. His works have a physical and psychological naturalism that seems thoroughly removed from medieval conventions of stylization and abstraction. When one compares Cimabue's Santa Croce Crucifix (1280s, Museo dell'Opera di Santa Croce, Florence), which was already quite innovative for the suppleness of its forms, with Giotto's Santa

Maria Novella Cross (1301 — . 1302, Santa Maria Novella, Florence), executed only some twenty years later, a vast gulf seems to separate the two. Cimabue's gracefully abstracted symbolic presence of Christ on the cross contrasts with the corpse depicted by Giotto—the body extended forward in space, the legs buckled under its weight, the head hanging down, and the face in a death grimace. Giotto's brutal rendering is, in fact, the first thoroughly realistic portrayal of Christ crucified in the history of Christian imagery. His *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, painted for the church of the Ognis santi in Florence (1306-1310; now in the Uffizi, Florence), advances this insistent realism even further. Through sheer volume, the Madonna conveys a commanding physical presence. Great pleats of cloth clearly articulate the massive form of the body beneath the drapery, and the angels and saints overlap one another in space as they attentively turn their gaze on the mother and child. No longer a miniature adult as in Cimabue's Santa Trinita Maestà (c. 1280, Uffizi, Florence), Giotto's Christ child has the chubby constitution of a real infant. Perhaps most compelling for the viewer's sense of communion with the divine, especially in comparison with the slightly earlier maestàs of Cimabue or Duccio, the throne in Giotto's *Madonna and Child Enthroned* truly seems to surround and sustain the great bulk of the Madonna, and to project forward believably into space. A series of steps leads logically up to the Madonna and child; the viewer is given the impression of implicit accessibility to the divine by this clear path of approach. In fact, the Ognissanti *Madonna and Child Enthroned* is ingeniously designed as a participatory work of art, for the Christ child's blessing is actuated only when viewers stand before the altarpiece, completing the circle of adoration that has been left open in order to include them. No earlier *maestà* had made the presence of the divine so persuasive, and subsequent treatments such as Duccio's great *Maestà* (1309-1311) for the high altar of the cathedral in Siena were perhaps influenced by Giotto's spatially convincing design.

Besides his volumetric and spatial constructions, Giotto manifested a genius for narrative drama; his scenes of the *Life of the Virgin and Christ* in the Arena Chapel or the *Life of Saint Francis* in the Bardi Chapel in Santa Croce display some of the canniest understanding of human nature ever set down in paint. This physical and psychological

realism is perfectly congruent with the evangelical designs of a contemporary movement: the mendicant orders, such as the Dominicans and above all the Franciscans, that earnestly sought to educate the public in the message of the faith through empathic meditation on the lives of the central protagonists of the Christian saga of salvation, especially Mary and Christ. Giotto's sponsorship chiefly by Franciscan patronage throughout his career was certainly no coincidence, for his lifelike rendering of biblical narratives was precisely the kind of physical cue the Franciscans sought to effect a union between layman and creed.

One of the most intractable problems in art history has been unraveling the mystery of Giotto's beginnings. To develop his revolution, Giotto clearly had to draw on extant sources and ideas. Most obvious is his debt to the sculptors Arnolfo di Cambio, Nicola Pisano, and Nicola's son Giovanni Pisano, whose works of the later *Duecento* are infused with a similar pursuit of monumentality, a natural outcome in the medium of sculpture. But the works of Nicola Pisano and, especially, Giovanni Pisano also indicate an interest in narrative legibility, dramatic focus, and distinct psychological states that presage Giotto's narrative studies. Certain painters of the Roman school, particularly Pietro Cavallini, point toward the volumetric buildup of forms in Giotto's painting. In addition, Giotto was influenced by artists who had previously absorbed his lessons. The complex architectural skyline that serves as the backdrop for the *Raising of Drusiana* in the Peruzzi Chapel, for example, is preceded by the intricate cityscape of the *Entry into Jerusalem* from the rear of Duccio's *Maesta*. The legend of Giotto's tutelage under Cimabue, first set down in a late *Trecento* commentary on the *Divine Comedy* and picked up by Lorenzo Ghiberti (*Commentarii*, c. 1450), is difficult to comprehend as a logical stylistic progression. Especially controversial is Giotto's presumed authorship as a young master of a great portion of the frescoes in the nave of the upper basilica at Assisi, particularly two well-preserved Old Testament scenes—*Isaac Blessing Jacob* and *Isaac Rejecting Esau*—and the bulk of *Scenes of the Life of Saints Francis*, probably painted in the 1280s-1290s. Through the nineteenth century, these frescoes were considered Giotto's, virtually without question; but later a growing coterie of scholars, including Richard Offner and Millard Meiss, found it difficult

to see them as congruent with the body of Giotto's work—although it should be noted that other scholars (such as Cesare Gnudi and Luciano Bellosi) believe that no comprehension of Giotto's style is possible without them. The frescoes in Assisi serve as a fascinating test case for paradigms of artistic formation and development, since different attributions and chronologies lead naturally to wholly different conclusions about the artist.

Giotto's style was so persuasive that, once it had been introduced, it spread like wildfire in any center which was exposed to his idiom. Thus Padua, Rimini, Rome, Naples, and especially Florence had successive generations of Giottesque painters. Despite the popularity of his approach, however, only a few artists, including Maso di Banco and the Lorenzetti brothers, understood the profound implications of his spatial narratives. Partly as a result of a change in outlook and patronage brought about by the black death, it took the greater part of a century for another artist to appear who comprehended the real potential of Giotto's vision. It was Masaccio, in the 1420s in Florence, who effected a return once and for all to the grave and monumental sobriety of Giotto's approach in painting.

See also Arnolfo da Cambio; Assisi; Ducciodi Buoninsegna; Florence; Francis of Assisi Master of the Saint Francis Cycle; Painting: Fresco; Pisano, Giovanni; Pisano, Nicola; Scro-vegna Family Chapel

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Giovanni Balbi Da Genova

Giovanni Balbi (Johannes Balbus, d. 1298) was born in Genoa and seems to have spent much if not all of his life there. Sometime before 1272, when he was already of an advanced age, he entered the Dominican order. His name is listed in a Dominican document dated 12 October 1277. His major work, the *Catholicon*, was completed in March

Much of what we know of Giovanni Balbi's life derives from the *Catholicon*, although there are not enough biographical references to reconstruct it in detail. In this text he also makes reference, under the entry *Ianua* ("Entrance") to two earlier writings: *Dialogus de quaestionibus animae ad spiritum*, a *summa* in nine books that relies heavily on Thomas Aquinas; and *Opus paschale*, which provides a set of tables for determining the date of Easter. *Dialogus*, completed in 1272, was discovered by M. Grabmann in a manuscript at the Vatican Library. *Opus paschale* seems to have been lost, but it may have been added to the end of the *Catholicon* by the author himself. Powitz (1988) has found three manuscripts of the *Catholicon* that contain the table, which calculates the date for Easter over a cycle of 532 years, from 1286 to 1817. Balbi may also be the author of a commentary on the four gospels, a manuscript copy of which is located in the library of the Dominican convent in Genoa. The fact that this work is not mentioned under the entry *Ianua* suggests that it may have been composed later than the *Catholicon*. The attribution of *Postilla super Iohannem* and of *Tractatus de omnipotentia Dei* to Balbi appears to be entirely arbitrary.

Balbi's most important work is without doubt *Catholicon seu Summa prosodiae* (also known as *Summa quae vocatur Catholicon*), a vast treatise devoted to the arts of the trivium, on which he worked for many years and completed at the convent. It is divided into five parts: the first treats orthography; the second, placement of accent; the third, etymology, derivations, and syntax; the fourth, improprieties in discourse and rhetorical figures; and the fifth, prosody. The fifth and last part, which is much longer than the first four combined, takes as its subject not only prosody but also orthography, etymology, and semantics; and it includes an extremely useful glossary, arranged in alphabetical order. This work alone places Giovanni Balbi among the leading lexicographers of the Middle Ages, together with Papia and Uguccone of Pisa. The original manuscript appears to have contained two additional items in the form of an appendix, separate from the volume, both now missing from most of the manuscripts. The first concerns *Ciclus Paschalis*, and the second refers to *Rubricae quintae partis*.

For the composition of his treatise, Giovanni Balm made use of

ancient grammars (those of Donatus and Priscian) and the work of medieval grammarians (Isidore of Seville, Papia, Ugucione, *Grecismus*, *Doctrinale*, *Aurora*, Pietro da Isolella, and Bene da Firenze) as well as excerpts from patristic writings (in particular Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great) and theologians (Rabanus Maurus, Bernard of Clairvaux, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas). Occasional references to classical literature (chiefly Horace and Ovid) may be found, they but are infrequent, as one would expect.

With 670,000 words, the *Catholicon* is, among medieval lexicons, the largest and most complete. That fact explains the extraordinary esteem in which it was held in ecclesiastical institutions, as numerous Italian, French, and German codices and incunabula attest; humanists like Petrarch and Boccaccio also made use of it. It was, in fact, one of the first works to be printed, in 1460, perhaps by Gutenberg himself.

See also Ugucione da Pisa

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Giovanni Da Cascia

Giovanni da Cascia (Giovanni da Firenze, first half of the fourteenth century) was a member of the first generation of Italian *Trecento* musicians. There is little firm information about his life, but his surname suggests that he came from the town of Cascia near Florence (not in Umbria, as has sometimes been assumed). There are references that might possibly connect him to activities at Santa Trinita and the cathedral in Florence, but it would seem that he never became a priest. He is thought to have spent some time at the Visconti court in Milan, and there is a firm report by Giovanni Villani of his presence at the court of Mastino II della Scala (d. 1351) in Verona, where he was said to have competed in composition with his younger contemporary, the great Jacopo da Bologna; Maestro Piero may also have been involved in these encounters. Giovanni's music circulated widely, and he is reputed to have been the first of the Italian *Trecento* composers to win broad recognition.

Only nineteen compositions by Giovanni da Cascia survive. They are in a number of manuscript sources, most notably in the great Squarcialupi Codex, in which he is the earliest composer represented and, apparently, his portrait is included. None of his reported monophonic *ballate* have come down to us, but there are three three-voice *cacce* and sixteen madrigals. Giovanni was particularly important in defining madrigal settings as a musical form. To that form he brought carefully controlled elements of imitative part-writing, but his vocal style also balanced declamation with much-admired melodic felicity. All this served to win his music great praise in its day and guarantee it continued vitality in our own time.

See also Ars Nova; Delia Scala Family; Jacopo da Bologna; Squarcialupi Codex

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Giovanni Da Faenza

Giovanni da Faenza (Johannes Faventinus, d. 1187) taught canon law in Bologna during the second half of the twelfth century. Favoring a cause unpopular in the city, he was proimperial. Local resistance to the power of Frederick I Barbarossa led Giovanni to give up teaching and instead occupy a canon's stall in his home city, Faenza, until his death. Giovanni once was confused with the bishop Giovanni of Faenza who died in 1191. Giovanni wrote a *Summa* on the *Decretum* of Gratian, summarizing the teachings of Stephan of Tournai and Rufinus of Aquileia. Bernardo da Pavia was among his students.

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Giovanni Da Firenze

See Giovanni da Cascia

Giovanni Da Legnano

Giovanni da Legnano (d. 1383), a Milanese, studied in Bologna with Paulus de Liazariis. He was promoted to doctor of both canon and civil law, c. 1350; and until his death he usually taught at the University of Bologna. Giovanni had powerful friends among the clergy, and his support of the policies of Gregory XI led to his becoming papal vicar for temporal affairs in Bologna in 1377. His legal opinions on the origins of the Great Schism supported the legitimacy of Urban VI, drawing responses from the partisans of Clement VII. Giovanni's commentaries and treatises included a work on the law of war; he has therefore been regarded by some scholars as a precursor of international law. He studied medicine and astrology in his youth, and he wrote on theological and astronomical topics. Giovanni's leading student, Francesco Zabarella, thought that his master studied too many things at once, thereby depriving his legal writings of the necessary depth.

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Giovanni Da Milano

The fourteenth-century painter Giovanni da Milano came from a village in the region near Como. The earliest record of Giovanni is a Florentine archival document of October 1346; presumably he was an apprentice or assistant at the time. There is no mention of him from 1346 until sometime between 1358 and 1363, when he joined the painters' guild in Florence. A signed polyptych in the museum at Prato, painted for the Ospedale della Misericordia there, was probably completed by 1363, when its commissioner died. In May 1365, Giovanni was granted an extension until November to complete his frescoes in the Guidalotti (now Rinuccini) Chapel in Santa Croce in Florence. A signed Pietà in the Accademia at Florence is dated 1365. Giovanni became a citizen of Florence in April 1366. In 1369 he was in the Vatican Palace, working on the decoration, now lost, of two chapels commissioned by Pope Urban V. It is assumed that Giovanni died soon afterward, as his name appears in no subsequent documents.

Giovanni's most important surviving works, in addition to those mentioned above, are an *ancona* (altarpiece, now in the National Gallery in Rome); a Pietà or Vesperbild (formerly in the Le Roy collection in Paris and now in the du Luart collection there); a dismembered polyptych, the central panel of the Madonna and Child recently discovered at San Bartolo in Tuto at Scandicci near Florence, and two saints (one in the Louvre and the other in the Kress Collection in Williamstown, Massachusetts); panels in the London National Gallery, the Brera in Milan (formerly Contini-Bonacossi collection, Florence), the Pinacoteca Sabauda in Turin, and the Bacri collection in Paris (formerly belonging to the duke of Sutherland), which, according to one hypothesis, come from the same polyptych; and five compartments of a dismembered polyptych (now in the Uffizi),

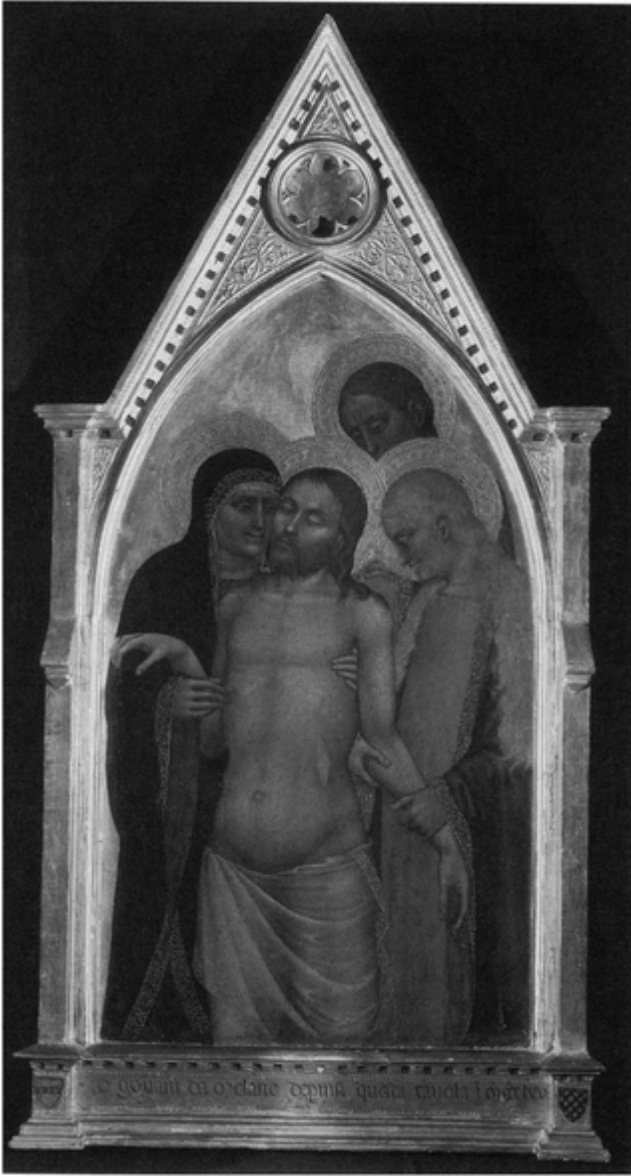
probably once on the high altar of the church of the Ognissanti in Florence. Although none of these works or the few additional surviving ones by Giovanni is signed or documented, scholars are virtually unanimous in attributing them to him. There is far less consensus on their dating, which must be done by comparative stylistic analysis. The *ancona* in Rome is generally considered the artist's earliest surviving work and is dated to the early to mid-1350s. The others fall approximately in the order in which they have been listed above.

It is not known to what extent Giovanni da Milano's style had been determined by the time of his arrival in Florence. The principal styles that formed his art—those of Giotto and Simone Martini—had appeared in Lombardy during the first half of the century. Their manifestations were at that time quite provincial, however, and were not able to dominate local styles. Not until the 1360s did an advanced, fundamentally Tuscan manner govern fresco painting in and around Milan, and the artists, whose names are unknown today, were influenced by Giovanni da Milano—not the other way around. Severe archival losses and what we must presume to be the disappearance of a substantial number of panel paintings make it difficult to do much more than speculate concerning Giovanni's Lombard origins. Similarly, although Giovanni clearly influenced Lombard fresco painting in the 1360s and later, and although he had a profound impact on the important school of manuscript illumination in the region during the last quarter of the century, it is unknown precisely how or when the influence was transmitted. It is often supposed that he returned to Lombardy sometime during the long period between 1346 and the next mention of him in Florence.

The identity of Giovanni's master has been a subject of much speculation. Perhaps Giovanni was trained in Florence in the workshop of Bernardo Daddi, about the same time as Giusto de' Menabuoi, a Florentine painter who worked in Milan in the third quarter of the century and affected its artistic development. Daddi's style, like Giovanni's, was compounded of Giottesque and Siennese sources, and Giovanni's early works bear a general resemblance to Daddi's. At the same time, it is apparent that Giovanni was influenced directly by the art of Siena; this is perhaps most noticeable in the *du Luart Pietà* or *Vesperbild*, which is *Simonesque* in style and probably Siennese in

iconographic origin.

Also characteristic of Giovanni's style is an anatomic naturalism highly developed for its time, seen particularly in his numerous renditions of the dead Christ. His anatomic realism, softly graduated modeling of flesh tones, and close observation of nature in general may be attributed to his northern origins but go far beyond the work of his Lombard predecessors.



Giovanni da Milano (fl. 1346–1369), *Pietà*, 1365. Oil on panel, 43 1/4 by 18 1/8 inches. Accademia, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Giovanni is sometimes treated as an exponent of an essentially anti-Giottesque tendency in Florentine painting during the third quarter of the fourteenth century, which interrupted the progression from Giotto

to Masaccio and the early Renaissance. In fact, though, Giovanni da Milano adhered to Giottesque principles more closely than any other painter active in Florence at the time. This is evident above all from the frescoes of the story of the Virgin and her parents and the life of Christ in the Rinuccini Chapel. They express a profound human dignity, achieved in part by the monumental scale of the figures. The concentrated selection and the perfection and idealization of natural appearance also demonstrate a deep understanding of Giotto's fundamental accomplishment.

Despite being arguably the outstanding painter of his generation working in Florence, Giovanni had little influence on Florentine art. This was surely because painting in Florence had drifted too far from the norm of Giotto. Giovanni's influence was greatest in his native Lombardy, and it helped to nurture the international Gothic style, which in turn reinvigorated Italian painting in the opening years of the fifteenth century.

See also Daddi, Bernardo; Giotto di Bondone; Giusto de Menabuoi; Martini, Simoni

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Giovanni De Matociis

Giovanni de Matociis (Mansionario, last quarter of the thirteenth century-December 1337) was born in Verona, the son of Costantino de Matociis. Giovanni was a canon of the cathedral in Verona and also an imperial notary, like his contemporary Benzo d'Alessandria. Giovanni's role in the cathedral chapter— master of song—gave him the title Mansionario, by which he is most frequently known. His great good fortune was to have at his disposal the bountiful treasures of the capitular library of Verona, with its trove of Carolingian manuscripts. Again like Benzo, Giovanni made liberal use of these manuscripts in the studies he pursued in the wake of Vincent of Beauvais, the thirteenth-century French Dominican encyclopedist.

American classicists are familiar with one of Giovanni's achievements, the disentangling of the personalities and works of Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger (Merrill 1910). There is currently no edition of Giovanni's major work, *Historia imperialis* (*Imperial History*), a biographical history of Roman emperors from Caesar to Louis the Pious. There are three manuscripts of this work, one in the same capitular library where Giovanni labored and two in Rome (one in the Vallicelliana, the other in the Chigi collection of the Vatican): i.e., Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. 204; Rome, Biblioteca Vaticelliana, Cod. D 13; and Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Chigi I VII 259.

See also **Benzo d'Alessandria; Humanism and Protohumanism**

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Giovanni Del Biondo

The painter Giovanni del Biondo (c. 1330s-c. 1398 or 1399) was a native of the Casentino and worked for most of his adult life in Florence. Giovanni appears to have been extremely popular between 1360 and 1385. He received commissions from the most important institutions in the city and produced an extensive and eclectic group of devotional pictures.



Giovanni del Biondo (fl. 1356-1399), *Presentation in the Temple*. Accademia, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Although we know nothing of his origins, archival evidence allows us to reconstruct Giovanni's activity from 1356 until his death sometime before 1399. After a six-month stay in Florence, Giovanni petitioned the government for citizenship. Evidently, this request was granted, for tax records indicate that he lived in the quarter of Santa Croce from 1359 to 1375. He moved to the Vaio district of San Giovanni in 1376, where he remained for the rest of his life. Two entries in the *Prestanze* indicate that he had died by May 1399, and perhaps as early as October 1398.

Giovanni seems to have worked initially in the circle of Nardo di Cione. Giovanni's hand may be seen in the frescoes of the church fathers, probably executed between 1356 and 1357, in the vault at the entrance to the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella. This period coincides with Giovanni's arrival in Florence and suggests that he joined Nardo's workshop c. 1356.

Giovanni's work in the Strozzi Chapel marked the beginning of a successful career. In 1360 he painted and signed a polyptych (now lost) for the church of San Francesco in Castelfiorentino. In 1363 he produced for the Camaldoli order at Santa Maria degli Angeli an altarpiece containing lateral images of the church fathers (today it stands atop the high altar of Santa Croce). In the following year he painted a second altarpiece for the Angeli, a small triptych of the Presentation (currently in the Florentine Accademia). Sometime during the early 1370s he completed a dossal panel representing John the Baptist. He signed another picture of the Madonna in 1377. In 1379 he executed the altarpiece for the Rinuccini chapel in the sacristy of Santa Croce. In 1385 he was selected by the Dominicans to paint an Annunciation of the Virgin for the sacristy of Santa Maria Novella. In 1392 he completed a panel for the monastery of San Francesco in Figline, and in 1396 he painted miniatures in antiphonaries made by the monks in Santa Maria degli Angeli. He also executed works for the church of Or San Michele, the Duomo of Florence, and (probably) the Badia. Few painters of his day managed to place so many works in such a diverse group of ecclesiastical institutions.

Despite his popularity, few modern critics have included Giovanni del Biondo among the great masters of the Florentine *Trecento*. His style is largely derivative, and in most of his work his debt to the Cione

brothers is clearly evident. Indeed, Ghiberti and Vasari considered his contributions negligible enough to be omitted from their critical histories of Italian art. Giovanni seems to have been pushed to the margins of art history by 1450, and his reputation has not been rehabilitated by modern historians.

Although he has never received much acclaim, there can be no question that Giovanni del Biondo was extremely popular with his contemporaries. He was in constant demand throughout his career, and his works were installed in the most important spaces in Florence. Modern viewers may not see in his work the same qualities that were appreciated by his peers, but his popularity serves as an indicator of both the taste of *Trecento* Florence and his own ability to satisfy his customers.

See also Nardo di Cione

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Giovanni Del Virgilio

Giovanni del Virgilio (fourteenth century) became famous as a professor of classical poetry at Bologna in the 1320s. His life and career were connected with those of two of his contemporaries, the Paduan protohumanist Albertino Mussato (1261-1329) and the Florentine poet Dante Alighieri (1265-1321). Giovanni was given the name Virgilio in reference to his pedagogical and scholarly devotion to the Roman poet Virgil. He was formally hired by the University of Bologna in 1321 to lecture on Virgil, Statius, Ovid, and Lucan, but he had already been teaching there in some capacity before that date. He appears to have spent the years 1324-1325 in Cesena, where he probably composed an eclogue to Mussato. After 1327 we lose all record of him.

Giovanni's fame rests primarily on his correspondence in Latin hexameters with Dante in 1319-1320 and the epitaph he composed for Dante's tomb that was recorded by Boccaccio in his life of Dante. The correspondence has come down to us in the Laurentian Library manuscript 29.8, which was owned and possibly copied by Boccaccio. This manuscript also contains the longer eclogue to Mussato, two other verse epistles, and part of an epic poem about a besieged city and the conquered queen's pleas for mercy. This last fragment reflects Giovanni's proto-humanist Virgilian mind-set, which rather pedantically deemed great literature the eloquent account in Latin hexameters of a contemporary political or military event. This is the source of Giovanni's dismay at Dante's choice of argument and vernacular expression—a dismay that prompted Giovanni to initiate the Latin correspondence. In the first epistle, Giovanni suggests worthy matter from contemporary Italian history for a proper Latin opus: the tragic drama of the late Holy Roman emperor Henry VII in his struggles in Italy; the recent aggression by Uguccione della Faggiuola in Tuscany; the victories of the imperial vicar Cangrande della Scala (Dante's esteemed patron and the dedicatee of *Paradiso*, and Mussato's nemesis) against Padua. Giovanni chastises Dante for wasting his talent by trying to bring serious themes to the vulgar herd (*seria vulgo*). Ever the professor, Giovanni begs of Dante something worthy of academic study. He offers to place the coveted laurel crown, the ancient sign of literary glory, on Dante's brow in triumphant celebration amid the scholars of Bologna.

Dante satisfies his request, though not without some degree of ironic

—perhaps even affectionately mocking—play. Dante had already been resident for some years in Ravenna at the court of Guido Novello da Polenta when he received the missive from Bologna. He takes up Giovanni's classical challenge by reviving the highly stylized conventions of the eclogue or pastoral poem, usually a dialogue among shepherds in a prelapsarian fantasy land. Virgil had written ten. Thus Dante casts himself as Tityrus, his friend and fellow exile Dino Parini as Meliboeus, and Giovanni as Mopsus. Within this elaborate code, Dante explains that he should defer the poetic coronation until he has completed *Paradiso* and hopes even then to be celebrated in his native Florence. Hoping to improve Giovanni's opinion of his vernacular verse, Dante announces that he will send along "ten bottles" (*decern vascula*) of milk from a segregated, much-loved sheep of his flock (*ovis gratissima*), as yet un milked and on the verge of bursting (*ubera vix quae ferre potest, tarn lactis abundans*). Some critics take this as a reference to ten cantos of *Paradiso*, a significant confirmation that the poem was circulating in part before its completion.

In response, Giovanni delights in taking up the pastoral fiction and returns a work strongly dependent on Virgil's second eclogue, in which the shepherd Corydon sings his love for the beautiful young boy Alexis. At the end of Virgil's poem, Corydon threatens to find himself "another Alexis" (*alienum Alexim*) should his affections continue to be scorned. Giovanni's eclogue professes his admiration and love for Dante, sympathizes with Dante's desire to be celebrated in Florence, but implores him nonetheless to visit Bologna, where an alluring pastoral idyll awaits ("Alexis shall spread wild thyme to be thy couch ..."). Finally, Giovanni warns that should Dante scorn him, he will "quench his thirst at the Phrygian Musone," a reference to Padua's river and to Mussato, Dante's poetic rival. Curiously (for us), Giovanni appears to have considered Mussato the greater poet: Mussato had, after all, composed his epic *Ecerinis* on the cruel tyranny of Ezzelino in Padua and had accordingly been crowned poet laureate in 1315, a distinction which neither Dante nor Giovanni had achieved and which inspired awe in Giovanni at least.

The response from Dante apparently reached Giovanni in Bologna only after Dante's death. In this enigmatic final eclogue, Dante relates that he would visit Bologna were it not for his fear of a certain

"Polyphemus," whose precise identity remains a mystery. In his (never inscribed) epitaph for Dante's tomb, Giovanni lauds him as theologian, philosopher, and "glory of the muses, most-loved author of the common people" (*gloria musarum, vulgo gratissimus auctor*), who wrote in both Latin and the vernacular (*laicis rhetoricisque modis*). Of Dante's works, Giovanni singles out for mention the *Comedy*, *Monarchia*, and, appropriately, the series of eclogues interrupted by his death.

Giovanni was also the author of a verse epistle known as *Diaffonus* and several pedagogical works: commentaries on Virgil's *Georgica* and Ovid and a brief *ars dictaminis*.

See also Albertino Mussato; Dante Alighieri

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Giovanni Di Piano Carpini

Giovanni (c. 1180-1252) was born at Pian di Carpini (Piano della Magione) in Umbria and was a first-generation Franciscan, from c. 1220. He served as a provincial official in Germany, Spain, and possibly Barbary. His fame, however, rests on his mission to the court of the Mongol khan.

Pope Innocent IV chose Giovanni and two other friars to act as emissaries to protest against the Mongols' expansion into Christian Europe, perhaps to gain aid against militant Islam, and to observe the Mongols closely. The party departed from Lyon in April 1245 and arrived at Karakorum on 22 July 1246. The new khan, Kuyuk (enthroned on 24 August) promised nothing and made no concessions, dismissing the envoys in November. After a hard winter's journey they arrived in Kiev in June 1247, and they were with the pope in Lyon seventeen months later. The pope made Giovanni bishop of Antivari (Dalmatia) in 1248; but after a dispute over the see Giovanni returned to Italy, where he died, near Perugia, on 1 August 1252.

Giovanni's *Historia Mongolorum* (*Mongol History*), or *Liber Tatarorum* (*Book of the Tartars*), constitutes his official report on the mission. It is a generally reliable discussion of the territories traversed and the peoples encountered. Although it was not published in full until the nineteenth century, it circulated in Europe and was used by, among others, Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum Historiale*, c. 1260) and Roger Bacon (*Opus maius*, c. 1266).

See also **Innocent IV, Pope**

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Giovanni Gualberto, Saint

Giovanni (c. 995-7 December 1073) was a monastic, a church reformer, and the founder of the Vallombrosian order. He was perhaps born into the noble Visdomini family of Florence. He turned to the religious life after a dramatic confrontation with a kinsman's killer. It was Good Friday, a traditional day of reconciliation, and the man rushed up to beg forgiveness. Suddenly overwhelmed by the futility of vengeance and violence, Giovanni not only pardoned the killer but decided to become a Benedictine monk. He professed at the nearby monastery of San Miniato, but he soon began to criticize its lax observance of the Benedictine rule and the simoniacal appointment of its abbot. Sometime before 1027, he left San Miniato for the famous hermitage at Camaldoli established by Romuald of Ravenna. Here too Giovanni was dissatisfied, though; he felt that the Camaldoli rule strayed from traditional Benedictine practice by limiting its monks' preaching in nearby towns. He finally withdrew to Vallombrosa, a wooded area on the western side of the Pratomagno hills, where he founded his own monastery c. 1038. To ensure that this house kept the Benedictine rule strictly, he introduced lay brothers—professed monks who did not pursue the eremitical contemplation of the rest of the community and were not bound by the vow of silence—to act as buffers against the outside world. Their function in the monastery was to attend to all business and administrative concerns, leaving the other monks free to focus on spiritual development.

Within a few years, Vallombrosa gained a local reputation for holiness. Several other Tuscan monasteries placed themselves under the authority of its abbot, following the example of Cluny. Vallombrosa soon began to found new communities, usually hospices for the poor

and sick, which were also kept under the authority of the abbot. By the late eleventh century, Vallombrosa headed a small congregation of monasteries located primarily in Italy. The congregation never grew very large, but its innovations—an emphasis on the literal observance of the Benedictine rule and the use of lay brothers to free the monks from mundane concerns—were adopted by the founders of the Cistercian order in the early twelfth century.

Giovanni's hatred of simony drew him into the contemporary movement for church reform. In the 1060s, he and his monks engaged in a fierce struggle to unseat the simoniacal bishop of Florence, Pietro Mezzabarba. Mezzabarba was eventually forced to flee the city, and Giovanni's faction saw one of its leaders, Pietro Igneo, elevated to the cardinalate. By the end of the 1060s, Giovanni had become an important opponent of simony in northern Italy, sending his monks as far as Milan to implement reform. Giovanni Gualberto was canonized in 1193.

See also **Camaldoli; Romuald of Ravenna, Saint**

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Giraut de Borneilh (c. 1166-c. 1211) was born at the border between the Limousin and Périgord near Excideuil. Recent scholarship has provided his approximate dates, and allusions in his poetry situate his literary activity between c. 1180 and 1210. Giraut must have received a sound education at an abbey before going as a clerk to the court of Raimbaut d'Orange, who became his friend. From Raimbaut, Giraut learned to compose *trobar leu* ("light") or *trobar clus* ("serious") poems, according to the circumstances, his audience, and the topic. Having become an accomplished and recognized poet, he went to King Alphonse II of Aragon, whom he served for a long time, except for the years 1188–1189, when he followed the Limousin barons in the crusade of their overlord Richard Coeur de Lion (Lion-Heart). In 1192, Giraut left Aragon and retired to Nôtre-Dame de Dalon, an abbey in the Limousin (as did Bernart de Ventadorn and Bertran de Born).

Seventy-six of Giraut's poems, including four with their melodies, are preserved, mostly *cansos* but also some *sirventes* (poems of blame), *pastorelas*, and *planhs* as well as a beautiful *alba* (dawn song). Giraut was above all a scholar and thus earned the appellation *maestre dels trobadors* (master of troubadours). In his works, he delights in subtle dissertations; and his dignity of attitude and attention to form reveal his high concept of art. His poetry has the solemn tone of a moralist and sometimes a certain dryness; even when he sings about love, his sentiment appears more like a means of elevation and a call to virtue. Despite his desire that his poems be clear and without affectation, he is as difficult in *trobar leu* as in *trobar clus*. Dante, in *De vulgari eloquentia* (2.vi. 6), admires Giraut's *illustres cantiones*, but in Canto 26 of *Purgatorio* (v. 120) he calls Giraut *quel di Lemosì* ("that one of Limousin") and judges him inferior to Arnaut Daniel.

See also Dante Alighieri

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Giullari

The *giullari* (singular, *giullare*) were jongleurs, or minstrels. They fulfilled the function of communicators *par excellence* in Italy, as elsewhere in medieval Europe—a world where communication rested on oral transmission. They were the ones who told or sang about characters and events, filtering and coloring the tales. This accounts for the favor that lords and authorities extended to the *giullari*, despite the church's repeated warnings against them. More specifically, the jongleur was a specialist in entertainment, whose performance combined music, words, and physical appearance and gestures in order to please his public. His skills might comprise singing, dancing, acrobatics, storytelling, and comedy. The main occasions for performances by jongleurs were weddings, knighthood ceremonies, banquets, and numerous civic festivities. Often, the jongleurs performed at regular intervals (e.g., every Sunday), in preselected city venues. Sometimes a jongleur would spend a long period of time in the service of a lord; but it seems that vagrancy was an integral part of the jongleurs' way of life.

A passage by Giovanni Boccaccio offers interesting testimony to the perception of the jongleur in fourteenth-century Italian communal society:

In former times, their function usually consisted, and all their efforts were expended, in making peace whenever disputes or conflicts arose between two nobles, negotiating treaties of marriage, friendship or alliance, restoring tired minds and amusing the courts with fine and graceful witticisms, and censuring the failings of miscreants with pungent, fatherly strictures, all of which they would do for the slenderest of rewards. Whereas nowadays they spend the whole of their time in exchanging scandal with each other, sowing discord, describing acts of lewdness and ribaldry, or worse still, practicing them in the presence of gentlemen. Or else they will justly or falsely accuse one another of wicked, disgusting and disreputable conduct, and entice noble spirits with false endearments to do what is evil and sinful."

(*Decameron*, 1.8, trans. G. H. McWilliam).

Boccaccio idealizes the jongleurs of earlier times, perhaps on the basis of literary suggestions, and stresses their baseness in the real world of his own day. In fact, communal statutes are surprisingly harsh in dealing with jongleurs, who are often mentioned together with prostitutes and are denied even the right to bodily integrity. The statutes of Ivrea (1237), for example, allowed citizens offended by a jongleur (*meretrix vel ribaldus, jocularator vel jocularitrix, saglobator vel saglobatrix, furiosus vel mentecaptus*) to beat him until he bled (*verberare usque ad effusionem sanguinis*).

Thomas of Chabham (or Cobham), in *Summa confessorum* (*Penitential*), provided an authoritative and balanced judgment on the moral worth of this figure by identifying different types within the general category of jongleurs. Those who change their appearance with "horrid" masks and deform their bodies with shameful gestures are definitely guilty, as are those who wander from court to court and please their public by slandering the absent. Those who play musical instruments to please their audience are blameworthy if they attend drunken revelries and perform songs that induce lust. Finally, there are jongleurs who sing the deeds of princes and the lives of saints and bring relief to people stricken by sickness and melancholy; these

jongleurs may be remunerated without sin.

In the Italian language, various terms are used for a jongleur, suggesting that this figure was multifaceted. The term *buffone* is found in a poem by the Provençal Guiraut Riquier, who distinguishes between the *trobador* (a composer of poetry and music), *juglar* (a mere singer of songs composed by someone else), and *bufo* (a mime and entertainer, held in the lowest esteem). The term *giocolare*, from the Latin *jocularis*, points to the playfulness of the jongleur's activity (*jocus*). *Joglar*, the Provençal form of this word, is the origin of the modern term *giullare*. A term often used in Italian documents, *uomo* or *cavaliere di corte* (*miles curialis*), indicates the milieu in which the jongleurs most often performed. Starting c. mid-fourteenth century, communal governments—particularly in Perugia and Florence—appear to have hired a more or less permanent jongleur to enhance the quality of life of their *podestà*, *signori*, or both. By then, the term that more often appears in documents is *canterino* (singer).

The importance of the jongleur in the production and diffusion of vernacular poetry can hardly be overestimated. Many of the earliest documents of Italian literature belong to the jongleurs' repertoire. Jongleurs also spread French epic, romantic, and *fabliau* literature in Italy. They were responsible for thirteenth-century Franco-Italian literature and, from the mid-fourteenth century on, for the distinctive genre of *cantari* that prepared the way for the epic poems of Boiardo and Ariosto.

See also Cantare

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Giunta of Pisa

The painter Giunta of Pisa (Giunta Pisano, Giunta di Capitino; fl. 1236-1254, or possibly 1266) is considered one of the greatest artistic personalities of the early *Duecento*. His reputation rests principally on the emotive power and tragic grandeur of his painted Crucifixes, of which three signed examples survive: Assisi, Santa Maria degli Angeli; Bologna, San Domenico; Pisa, Museo Nazionale, from the church of San Ranierino. A fourth, which disappeared in the seventeenth century, was executed for San Francesco in Assisi; it carried the date 1236, in an inscription indicating that the patron was Brother Elias, minister general of the Friars Minor (Franciscans) and founder of the basilica of Saint Francis. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Giunta was also active in 1239 in Rome, where his pupil Giovanni Pisano and his son, the priest Leopardo, are also recorded. The last secure reference to Giunta is in 1254 in Pisa, although it is possible that he was still alive in 1266, when a painter of the same name is mentioned as a landowner.

Recent critical opinion has challenged the accepted chronology and stylistic development of the signed Crucifixes and has extended Giunta's known oeuvre. It is generally agreed that the Assisi Crucifix (1220s- 1230s), characterized by a pathetic humanity in tune with Franciscan spirituality, is his earliest surviving work. There is less certainty, however, about subsequent developments in his career. Some scholars argue that the San Domenico Crucifix, which reflects a greater sense of elegance and refinement, is a late work; but others prefer to place the San Ranierino Crucifix, which is controlled by a firmer sense of proportion and a softer modeling of the forms, at the end of Giunta's life. In any case, Giunta's debt to Byzantine painting techniques is evident in all his accepted work; and, as the style of the San Ranierino

Crucifix in particular suggests, he probably also came into contact with the classical revival in Byzantine art of the 1240s.

Giunta was evidently one of the most sought-after artists of his day, as his surviving work for the important shrines of Saint Francis in Assisi and Saint Dominic in Bologna attests. His expressive designs of a suffering Christ had far-reaching consequences and were assimilated by painters of the mid-century in Pisa, Bologna, and Assisi, as well as by Cimabue at its close.

See also Cimabue

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Giuntino Lanfredi

The comic poet Giuntino (fl. early fourteenth century) came from an old and noble family of Lucca. He wrote two sonnets that testify to the

popularity and influence of Cecco Angiolieri. In *Vento a levante e di meridiana* ("Wind from the east and from the south"), the narrator depicts himself as a paradigm of adversity, using rhetorical techniques and a theme dear to Angiolieri. *Morte dogliosa, ché non vien' di botto* ("Sorrowful Death, why do you not come quickly"), a sonnet in dialogue between the poet-narrator and a personification of death, is a parody of serious love lyrics in which poets invoked Death to end their amatory suffering. The ironic (and Angiolieresque) twist in Giuntino's poem is that Death refuses to approach the narrator, whose poverty has frightened everyone, including Death, away.

See also **Cecco Angiolieri; Italian Poetry: Comic**

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Giusto De' Menabuoi

Giusto de' Menabuoi (fl. fourteenth century) was a northern Italian painter. The earliest secure record of him is a dismembered polyptych signed and dated March 1363, of Milanese provenance (parts of this polyptych are now in the Kress Collection at the University of Georgia at Athens). A signed and dated tabernacle of 1367 (now in the National Gallery, London) was also painted in Milan, according to its inscription. Some frescoes in and near Milan may be attributed to Giusto on the

basis of their style. The most significant of these are in the tribune of the Abbazia di San Pietro at Viboldone. A Madonna and Child with saints and donor bears the date 1349; if the attribution is correct, this would be the artist's earliest surviving work. The Last Judgment on the three other walls of the tribune was done by Giusto after an interval of at least five years. No documents mentioning Giusto have been found in the Milanese archives, and none dealing with his origins in Florence has yet come to light.

That Giusto was born and trained in Florence is evident from his style and from documents in the Paduan archives. He is first documented in Padua in September 1373, but some frescoes in the church of the Eremitani in that city may be attributed to him and dated c. 1370. Sometime after 1367, when he painted the tabernacle that is now in London, Giusto transferred his activities to Padua. From the time of his arrival there until the end of his career, he worked for the powerful and ambitious lord of Padua, Francesco da Carrara the Elder, and Francesco's court. Giusto was probably called to fill the vacancy left by the death of the most important earlier local painter, Guariento di Arpo, who had enjoyed the patronage of the house of Carrara. From 1373 to 1382, Giusto is mentioned in Paduan documents at regular intervals. He became a citizen of Padua in April 1375. After 1382, there is no mention of Giusto in the Paduan archives until July 1387. He died in Padua sometime between then and May 1391. His name is inscribed in 1387 in the register of the painters' guild in Florence, but there is no evidence that he was there at the time.



Giusto de' Menabuoi (ft. 1349-1390), ceiling frescoes, Baptistery, Padua. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The most important works by Giusto in Padua are not strictly documented, but they are strongly supported by local tradition and by comparison with signed paintings from his Lombard period. They are the votive fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin in the basilica of Saint Anthony (c. 1380); the heavily repainted frescoes in the Belludi (or Conti) Chapel of the same church, depicting scenes from the legends of the Blessed Luca Belludi, Saint James the Less, and Saint Philip, probably newly completed for the consecration of the chapel in September 1382; and the decoration of the cathedral baptistery.

The Romanesque baptistery was redecorated by Giusto to serve as the mausoleum of Francesco da Carrara the Elder and his wife, Fina Buzzacarina. Work probably had been completed by October 1378, when Fina was buried in her wall tomb (later destroyed). Francesco, who died in a Visconti prison at Monza, was interred in November 1393 in a freestanding sepulchre (also later destroyed). The fresco decoration covers every available surface and is encyclopedic in scope. It reflects the dual nature of the building as baptistery and mausoleum—functions that were closely linked since early times. In the principal dome is a representation of Paradise; the Pantocrator and Virgin Orante are Byzantine elements explicable by the proximity of Venice. On the drum is an extensive series from Genesis; and stories of the Virgin, Christ, and John the Baptist cover the walls. The exhaustive Apocalypse cycle in the apse seems to depend, either directly or indirectly, on an illuminated manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century. The polyptych is also richly embellished with narrative scenes from the legend of John the Baptist.

The identity of Giusto's master is a subject of debate. Giusto's early works suggest that he was trained in Florence in the workshop of Bernardo Daddi. Giusto turned to Daddi's master, Giotto, for the fundamentals of his style. Direct borrowings from Giotto's work in the Arena Chapel may be seen as early as Giusto's Viboldone Last Judgment and in the London tabernacle. Giusto's Lombard work also reflects Giovanni da Milano; and throughout his career Giusto utilized recent Florentine sources. Giusto influenced Lombard fresco painting in its most advanced Tuscan phase of the 1360s and slightly later manuscript illumination in the region, although Giovanni da Milano, a native, had a more profound impact. Similarly, Giusto's presence helped invigorate Paduan painting at a time when art in Florence had stagnated through a relaxation of Giottesque principles. Again, although Giusto influenced monumental painting and manuscript illumination in Padua until about the turn of the century, the style of a local artist, Altichiero, was dominant. Despite some concessions to indigenous naturalism, particularly an expansion of the number of figures and their spatial setting, Giusto's art was fundamentally Florentine and hence less accessible to local taste.

See also Altichiero da Zevio; Oaddi, Bernardo, Francesco da Carrara; Giotto di Bondone; Giovanni da Milano; Guariento di Arpo; Padua

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Glossa Ordinaria: Bible

By 1200, the Old and New Testaments were a comparatively small part of a compendium of "sacred scriptures," though they remained the most important part. The Bible by this time had become dwarfed by "glosses": marginal commentary and interlinear notes. A thirteenth-century master of theology, when he read his multivolume *Textus bibliae cum glossis* ("text of the Bible with glosses"), would move his eye from a few verses of the Bible in the center of the page (the text), to phrases in smaller letters placed above the appropriate biblical words (the interlinear gloss), and finally to lengthy, dense interpretive material in the margins (the marginal gloss). These glosses, having achieved after 1200 a relatively set form, and soon thereafter the status of a regular school text, thus composed the "standard gloss," or *Glossa ordinaria*, to the Bible. The word *ordinaria* is a later addition; those who used the work in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries called it simply the *Glossa*. The content of each part, marginal and interlinear, was basically the same; the interlinear version was simply more cursory and convenient.

No manuscript has been discovered that lacks either set of glosses. Each biblical book was also introduced with prefatory material written, for the most part, by Jerome (died c. 420).

Glosses were appended especially to those books that the medieval reader regarded as authoritative and hence to be taught. A gloss could serve as a note to aid in the delivery of an oral lecture on the text, or as a guide to assist a future reader. Many of the earliest glosses on a text were only crabbed notes inserted here and there by masters (and students who listened to them) and were of little value to later interpreters. But the glosses of respected teachers were reproduced by copyists along with the basic text. Most of these additions were themselves excerpts from church fathers and certain medieval authorities. Eventually, from the pens of subsequent glossators of a certain text, successive layers of notes accrued and, when merged together, formed the standard gloss for that book. The civil law *Digest* of Justinian, as well as the church law *Decretum* of Gratian, acquired extended commentaries. Thus each discipline—Roman law, canon law, and biblical theology—produced its own *Glossa ordinaria*.

The formation of the biblical *Glossa* preceded that of the legal glosses, but its editors and stages of development are much less understood. From Carolingian times on, prefaces to the biblical books had been inserted into the Vulgate, and the resulting apparatus, called an "expositor," was used into the twelfth century. Some books were studied in the light of continuous commentaries composed by Augustine, Bede, and others. Several generations ago, it was thought that the marginal part of the *Glossa* was also from Carolingian times and had been produced by Walafrid Strabo (d. 849). However, in the 1930s, largely through the labors of Beryl Smalley at Oxford, it became clear that the *Glossa* was a compilation of previous materials, mostly extracts from patristic authorities, appended to the biblical text in an organized manner by scholars during the late eleventh century and the twelfth. The most important of these scholars were Anselm (d. 1117) and his younger brother Ralph (died c. 1134) in the cathedral school at Laon. Their arrangement of traditional material was produced, their contemporaries said, "by a new kind of exposition" (*novo expositionis genere*). They were regarded not as "authorities" (*auctoritates*) but as "arrangers" (*ordinatores*). Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), writing many

years later, lamented that Anselm "was prevented from glossing the whole Bible by the many demands made upon him by the canons whose dean he was." Another remembrance, less complimentary, by Peter Abelard (d. 1142), described Anselm as a dull pedant. But the composite picture of Anselm that emerges is of a productive and pragmatic compiler who conceived the idea of a comprehensive Bible commentary and made important contributions to this goal but was forced to bequeath the completion of his project to others. To Anselm himself we may credit parts of the *Glossa* on the Psalms, the Epistles of Paul, and much of the commentary on the Gospel of John. To Ralph we may attribute the formation of some material on Matthew and, possibly, the minor prophets (though Gilbert the Universal may have contributed these). Some of this work was no doubt performed by scholars under Anselm's guidance.

By 1128, additional compilations on the Pentateuch, the major prophets, and Lamentations were added by the lawyer Gilbert the Universal (d. 1134), who put his name to individual glosses. Many other contributors remain anonymous. Smalley once argued that glosses on the entire Bible, forming a kind of proto-*Glossa*, were in place by 1130. More recent scholarship casts doubt on this claim, suggesting that the process of glossing the biblical corpus was more protracted and complicated. At any rate, by this time the Laon manuscripts, such as they were, circulated among scholars, were altered, and acquired interpolations—glosses on the *Glossa*. Among the later contributors were Gilbert de la Porree (d. 1154), who was a disciple of Anselm and later bishop of Poitiers; and Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris (d. 1160). Each supplemented Anselm's glosses on the Psalter and the Pauline epistles. The expansion contributed by Gilbert was called *Media glosatura*; that of Peter Lombard was called *Magna glosatura*. By the later twelfth century such growth slowed, and a more or less set form emerged.

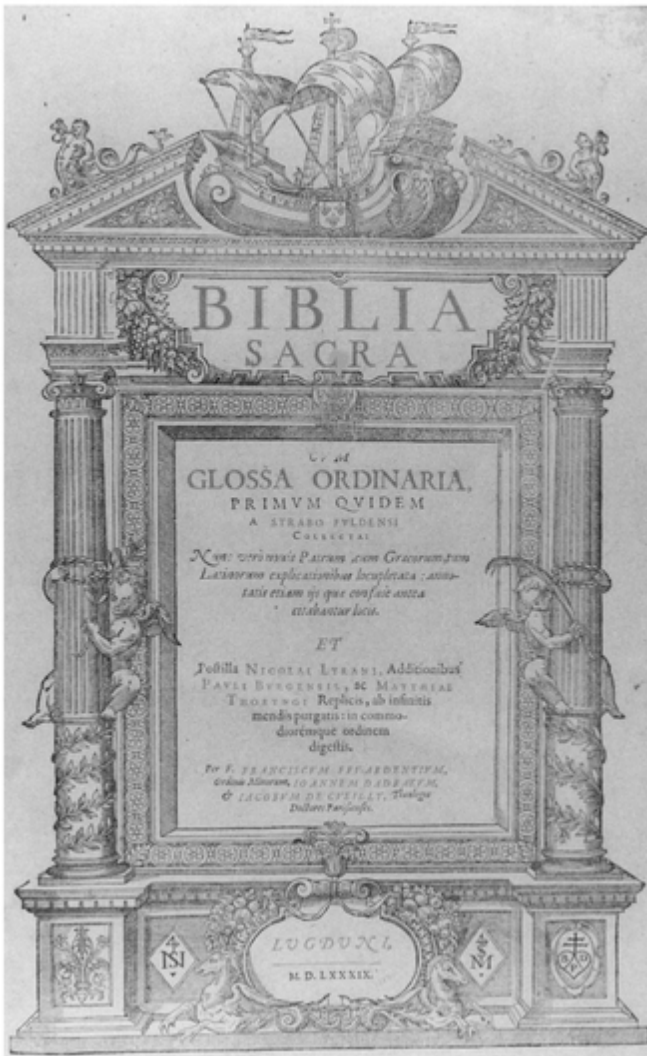
The *Glossa* was also being widely distributed. By 1200, copies of at least parts of the *Glossa* were in practically every library in Europe. It eclipsed all other biblical commentaries. To be sure, it did not contain the most innovative biblical exegesis. As one scholar has written, its value was as a "practical aid for students beginning on their study of the Bible." It offered variant readings; possible resolutions of difficulties

in the Latin translation from the original Greek or Hebrew; literal, allegorical, and moral interpretations; outlines and summaries of value to preachers; explanations of anthropomorphisms; reconciliations of apparent inconsistencies; and much else besides.

The church had long taught that the Bible was correctly read in the light of authoritative and traditional interpretation. The Bible's meaning was not thought to be "perspicuous" (as later Protestants were to argue) to the solitary and allegedly "Spirit-led" reader. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, the newly established towns were producing visionaries and reformers who used the Bible to support revolutionary ideas. Thus churchmen, opposed to the heresies of some of these preachers, preferred a glossed or "interpreted" Bible. Glosses couched the sacred text within the citadel of orthodox interpretations, the understanding of which required formal education, and thus guarded biblical theology from those who would be innovators rather than follow holy tradition. Accordingly, the interlinear gloss described the occupants of the office of "prophet" (Ephesians 4.11) as the "interpreters of the Scriptures" (*scripturarum interpretes*); and the marginal gloss (on 1 Timothy 3.8) warned against "those who engender controversies" (*qui seminant discordias*).

Biblical glosses also conveniently arranged the great authorities—Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Bede, and others—for use by orthodox clerics who were themselves taking a greater interest in preaching and pastoral work. The twelfth century, often described as a "renaissance" of classical learning, also produced an evangelical awakening. This revival, embraced largely by the less educated members of society, in time included students in the cathedral schools (which by 1200 were evolving into universities). Peter the Chanter, mentioned above, a theologian at Reims who composed commentaries on all the books of the Bible, lamented the lack of evangelical preaching (calling it a "most dreadful silence") and was himself part of a homiletical renewal movement that included Peter Lombard as well as Peter Comestor (died c. 1180), chancellor of the cathedral school in Paris. These scholars and others aimed at putting such practical aids as glossed Bibles into the hands of pastors who would use them to apply the gospel to Christian society. Thus Proverbs 27.23, "Know the countenance of thy cattle," was glossed as "It is said to the pastor of a church: Diligently care for those over

whom you will be placed, know the souls and works of each one"
(Pastori ecclesiae dicitur, diligenter adhibe curam iis, quibus te praeesse contigerit; agnosce animos actusque singulorum).



Biblia sacra, cum glossa ordinaria . . ., Lyon, 1589. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Finally, in the thirteenth-century university, the *Glossa* became a

required textbook. At the University of Paris the basic course—offering bachelor's and master's degrees—was in the secular arts. The chief authority here was Aristotle. Higher study, available after the bachelor of arts (though some took a master of arts first), could be pursued in medicine, law, and theology. Theology was by far the most difficult, sometimes requiring upward of sixteen years of postbaccalaureate study. Students in this graduate program mastered several texts, principally the glossed Bible and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. At Paris, the Bible was read before Lombard; at Oxford, the order appears to have been reversed. (At Bologna, the most important Italian university, arts and law predominated; theology, until the fourteenth century, was confined to the cathedral schools and the study houses of the friars.) Accordingly, at the hands of the schoolmen of Paris and Oxford, the *Glossa* furnished proof texts for academic disputation. For example, in the controversy at Paris between the regularly ordained theologians ("seculars") and the friar-theologians ("mendicants"), the seculars used the gloss on Luke 10.1: "So in the twelve apostles is the form of the bishops, and in the seventy-two disciples is the form of the priests" (*Sicut in 12 apostolis forma est episcoporum, sic in 72 discipulis forma est presbyterorum*). That is, according to the seculars, the gloss authorized bishops and priests, but no third order such as the friars. In turn, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, friar-theologians, used extracts from the *Glossa* on almost every page of their defenses of mendicancy.

The year 1300 marks the apogee of the *Glossa*'s popularity. For most of the fourteenth century, biblical study at Paris and Oxford declined, as strong interests in logic and various sciences took precedence over theology. Around 1370, there was a resurgence of biblical commentary, most notably the treatises of the proto-Reformer John Wyclif (d. 1384), which ran counter to the exegetical milieu that had produced the *Glossa*. The *Glossa* continued to be copied, and from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries it was printed many times, often accompanied by the glosses of others, such as Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1349). It was nonetheless rendered largely obsolete by an increasing emphasis on the literal meaning of the Bible and by new trends in both piety and doctrine.

There is no translation or modern scholarly edition of the *Glossa*. The excerpts quoted here are from an early printed edition at the

Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence: *Textus biblie cum Glosa ordinaria*. A poorly edited but sometimes useful text of the marginal gloss is available in Migne (the authorship is ascribed to Walafrid Strabo).

See also Bible; Biblical Exegesis; Peter Lombard; Universities

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Glossa Ordinaria: Canon Law

See Canon Law Collections and Ordinary Glosses

Glossa Ordinaria: Civil Law

The *Glossa ordinaria* for civil law were the standard medieval set of annotations to the texts of Roman and later civil law; these texts formed the basis of legal education, first at Bologna in the late eleventh century and eventually throughout Europe. The texts were the component parts of Justinian's so-called *Corpus iuris civilis*—i.e., *Institutes*, *Digest*, *Code*, and *Novels* (533-556)—plus the feudal customs of Italy: *Libri feudorum*. The purpose of lectures in a law school was to familiarize the student thoroughly with these texts; therefore, the teacher would read the text aloud in class (*lectura*) while interpolating his own explanations and comments. The method of "glossing" a text by explaining difficult words and terms had been in use since late antiquity for classroom texts of all kinds—literary, scientific, and biblical as well as legal. The twelfth-century law teachers at Bologna applied this method to their texts so systematically, however, that they came to be known collectively as the "glossators." The earliest surviving Bolognese glosses are class notes taken from individual professors, but by the thirteenth century these were being compiled into a single series, or apparatus (e.g., by Azo and Hugolinus). This process culminated in the greatest compilation of all, the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius, which incorporates 10,400 references to his predecessors' work. He began with *Institutes* (first version before 1234), proceeded through all the books of civil law (*Libri feudorum*, done by c. 1250), and then returned to *Institutes* and started a revision of his work that was still in progress when he died in 1263.

The Accursian apparatus was a watershed in legal studies. It summarized the work of the glossators so completely that all law teachers adopted it. Accursius's sons and students added further refinements to his apparatus, such as summaries of each title (*casus*) and afterthoughts (labeled *additiones*); but the major lawyers after 1250, known collectively as the "postglossators," instead wrote systematic expositions (*summae*), commentaries, briefs (*consilia*), and specialized treatises. Accursius, the last of the glossators, came to be known as "the Glossator" *par excellence*.

The *Glossa ordinaria* consisted of a series of 96,940 notes to the text,

which were so extensive that, instead of being mere footnotes, they framed the text on each page. A law student would buy a copy of his course text that included the ordinary gloss. The *Glossa* offered many kinds of assistance, starting with elementary notions at the beginning of *Institutes* and gradually introducing more complex material. A basic gloss simply explained a word—e.g., "*barbaricae*: Barbarians are those who are outside the Roman empire, and especially enemies" (*Institutes*, paragraph 1). Often the student was taught by example how to use legal texts to argue questions pro and con. For instance, *Institutes* 1.2.9 reads: "Long-standing custom based on the consent of those who observe it is just like legislation." At the word "Long-standing," the gloss asks:

But how long does it take for usage to make a tradition or custom? Answer: ten years, per *Digest* 40.9.16.3, although some say that the time required must go back longer than anyone can remember, as can be argued from *Digest* 39.3.1.23 ["for a long time"], and *Digest* 43.20.3.4 ["beyond anyone's memory"], and *Code* 1.2.23.3 ["a hundred years"]. . .

Above all, the *Glossa* cross-referenced *Corpus iuris civilis*, making it an invaluable research tool even today. Moreover, chiefly by making distinctions, the glossators attempted to harmonize what seemed to them discrepancies between their texts; similarly, they tried to accommodate Justinian's system to the altered circumstances of medieval Italy, where Roman law was still widely used. Until these misapprehensions were corrected by humanistic jurists in the sixteenth century, the *Glossa* for three centuries dominated the study and practice of civil law throughout Europe. Many editions were printed, usually in five folio volumes, the first appearing in 1468 and the last in 1627.

Modern legal historians, mainly in Italy and Germany, have long studied the *Glossa* extensively to reconstruct its evolution, but there is as yet no critical edition. More recently, since Post (1964) showed how the *Glossa* can illuminate the history of political ideas, it has become a common tool for anglophone historians as well. Its effective use requires knowledge not only of Latin and paleography but also of the civilians' system of citation (which can be acquired from Bryson 1975).

In sum, the *Glossa ordinaria* is the principal result of the twelfth-century revival of Roman law, which made Italy in general and Bologna

in particular the center of medieval legal studies.

See also Accursius; Law: Roman; Universities

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Glossa Ordinaria: Roman Law

The *Glossa ordinaria* on the *Corpus iuris civilis* of Justinian was

composed during the early and mid-thirteenth century by Accursius, the greatest of the "glossators"—the earliest school of medieval commentators on Roman law. Other names for this work are *Glossa magistralis*, *Glossa magna*, and *Glossa accursiana*. Accursius was the first to provide a comprehensive gloss on every constituent part of *Corpus iuris civilis* (*Institutiones*, *Codex*, *Digesta*, and *Authentica* or *Novellae*) and on the standard collection of Lombard feudal law, *Libri feudorum*. His raw material certainly included the major writings of Azo (his teacher), Hugolinus, and Johannes Bassianus; it probably included the work of contemporaries such as Odofredus, Symon Vincentius, and Jacobus Balduini; and it ranged back through the entire glossatorial literature of *summe*, *apparatus*, *distinctiones*, *quaestiones*, and *dissensiones doctorum* produced in more than a century of Roman law scholarship since Irnerius (died c. 1125). The *Glossa ordinaria* differed from earlier glossatorial apparatus only in size and completeness, not in kind. Johannes Teutonicus (canonistic author of the ordinary gloss on the *Decretum*) and Jacobus Colognensis (feudist author of the gloss on *Libri feudorum*) also influenced Accursius—the former by suggesting the genre of an ordinary gloss, the latter probably by supplying the foundation material for glossing feudal law.

Accursius certainly composed some of the *Glossa ordinaria* early in his career, that is, during the 1220s. The traditional view was that the *Glossa* was completed c. 1228 and that there was a second edition of his gloss on *Institutiones* early in the next decade; but this now seems open to question, especially given the vast size of the work and indications that Accursius continued glossing these texts for several decades. A time frame of 1220-1250 for the composition of the *Glossa* seems safer. It is probable that Accursius completed his gloss on *Institutiones* first, but the order of composition of the remaining portions of the *Glossa* is not known. Because the glosses of many civilian jurists who preceded Accursius have not yet been printed, and because our knowledge of this literature is insufficient, it is difficult to judge whether he saved the worthy comments and ignored those that were unnecessary. Also, the proper attribution of passages in the *Glossa ordinaria* is unclear, precluding a definitive determination of this matter. The manuscripts and incunabula of the *Glossa* use various *sigla* for Accursius's name: *Ac.*, *ac.*, *Acc.*, *acu.*, *accur.*, *Accurs.* *Flor.*, *acsius*. Savigny (1850) believed

that, by right, *every* entry of the *Glossa* should have been followed by one of these *sigla*, and that if no *siglum* appears, an oversight on the part of Accursius himself or a subsequent copyist was to blame. Whether or not we accept Savigny's assertion, problems of attribution still remain. We cannot assume that a gloss under Accursius's own *siglum* indicated his own original work, because he may have appropriated someone else's ideas wholesale, or revised them, without attribution. Also, misattributions by subsequent scribes and printers remain a possibility; this holds as well for attributions of gloss entries to other jurists. In any event, though, we can be more sure about the enormous labor expended by Accursius. From a large and dispersed antecedent literature he selected, transcribed, condensed, and conflated glossatorial texts from various interpretative strata, adding his own comments as he went along. As a result, the *Glossa* provided a continuous series of glosses whereby the authors (or, better, authorizers) of the most important opinions were identified and attempts were made to reconcile conflicting interpretations.

Let us now turn to a detailed analysis of the *Glossa*, which was a marginal (not interlinear) gloss *par excellence* wherein substantive juristic comments far outnumbered simple etymological explanations. It is 2 million words long and contains 96,940 separate glossatorial entries distributed among the constituent parts of *Corpus Iuris Civilis*: 62,577 to *Digesta*-, 21,933 to *Codex*-, 7,013 to *Authentica* (minus *Codex*, books 10-12); and 4,737 to *Institutiones*. The gloss to *Libri feudorum* contains 680 entries. As regards the glossing of *Authentica*, there is no proof that Accursius knew any Greek (the original language of most of this book), and thirty-six of the 134 *novellae* were not glossed at all, either because Accursius considered them unimportant or because he thought they required no further explanation.

The difficulty of assessing *sigla* after gloss entries has already been noted. A conservative explanation would be that the commentator who is indicated by a *siglum* at the very least *authorized* the expressed opinion, if he was not actually the original *author* of it. The *Glossa ordinaria* contains more than 10,000 such allegations, once again distributed among the gloss entries for each part of *Corpus iuris civilis*: 7,440 allegations in the *Digesta* gloss; 2,180 in the *Codex* gloss; 190 in the *Institutiones* gloss; and 530 in the *Authentica* gloss (minus *Codex*,

books 10-12). The gloss to *Libri feudorum* contains forty allegations. Accursius was strongly influenced by his teacher, Azo: 3,879 allegations bear Azo's *sig-lum*. Two other contemporaries were also favorites of Accursius: the opinion of Johannes Bassianus is cited on 1,850 occasions and that of Hugolinus on 1,030 occasions. The teachings of the other great jurists of the previous 125 years also make their appearance; in descending order, we find: Rogerius (920 allegations), Martinus (590), Placentinus (520), Irnerius (330), Bulgarus (315), Albericus (230), Pillius (165), Jacobus (30), and Hugo (10). It is interesting that Accursius did not cite by name several glossators of his own generation, some of whose works he most probably used: Jacobus Balduini (who was perhaps one of his teachers), Odofredus (who was probably one of his students), and Symon Vincentius.

The *Glossa ordinaria* on *Corpus iuris civilis* contains an occasional reference to northern Italian customary law and a few references to *Lombarda*, an eleventh-century collection of Lombard laws. When glossing *Authentica*, Accursius turned frequently to *Epitome Juliani* (a sixth-century Latin collection of Justinian's *Novellae*). There are fewer than 400 references in the *Glossa* to canon law texts—260 to Gratian's *Decretum* and 125 to papal decretals. This is not much, considering the total number of glosses, but it is far more than was customary for earlier glossators of Roman law. As can be expected, these references occur especially where certain topics are discussed: marriage, lending at interest, legal procedure, crime, and prescription. The *Glossa* almost never cites a nonlegal text.

Libri feudorum, a heterogeneous collection of material on feudal law and imperial legislation of the eleventh century through the early thirteenth, was normally added to manuscripts of *Authentica*, thereby becoming a supplement to *Corpus iuris civilis*. Accursius thus provided a complete gloss of this work in the *Glossa ordinaria*. Scholars have traditionally held that this gloss was merely a lightly reworked version of the gloss actually written by Jacobus Columbi, itself a work based on the earlier *Summa feudorum* by Pillius. Recently, this view has been challenged; instead, Accursius is said to have composed the glossatorial commentary himself on the basis of Pillius's work, as well as a new recension of *Libri feudorum*. The issue of original authorship remains at present undecided; however, it is a fact that Accursius's gloss

constituted the written expression of scholarly opinion then current regarding northern Italian feudal law.

The enduring popularity and utility of Accursius's *Glossa* were based not only on its comprehensiveness and exhaustiveness but also on the glossator's ability to pose and answer juristic questions more controversial than those offered by earlier authors. His constant goal was to avoid contradiction in the interpretation of the law; and he felt that this goal was attainable, as he noted in one entry: *omnia contraria possunt solvi* ("All contradictions can be resolved"). Later scholars have identified some 120 instances where the *Glossa* contradicts itself, but this is a minuscule number among nearly 100,000 entries.

The reception of the *Glossa ordinaria* was both immediate and immense. The work was used in the classroom and in legal practice; and the gloss text itself became an object of further scrutiny, prompting the composition of *additiones*, *contradictiones*, and *indices materiae*. It was soon copied into stereotype Bolognese manuscripts of *Corpus iuris civilis* and thus became widely disseminated. There is a notice of its use in Florence in 1258, and it quickly gained a dominant position in northern Italian legal practice during the following decades. Some cities, such as Verona, ascribed to the *Glossa* an importance approaching that of a legal norm. A factor in this ascription was the lack of any de facto superior judicial instance; a *podestà* could protect himself from charges of malfeasance in his judgments by hewing closely to the *Glossa*. The jurists of the fourteenth century—the so-called postglossators or commentators—did not follow the *Glossa ordinaria* slavishly, but they nonetheless regarded it highly, measuring it against the *communis opinio doctorum* (general learned opinion) of their own day. Baldus called Accursius the *carocium veritatis* (chariot of truth), whose opinion should be clung to just as the Bolognese cling to their *carroccio*—their civic standard-bearing war wagon. Even the criticism of the *Glossa* by fifteenth-century Italian humanists (e.g., Valla and Poliziano) for its philological and historical shortcomings was tempered with a realization of its importance. In southern Italy the *Glossa* competed with southern Lombard law and the Norman-Hohenstaufen legislation of the Regno (the kingdom of Sicily).

The *Glossa ordinaria* was known in southern France by the second half of the thirteenth century. French jurists such as de Ravanis and de

Bellapertica certainly worked with it a great deal, but they could be critical of its judgments. In legal practice, the influence of the *Glossa* was not as strong as in northern Italy. French humanist jurists—Bude and Chansonette foremost among them—were very critical of Accursius's "barbarous" style and anachronistic historical sense. By the end of the thirteenth century, knowledge of the *Glossa* arrived in German lands, where it influenced Buch's gloss on *Sachsenspiegel*. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the *Glossa* was attacked by humanists such as Zasius (with some reservations) and Sichardus; was defended by jurists such as Amerbach, Sabinus, and Saxonium; and underwent a steady eclipse by the works of the great commentators (Bartolus and Baldus). Nonetheless, it was in seventeenth-century Germany that a catchy phrase was first formulated: *quic- quid non agnoscit glossa nec agnoscit forum/curia*, "Whatever the *Glossa* does not recognize, the court does not recognize."

Just before the end of the thirteenth century, knowledge of the *Glossa ordinaria* is attested to in the Low Countries and in Bohemia. In the Low Countries, criticism by the later humanists (e.g., Aytta and Wesenbeck) was tempered by a recognition of the work's great value; still, the decline of its influence in the seventeenth century was considerable. It had a greater impact in Iberia from the second half of the thirteenth century onward; there, it had a strong influence on the Castilian *Las siete partidas* and on the Portuguese *Ordenacoes afonsinas*. According to the latter, the *Glossa* was the third-place authority, after Roman law texts (except where sin was involved) and canon law texts. In Portugal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *communis opinio doctorum* had precedence over the *Glossa*; and during the next two centuries the *Glossa* experienced a rapid and drastic fall in influence there. Its reception in Latin America mirrored these developments in Iberia, albeit with a later start and later eclipse.

To sum up the subsequent importance of the *Glossa ordinaria*, we can say without exaggeration that its view of *Corpus Iuris Civilis* as a unity and its enormous range as a work of juristic scholarship—not merely a work of collection—considerably hastened the acceptance of Roman law in Europe and reinforced the decisive effect of that law. The *Glossa* quickly left its mark on instruction, theory, and practice. It

provided an unsurpassed and exact reference to parallel and contrary texts within *Corpus iuris civilis*; and it absorbed, summarized, and perpetuated the work of many important earlier glossators for posterity. The *Glossa* also contributed to the popularity of legal studies, and its interpretations influenced European civil codes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

One might assert that Accursius did his job too well: the appearance of the *Glossa* coincided with the acme and the beginning of decline for the entire glossatorial school of interpretation. The authority of the *Glossa* drew the attention of subsequent scholars away from the law texts themselves; thus, increasingly, the earlier glosses were no longer read, copied, or taught. Sometimes other and older manuscript glosses were even erased so that the *Glossa* could be recopied in the margins. In the years following Accursius's death, no one attempted to compose another comprehensive glossatorial *apparatus* on *Corpus iuris civilis*. In essence, the method of the glossatorial school had involved an application of sixth-century texts to thirteenth-century circumstances and procedures: text yielded to gloss, and an authoritative gloss (such as the *Glossa*) would then be followed mechanically. Not until the rise of the postglossators or commentators (e.g., Cinus, Bartolus, and Baldus) of the fourteenth century would this tradition be repudiated.

However, Accursius cannot be blamed completely for his immediate successors' slavish adherence to the *Glossa* or for posterity's immoderate grant of authority to it. It is true that many glosses which he did not report in his *Glossa* were probably thereby consigned to oblivion; but this observation should be balanced by another—that the immense glossatorial literature extant today might not have survived if he had not included it. Some 1,200 medieval manuscripts of *Corpus iuris civilis* contain part of all of the *Glossa Ordinaria*; no archetype manuscript or leading manuscripts can be identified. From 1475 onward, printed editions of discrete portions of the *Corpus* contain the appropriate portion of the *Glossa*; many printed editions of the entire *Corpus* contain the entire *Glossa*, among them Mainz (1476), Venice (1487-1489), Paris (1571), Venice (1572), Basel (1572), Basel (1593), and, of special value, Lyon (1589). The last printed edition, prepared under the auspices of the humanists, was Lyon (1627); both it and Venice (1487-1489) have been reprinted in facsimile; respectively, Osnabriick

(1966) and Tours (1968-1969). The beginnings of a modern scientific-critical edition of the *Glossa ordinaria* can be found in Torelli (1939-1940, 1992).

See also Accursius; Law: Roman; Universities

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Godfrey of Viterbo

The poet-historian Godfrey of Viterbo (c. 1125-after 1202) was Italian by birth but of recent German ancestry. He was taken to Germany at an early age and was educated in the cathedral school of Bamberg. Returning to Italy, probably shortly after 1140, he entered the papal chancery; but within a decade he was back in Germany as a member of the royal chapel under Conrad III (d. 1151). Godfrey served the emperors Frederick I Barbarossa and Henry VI as court chaplain and notary, taking part in their Italian expeditions until at least 1186, when he witnessed a document for Henry during the siege of Orvieto. His official travels also took him to France many times and less often to Provence, Sicily, and Spain. After he had retired to his native Viterbo, he revised and in 1191 completed his selective world history in Latin verse and prose, *Pantheon*. A note at the end of a later poem, *Gesta Henrici sexti* (*Deeds of Henry VI*), mentions the death in Sicily of the imperial steward Markward of Anweiler (September 1202). The aged Godfrey is unlikely to have long survived Markward.

Pantheon, Godfrey's major literary accomplishment, is in concept a pro-Staufen imperial chronicle from biblical and early pagan times to his own day. Its title—a Greek compound meaning "all-divine"—suggests the universality of its scope and the divine origin of the political and theological wisdom it expounds. This work took shape in several stages, of which the first was the largely verse *Speculum regum*

(*Mirror of Kings*), dedicated to Henry VI and completed in 1183. *Speculum regum* was replaced in 1185 by *Memoria seculorum* (*Memory of the Ages*), subsequently renamed *Liber memorialis* (*Book of Memory*). That in turn was expanded into the more encyclopedic *Liber universalis* (*Book of All*), itself the basis for three successive versions of the final *Pantheon*. Supplementary writings include *Gesta Friderici* (*Deeds of Frederick*), in verse; and the aforementioned *Gesta Henrici sexti*. Godfrey's *Pantheon* entertains as well as instructs and presents as fact, or at least neutrally, a significant amount of popular, legendary, or otherwise fictional material in fulfilment of its political objectives. Especially notable are an influential account of the Trojan origins of various European peoples and versions of the medieval *Prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl* and of the Latin romance of Apollonius of Tyre. Godfrey's preferred verse form, an uncommon strophe consisting of two rhyming hexameters followed by a single pentameter, may be thought of as an ennobled elegiac distich.

Godfrey's history, ostensibly aimed at young people but well suited for many adults, was widely read in the later Middle Ages. It survives in at least thirty-three more or less complete manuscripts (including the author's original for most of *Liber universalis*) and in fragments of many others. Resonances can be discerned in the writings of Brunetto Latini, Giovanni Villani, Quilichino of Spoleto, Orfino of Lodi, Riccobaldo of Ferrara, Tolomeo ("Ptolemy") of Lucca, Benzo of Alessandria, James of Acqui, Galvano Fiamma, and William of Pastrengo, to say nothing of the very considerable reception of *Pantheon* among non Italians. The one modern attempt at a critical edition is incomplete and otherwise unsatisfactory.

Godfrey is also the apparent author of a 186-line political-geographical poem with autobiographical content, *Denumeratio regnorum imperio subiectorum* ("List of Kingdoms Subject to the Empire"), whose focus shifts toward the end to German-speaking cities. Other minor writings have, with varying degrees of probability, also been assigned to him.

See also Frederick I Barbarossa; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Latin Literature

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Gonzaga Family

The Gonzaga family effectively controlled Mantua from 1328 to 1627, first as captains general, later as marquesses, and finally as dukes. The control of Mantua by the Gonzaga originated on 28 July 1328, when Luigi Gonzaga (1267-1360), with the help of Cangrande della Scala of Verona, staged a coup in which he wrested power from Passarino Bonacolsi, whose family had ruled Mantua since 1274. In 1329, Luigi was nominated captain general and named imperial vicar by Emperor Louis IV. Louis's successor, Charles IV, completed the transfer of power to the Gonzaga in 1331, naming Luigi vicar of Cremona, Reggio, and Asola; granting him title to the Bonacolsi estates; and extending Mantua's realm to the banks of Lake Garda. Luigi was succeeded by his son, Guido, a friend of the poet Petrarch. When Guido died in 1369, his son, Ludovico—who had killed his own brother, Ugolino, to ensure his succession—became captain general. A marquisate was conferred on Ludovico's grandson, Gianfrancesco, on 22 September 1433. In 1530, Mantua was made a duchy with Federigo II, Gianfrancesco's great-great-grandson, as the first duke. During the Renaissance, in particular, the Gonzaga were great patrons of culture and the arts. The last duke in the Gonzaga line died in 1627.

See also Cangrande della Scala; Mantua

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Gothic Wars

The struggle of the Byzantine emperor Justinian to recover Italy from its occupation by the Ostrogoths was only a part of his so-called reconquest program, aimed at reconstituting the traditional Mediterranean totality of the old Roman empire.

As in his previous project to destroy the Vandal kingdom of North Africa (533-534), Justinian developed a diplomatic pretext of pro-legitimist intervention in a local dynastic struggle: in this case, the unstable succession to the regime of the late Theodoric, climaxed by the murder of Amalasuntha by *Theodahad* in 535. While one general was dispatched to seize Gothic holdings in Ilyricum, Justinian relied on the military genius of his general Belisarius to lead the main effort against Italy. With a small expeditionary force, Belisarius landed in Sicily in late 535 and quickly occupied the island. After a digression to quell a mutiny in North Africa, he crossed to the mainland in 536 and moved up through the peninsula. Encountering resistance from Naples, he stormed and sacked the city to set an example (in the autumn), and by early December he occupied the city of Rome.

Having replaced Theodahad with Witigis, the Goths finally had an energetic leader who would fight. For a year (537-538) the new Gothic king besieged Rome, but Belisarius resisted brilliantly. Strengthened by the arrival of reinforcements, and rejecting a negotiated settlement, Belisarius renewed pressure northward. The arrival of a new imperial commander, the eunuch Narses, introduced dissension among Belisarius's subordinates and disrupted operations. As a result, an imperial column that had moved north and occupied Milan in the spring of 538 was left stranded and unable to hold out against a Gothic siege. When Witigis took the city by storm in March 539, its entire population—some 300,000 inhabitants—was massacred. This shocking

episode prompted Justinian to withdraw Narses and reaffirm Belisarius's sole command.

Hostilities were indecisive, and the Gothic position was weakened by an intervention from the north by the Franks. Increasingly desperate, Witigis initiated negotiations with the king of Persia, encouraging him to open war against the empire in the east to distract Justinian's resources. Anxious at this prospect, Justinian was disposed toward a diplomatic settlement in Italy, while Belisarius was moving, by late 539, to blockade the Gothic leaders in their capital, Ravenna. There was a stalemate, and the Goths offered to surrender to Belisarius if he would put himself at their head and take the title of Roman emperor in the west. Belisarius had no such ambition, but he feigned interest, accepted the surrender of Ravenna (in May 540), and then rejected their proposal.

Justinian, however, was furious at Belisarius's apparent consideration of the proposal and recalled him in disgrace. The new imperial commanders were venal and incompetent. Extensive Gothic elements still controlled Italy north of the Po River, and after a series of lurches in leadership they chose the obscure but resourceful Totila as their new king in the fall of 541. Appealing both to Goths and to discontented Roman provincials, Totila began an astonishing counteroffensive, easily cutting a swath through the inept imperial forces and—by the spring of 543—taking Naples. Justinian, recognizing that the only man who could salvage the situation was Belisarius, restored him to command in 544 but provided no direct support. Belisarius therefore was required to finance a new campaign, in effect, from his own pocket. Setting up command in Ravenna, Belisarius moved to relieve Rome, which Totila invested at the end of 545. The effort failed, and the Goths took Rome—an important symbol—in December of the following year. However, in the spring of 547 they abandoned it to Belisarius, who refortified it; Totila then made a new attack, but without success.

Though Belisarius had halted Totila's momentum, the two opponents could only play a chesslike game of reactive moves against each other up and down the peninsula. Belisarius attempted to appeal for proper support through the empress Theodora; but her death in June 548 ended his last hope, and he requested a recall so that he could retire in Constantinople. His departure left the imperial forces leaderless, and

Totila resumed the initiative. Totila took Rome again in January 550 and, when his peace overtures to the emperor were rebuffed, briefly seized Sicily. Justinian prepared his cousin Germanus to lead a new offensive and even married Germanus to a Gothic princess, but this effort was aborted when Germanus died in late 550.

Justinian finally turned to the now aged Narses, who was given the resources to assemble an army in the Balkans during 551, while Totila expanded his naval strength and seized Corsica and Sardinia. Marching around the Adriatic in the spring of 552, Narses reached Ravenna and then moved decisively to face Totila at Busta Gallorum (Teginae) in late June. Totila's forces were utterly defeated and he himself was fatally wounded. The surviving Goths elected Teias as their new king; meanwhile, Narses moved south, seizing Rome and moving to attack the Goths' southern stronghold and treasury at Cumae. Attempting to relieve Cumae, Teias took up his position on the slopes of Mount Vesuvius, where he was defeated and killed (on 30 October). The Ostrogothic nation was effectively broken.

Narses was still obliged to deal with remaining pockets of Gothic resistance scattered around Italy. Also, an invading force of Franks and allied Alamanians was destroyed at Capua in 554; in the same year, Justinian's "pragmatic sanction" provided a formula for reestablishing his government in the peninsula. With the capture of Verona in July 561, the last of the Gothic enclaves north of the Po was eradicated and the imperial conquest of Italy was completed.

See also Amalasuntha; Belisarius; Justinian I; Milan; Naples; Narses; Ostrogoths; Pragmatic Sanction; Ravenna; Rome; Theodahad; Theodora; Theodoric; Totila; Witigis

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Goths

See **Ostrogoths**; **Visigoths**

Grado, Patriarchate of

Grado, an island in the Adriatic north of Venice, was the seat of the patriarch of the Venetian church from 568 to 1451. The patriarch of Aquileia, the metropolitan of northeastern Italy, fled to the island of Grado to escape the Lombards in 568. He had joined the schismatic patriarch of Milan against Rome and Constantinople by refusing to condemn the "Three Chapters" as demanded in 553 at the Second Council of Constantinople held by Emperor Justinian. The papacy in Rome, loyal to Justinian, condemned the Three Chapters. In 607, the schism was renounced by the new patriarch of Grado whom the pope and the Byzantine exarch of Ravenna had selected. The Arian Lombards rejected him, giving their allegiance instead to the regularly elected but schismatic patriarch of Aquileia. Thus two patriarchs claimed authority over the church in northeastern Italy: the patriarch of Grado, loyal to Rome and the Byzantine empire, ruled over churches in the lagoons (Venetia), Istria, and the exarchate from his cathedral of Sant'Euphemia in Grado; the Lombard patriarch of Aquileia had

authority on the mainland from the Adda River to eastern Friuli and lived first at Cormons and then at Cividale. This latter patriarch abandoned the schism in 698 and later returned to rebuild Aquileia.

For more than 400 years, the patriarchs of Grado, supported by the doges of Venice, fought the patriarchs of Aquileia politically, ecclesiastically, and militarily. The patriarchs of Aquileia were supported by the Lombard kings and their successors, the Carolingian emperors, the Ottonians, the Suabians, and the Hohenstaufen. Patriarch Poppo of Aquileia (1021-1044) conducted exceptionally violent attacks on Grado, destroying churches and sacking the island. Subsequently, the patriarchs of Grado resided in Venice, in the parish of San Giovanni Elemosinario and later in San Silvestro.

The jurisdictional quarrel between Grado and Aquileia was settled during the long reign of Enrico Dandolo (a relative of Doge Enrico Dandolo) as patriarch of Grado from 1129 to 1188. Although Patriarch Enrico considered the church superior to the state, he was unable to gain the freedom of clerical elections of which the Concordat of Worms (1122) had assured the imperial church in Italy. Under Doge Pietro Polani (r. 1130— 1148), the commune of Venice won complete control over clerical elections, and the Venetian church lost its influence over political affairs. The patriarch also lost jurisdiction over Istria when Pope Innocent II confirmed it as part of the patriarchate of Aquileia. However, Innocent II did recognize the patriarch of Grado as metropolitan over the Venetian lagoons, Split, and the Dalmatian islands of Arbe, Veglia, and Ossero. Later, this patriarch was named primate of Dalmatia (1155), metropolitan of all Latin bishops in the Greek East (1157), and metropolitan over 'Trau' and Ragusa (1171). In 1180, in the aftermath of the peace of Venice between Pope Alexander III and Frederick I Barbarossa, hostilities between Grado and Aquileia were formally ended. The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 extended the jurisdiction of the Venetian church because the crusaders agreed that Venice should thereafter always nominate the Latin patriarch of Constantinople. That patriarch held office until Manuel Paleologus reconquered Constantinople in 1261.

The patriarchs of Grado and their subordinates were nominated by the Venetian senate after 1394, and their names were merely sent to Rome for confirmation. No non-Venetian was ever selected as patriarch.

The title of patriarch of Grado was abolished in 1451 when Pope Nicholas V named Saint Lorenzo Giustinian, bishop of Castello (in Venice) and patriarch of Grado, as patriarch of Venice. Henceforth his cathedral was San Pietro in Castello (the basilica of San Marco continued to be the doge's private chapel until the fall of the Venetian republic). The title of patriarch of Venice remained in use in the twentieth century.

See also Aquileia; Dandolo Family; Justinian I; Ravenna; Venice

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Grammar

See Liberal Arts

Gratian

The Bolognese jurist Gratian (mid-twelfth century) is famous as the author of *Concordia discordantium canonum*, better-known as the *Decretum*. This collection of church laws remained in use in law schools and courts for the rest of the Middle Ages and beyond, until 1917.

Very little is known about Gratian's life. He was perhaps the Gratian who in 1143 in Venice, together with two other Bolognese jurists, advised a papal legate on a legal issue. Assertions that he was a monk or a bishop rest on precarious evidence. From the form and contents of the *Decretum*, it seems clear that he was a teacher of canon law.

The *Decretum* first circulated in a short version preserved in four manuscripts and a fragment (not edited, but for lists of its contents see Winroth 2000). This first recension was finished in 1139 or somewhat later; the second recension was completed by the early 1150s (see Friedberg 1879). It has been argued that Gratian was the author of only the first recension and that a student of his who had also studied Roman law was responsible for the second recension; for convenience, the two supposed authors are called, respectively, Gratian 1 and Gratian 2.

The first recension contained approximately 1,900 excerpts of ecclesiastical law, or canons. The canons were accompanied by brief comments (*dicta*) in which Gratian interpreted the legal texts and attempted to harmonize contradictions among them. The first recension was included, practically complete, in the second recension, which added further canons so that the total amounted to some 3,800. Only a few new *dicta* were composed for this recension. The second recension became accepted as the definitive collection of earlier legislation (the *ius antiquum*), and later canonists only rarely went back to earlier sources.

The legal texts quoted in the *Decretum* derive from many kinds of sources, including general and provincial councils, papal decretals, the writings of the church fathers, the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, penitentials, and secular law. In most cases, the authors of the *Decretum* took these texts not from the original sources but from earlier canonical collections.

Gratian 1 used a larger set of sources than his successor; these sources included, notably, Ivo of Chartres's *Panormia*, Anselm of Lucca's collection, Gregory of Saint Grisogono's *Polycarpus*, Alger of Liège's *De misericordia et iustitia*, and *Collectio tripartita*. Gratian 2 based much of his work on only three sources: *Tripartita*, *Collection in Three Books*, and Justinian's *Corpus iuris civilis*.

The third part of the *Decretum*, *De consecratione*, was added,

complete, in the second recension. The structure of the work is otherwise similar in both recensions. In the first recension, the first part was a long treatise without any internal divisions; in the second recension it was divided into 101 *distinctiones*. The second part was divided into thirty-six *causae*, outlining thirty-six more or less complicated legal cases. In each case, Gratian isolated two to eleven questions and treated them separately in *questiones*. The subjects treated include the nature of law, the hierarchy of the church, clerical ordination, legal procedure, the power and duties of bishops and the clergy, ecclesiastical censure, monasticism, heresy, marriage, and penance. The only major subject added in the second recension was law concerning the remaining sacraments (in *De consecratione*).

In collecting a mass of law, Gratians 1 and 2 followed in the footsteps of earlier canonists. Gratian I's innovation was to apply the dialectic methods of early scholasticism to the body of law that he had collected. Foremost among his methods of reconciling seemingly contradictory statements is the distinction between different meanings of the same word. Elsewhere, he points out that a specific law concerns a special case, place, or time. The methods were probably inspired by Ivo of Chartres's *Prologue* and Alger of Liège's *De misericordia et iustitia*. There is no evidence that Gratian I's methods were influenced by Aristotle, Peter Abelard, or Roman law.

Gratian 1 shows very little knowledge of Roman law from Justinian's codifications; instead he made use of pre-Justinian Roman law transmitted, for example, through *Lex Romana Visi-gothorum* and the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. His reliance on so-called vulgar Roman law meant that his concept of many legal issues appeared disturbingly primitive to Gratian 2, who in such cases supplemented the first recension with skillful compilations of excerpts from *Corpus iuris civilis*.

Also, in purely canonical matters the work of Gratian 2 is characterized by more sophisticated jurisprudential thinking than the work of Gratian 1. For example, Gratian 2 introduced the important distinction between "excommunication" and "anathema" as technical terms. Gratian 1 had used the two terms interchangeably for rhetorical variation. Since Gratian 2 seldom changed or deleted the original text of Gratian 1, the resulting text often seems confused

An enormous number of glosses and commentaries on Gratian's *Decretum* are preserved. Important commentaries were composed by Johannes Faventinus, Huguccio, and Johannes Teutonicus, who c. 1215 published what would become the standard gloss, called the *Glossa ordinaria*. Gratian's enduring fame is endorsed by Dante, who places him among philosophers in Canto 10 of *Paradiso*.

See also Canon Law Collections and Ordinary Glosses; Glossa Ordinaria: Roman Law

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Gravina

Gravina is a city in Apulia southeast of Bari, Built on a ravine and originally a cave city, it contained several churches hewn from rock, one of which, San Michele Arcangelo, still contains wall paintings. Thirteenth-century frescoes in the Byzantine style from another of these churches, San Vito, magnificently restored, are conserved in the local museum.

Gravina was first documented in 968 as one of five bishoprics subordinated to the Greek archbishopric of Otranto; it was probably promoted by the Greek authorities as a rival to Lombard Canosa. Although it was restive in Greek hands, Gravina was not conquered by the Normans, under Robert Guiscard, until 1069. It passed to Robert's nephew, Humphrey, who founded a new church, a castle, and, in 1123, a new Latin bishopric. In the thirteenth century it passed to the crown and was sufficiently important for Frederick II to establish there the regional court for Apulia, Basilicata, and the Capitanata. Later Frederick II made Manfred count of Gravina, which supported him against Charles of Anjou; but after Manfred's defeat the town supported Charles against Conradin. Gravina became the center of an appanage created for Charles IPs fifth son, John, later prince of Du razzo. Under Joanna, it was seized by the Hungarians to become a fief of the voivode of T ransylvania. After its recovery by Charles III (of Durazzo) it was ceded to the Orsini (1380), who retained it until 1816.

See also Conradin; Charles I of Anjou; Frederick II Hohen-staufen; Joanna I of Naples; Manfred

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Greek Language and Literature

The vicissitudes of Greek in medieval Italy are complex. In late Roman antiquity, the language seems to have been used primarily by people who were in more or less regular contact with the Greek-speaking east, as well as more broadly in some areas of continuous Greek settlement; otherwise, it was either defunct or in serious decline. This was so even in large portions of the once Greek territories of the south, the former Magna Graecia ("Great Greece"); these had usually been Greek-speaking in coastal areas only and were by this time also extensively latinized. During late antiquity, there was some immigration of Greek-speakers—including Jews and others from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt—into Italy; how long their offspring continued to speak Greek is unknown. In the Gothic kingdom, a few representatives of ancient traditions of bilingual higher learning, most notably Boethius and Cassiodorus, undertook or stimulated programs of translation for an intelligentsia whose knowledge of Greek was close to nil; their contemporary Dionysius Exiguus, an eastern European "Scyth" living in Rome, performed similar services for church administrators and contemplatives. Though this activity went on at only a few centers, Greek epitaphs of the fifth century and the early sixth century from the catacombs of inland and largely Latin-speaking Venosa, as well as one from Reggio in Calabria dated to 530, remind us that populations of Greek-speakers could also be found along major trade routes.

Justinian's reconquest (534-562) of Italy for what we now call the Byzantine empire (the eastern continuation of the Roman empire) reintroduced Greek, though unevenly, as a language of military, civil, and ecclesiastical administration. The empire was still officially bilingual; much of the army and indeed the emperor himself came from

Latin-speaking areas of the Balkans; and the number of newly arrived Greek-speakers would at this time have been rather small. After the subsequent Lombard invasion (568—c. 605; Liguria and the remaining Venetian mainland were occupied in the early 640s), Greek-speaking communities existed in many parts of Italy that were still ruled from Constantinople: Sardinia, eastern Sicily, Calabria (ancient Bruttii), the Salentine peninsula (ancient Calabria), several ports on the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts, and the administrative centers of Rome and Ravenna. In all these places Greek was ordinarily a minority tongue, though seemingly less so in Sicily than on the mainland or in Sardinia. Elsewhere in Italy, there was very limited reading knowledge of the language, chiefly for ecclesiastical purposes.

The form of Greek in ordinary written use was *koiné*—"common," that is, common speech. This was a Hellenistic expansion of a converged Attic-Ionic dialect and thus in large part an offshoot of the classical Attic parent of that dialect. In Sicily and parts of the southern mainland, *koiné* had interacted with local dialects dating from the pre-Roman period and belonging to a different ancient dialect group, Doric; the nature and duration of these interactions are controversial. The language as a whole, including its Italian manifestations, had for centuries been undergoing phonological and morphosyntactic changes. These changes included, but were hardly limited to, a simplification of the vowel system (so-called ioticization, largely complete by the end of the Hellenistic period); a decline in the observance of vowel quantity; the replacement of pitch by a stress accent (with consequent changes in versification practices); the disappearance of middle voice forms; and a loss of the optative except in set phrases. The difference from classical Greek was so clear that, to continue a recognized literary tradition, most high-style texts in late antique *koiné* imitated obsolete features of the older Attic dialect or, if verse, Hellenistic modes of poetic expression.

Greek-language literature was produced in medieval Italy from at least the seventh century into the fourteenth. Essentially, it is a provincial version of Byzantine literature, smaller in scope but paralleling some of the themes, styles, and techniques of metropolitan and other non-Italian Greek literary production. On the religious side, it is characterized chiefly by hymns and other verse and, in prose, by brief

saints' lives and other hagiographic forms intended for liturgical use as well as by sermons, longer biographies of saints, and other exemplary and instructive reading. The most typical form of secular literature is occasional verse, usually in twelve-syllable iambics. Much of the religious literature, and most if not all of the secular literature, uses, to different extents, Atticist or other classicizing idioms inherited from later antiquity. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, greater degrees of stylistic elevation are observable; from the twelfth century onward a more rigorous classicism becomes the literary norm.

Greek-speaking populations waxed or waned as their cities or regions became less or more distant from actual Byzantine rule. Two exceptions were Amalfi and Venice, both early medieval foundations whose mercantile activities brought them into greater contact with Constantinople after they had become territorially independent. Ravenna left the Greek orbit after further Lombard aggression extinguished its homonymous exarchate c. 750; our scant evidence for the continued use of Greek here ceases early in the ninth century. Isolated specimens of Greek-language literature from Ravenna are the funerary inscriptions in verse for the exarch Isaac (who served there from 625 to 642 or 643) and for his eleven-year-old-nephew. The Pentapolis (a Greek administrative term denoting roughly the area from Rimini south through today's Germanically named Marches) was overrun during the later eighth century. Its chief port, Ancona, resisted the Lombards, entered the papal state, and in the latter half of the twelfth century renewed its Greek connection by briefly rejoining the Byzantine empire during the reign of Manuel I Comnenus. A Greek-language funerary inscription with nineteen lines of iambic verse, preserved at Corridonia near Macerata and dated to 1186, has been plausibly connected to this rapprochement.

From the seventh century into the early twelfth, Rome housed an intermittently flourishing and largely monastic Greek community, the *scold Greca*, sustained by immigration from other Greek-speaking areas. A Greek author of note living in Rome during this period was the aged ascetic John (Johannes) Moschus, a refugee from the near east; his vastly popular collection of exemplary narratives, the *Spiritual Meadow*, is thought by some to have been completed in Rome after his arrival in 614 or 615. More arguably Roman, thanks to specific local

references, is the *Passion of Saint Tatiana*, an iconoclastic work and thus from the late seventh to early ninth century. Apparently, another work from Rome is the fabulous *Life of Saint Gregory, Bishop of Agrigento* (late eighth century or very early ninth century) by the priest Leontius, "abbot" of Saint Sabas on the Aventine. The most influential literary representative in the west of the presence of Greek in medieval Rome is probably the ninth-century papal librarian Anastasius, who translated numerous Greek hagiographic, historical, and theological writings into Latin. His counterpart in the east, if we exclude John Moschus, was assuredly the eighth-century pope Zachary (Zacharias), who translated the Latin *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great into Greek. From the 640s to the 750s, a dozen popes were native or near-native speakers of Greek; at least half of them, including Zachary, were of Italian origin or upbringing.

In the later tenth century and the eleventh century, Greek had more visibility in Rome, partly in connection with the activities of the German emperors Otto II and Otto III and of the empress (later, empress mother and regent) Theophano, niece of the Byzantine emperor John I Tzimiskes. Greeks still came on pilgrimage, and there was again Greek monastic settlement in the city, though the evidence for new foundations is thin. A Greek-speaking courtier from Rossano, John Philagathus, who tutored Otto III in the language, held high imperial and ecclesiastical positions in northern Italy. Later he allowed Roman interests to proclaim him pope against imperial wishes (John XVI, antipope, 997-998). At the end of the first millennium the *scola Greca* participated in at least one liturgical procession. And in 1004 Calabrian monks under the guidance of Nilus of Rossano founded what would become the famous Greek abbey of Grottaferrata at Tusculum in the nearby Alban Hills. Among its contributions to Italo-Greek literature are the anonymous *Life of Saint Nilus the Younger* and the canons (long hymns) of the abbey's fourth hegumen, or head, Bartholomew of Grottaferrata (d. 1055).

Sardinia, administered from Africa until the Arab conquest of Carthage in 697-698, was already beyond the effective control of the empire in 733. A few Greek inscriptions attest to the survival of Greek here in secular contexts into the tenth century, and in religious contexts into the eleventh century, when the island's remaining Greek monastic

foundations were taken over by the Latin church. One of the earliest known texts in Old Sardinian, a charter from Cagliari executed between 1089 and 1103, is written in Greek letters; and the word used to denote the island's own eleventh- and twelfth-century form of ecclesiastical register of legal documents, *condaghe*, is Greek in origin (from *kontakion*, "volume").

Similarly, in coastal Campania, where Naples with its dependencies—Gaeta, Sorrento, and Amalfi—became autonomous during the eighth century and the dependencies themselves achieved autonomy in the ninth, Greek scribes are known from Gaeta in the tenth century but not later. In Naples, by contrast, Greek signatures on documents from the ducal period become exclusively clerical or monastic during the eleventh century. Contemporary and later notarial records still refer to local secular "Greeks," but these are thought to be newcomers from farther south rather than descendants of the older Greek-speaking population in the area. In the ninth and tenth centuries Naples had also distinguished itself as a venue for literary translation from Greek into Latin; the surviving works are mainly saints' lives and, in later versions only, the archpriest Leo's rendering of the Greek romance of Alexander. In the tenth and early eleventh centuries, a wave of Greek monastic settlement from the south is observable, especially in and around Amalfi and Salerno but also in the principality of Capua, where the ruling family welcomed it. Nilus of Rossano's sojourn at Valledulio (where most of his surviving poetry seems to have been written) is one aspect of this development; another aspect led to the naming of a Calabrian Greek as abbot of Monte Cassino in 1035.

In Sicily—which was already partly bilingual and where the emperor Constant II Pogonatus made Syracuse his city of residence from 663 until his death in 668—further hellenization occurred from the late sixth century onward. The Arabs' conquest of the island (827-902; Rametta was an isolated holdout until 965) reversed this trend: by the late tenth century, Greek was spoken principally in the northeastern corner of Sicily. The rehellinization of Calabria evidently began in earnest in the seventh century and is thought, like that of Sicily, to have been aided by extensive immigration from other parts of a troubled and shrinking empire. As a result, the southern portion of this region was quintessentially Greek for the remainder of the medieval period. Most

of the extant medieval Italo-Greek literature comes from Sicily and Calabria, and much of it (as indeed much of the literature more generally) is religious in orientation. Notable examples from these regions before the Norman conquest are the eighth-century *Life of Saint Pancratius of Taormina*; the early ninth-century prose *Life of Saint Leo, Bishop of Catania* (a later metrical life is of unknown origin); Theodore the Monk's eyewitness account of the Arabs' capture of Syracuse in 878; the tenth-century *Life of Saint Elias the Younger*, the late tenth-century *Life of Saint Elias the Speleote*; and the surviving verse of the early eleventh-century archbishop Nicholas of Reggio. Literary authors of Sicilian origin active in Constantinople during this time include Gregory of Syracuse (probably late seventh century), who was famous for his *kontakia* (verse homilies); and, in the ninth century, the patriarch Methodius I, the extremely prolific Joseph the Hymnographer, and the secular poet Constantine of Sicily, who wrote in anacreontic and elegiac metres.

In Lucania (northern Calabria, Basilicata, and the southernmost portion of today's Campania), the coastal town of Agropoli ("acropolis") on the Gulf of Salerno owes its Greek name to sixth-century imperial fortification and may still have been nominally Byzantine when it was seized by the Arabs in 882. From the late ninth century into the eleventh, Greek-speaking populations and Byzantine temporal power advanced, in stages but by no means always in tandem, out of southern Calabria and the lower Salentine peninsula across Lucania and through much of Apulia as well. By the early eleventh century, Greek settlement had radiated northward and had reached the interior of the Ci-lento, deep in Salernitan territory. Parts of the central and northwestern Salento, recovered early, came to have a Greek majority through immigration, as did parts of Lucania. Elsewhere in these lands that had recently been or still were controlled by the Lombards, there was a more modest degree of hellenization. An intriguing literary production, probably from the early eleventh century, is a verse admonition to humility carved on a marble plaque; this is now in the cathedral of Bari but—given the grammatical gender of its addressee—it was probably placed originally in a convent of Greek nuns.

This eleventh-century apogee was of brief duration. Between 1040 and 1071, the Byzantine territories in Italy passed effectively into

Norman hands. With the completion in 1091 of the Norman conquest of Sicily, the entire Italian south was under Latin rule. Although Greek-speakers migrated internally, especially in and into Sicily (Messina was quickly rehellenized), further overall enlargement of the Greek linguistic area was no longer possible. Governmental support for the language was limited largely to the continuation of arrangements already in place and, in Sicily, to the replacement of Muslim Arab officials with Greek Christians. Under counts Roger I and Roger II, the chief administrative language in Sicily and Calabria was Greek; when the comital center was moved to Palermo in 1112, the Greek minority there increased in numbers and importance. But the Greek church, subject since the eighth century to the patriarch of Constantinople, was now under the authority of Rome. In Sicily, where almost all episcopal sees had been vacant since the Arab conquest, the new bishops spoke some form of Romance; as the island reverted to Christianity, Latin liturgies and, in time, Latin schooling became normative in non-Greek communities. On the southern mainland, though many dioceses remained in Greek hands, there also began a process of ecclesiastical latinization that would not be concluded until well after the end of the Middle Ages.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, Greek was still spoken in Rome. It was also spoken in Grottaferrata (which was soon to go into a long decline); in a few ports, such as Venice and Naples; in the Cilento; in scattered locales in Basilicata, northern Calabria, central Apulia, and western Sicily; and in its larger redoubts in northeastern Sicily, southern Calabria, and the Salento. Outside the deep south at this time, and for the remainder of the medieval period, speakers of Greek were as a rule either merchants or monastics and were rarely numerous. The famous twelfth-century translator Burgundio of Pisa seems to have learned Greek not in Italy but in Constantinople. Many of the extant eleventh- and twelfth-century translations from Greek into Latin were made by Italians resident in Constantinople. Figures prominent today are John of Amalfi (John the Monk), Moses of Bergamo (Mosè de Brolo; the first westerner since antiquity known to have collected Greek manuscripts on a large scale), Paschal of Rome, the philosopher James of Venice, and the Pisan brothers Hugo Etherianus and Leo Tuscus. For the most part, learned Italians were acquainted with Greek only

through the letters of the Greek alphabet (whose use for numerical notation survived in the medieval west in the computation of ecclesiastical calendars), through individual Greek words encountered in Latin texts, and through occasional remarks on Greek morphology and accentuation derived from ancient sources and conveyed in Latin grammatical writings.

The spoken language had undergone further substantial change. Notarial documents and other texts show that in many respects it was now quite close to modern Greek. Among the more striking developments were the loss of most pretonic initial vowels, including unaccented temporal augments, and the subsequent development of enclitic third-person pronouns (despite their appearance, these derive not from the definite article but rather from forms of the intensive pronoun *autós*); a major rearrangement of noun paradigms away from the distinction between vocalic and consonantal stems; significant modifications in the use of participles; and changes in the perfect and the aorist that foreshadowed the aspectual system of the language as it exists today. The dative case dropped out of general use except in set phrases.

Greek literature from the initial phases of Norman domination in the south (late eleventh and early twelfth centuries) is stylistically modest and reflects a range of attitudes toward the new rulers. Notable are the very different *Life of Saint Nicodemus of Kellárana* and *Life of Saint Philaretus the Younger*, each by a monk named Nilus; the sermons of Luke, bishop of Bova and acting Greek bishop of Reggio; and the anonymous *Life of Saint Luke, Bishop of Isola [di] Capo Rizzuto*. With the creation of the kingdom in 1130 came a flowering of Greek high culture in civil and ecclesiastical contexts. The writers and texts include the brilliant homilist Philagathus of Cerami; *Life of Saint Bartholomew the Younger* (Bartholomew of Simeri, founder of the Patriarchate of Rossano); *History of the Patriarchal Sees*, by the theologian Nilus Doxapatres; an anonymously transmitted long poem (not yet edited) on a variety of subjects, dedicated from a Maltese prison to George of Antioch, chief minister of Roger II; verse epitaphs from the 1140s and 1150s from Palermo for George of Antioch, for his mother, and for his wife, and, from Messina, for the archimandrite Luke; and the poetry of the admiral Eugenius of Palermo (died c. 1203).

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, official use of Greek diminished markedly as the kingdom was progressively latinized. The Norman and Swabian kings displayed a Greek acclamation formula on their Sicilian small coins; their chanceries produced Greek documents in varying but usually small amounts until at least shortly before 1250; and Frederick II's Constitutions of Melfi (1231) were issued not only in Latin (*Liber Augustalis*) but also in Greek (*Basilikà Diatàxeis*). These dynasties also fostered Greek learning, so that for a while Sicily was a conduit of Greek scientific, technical, and humane culture into the Latin west: from the translations of Henry Aristippus under William I to those of Bartholomew of Messina under Manfred, the contributions of the kingdom in this regard were numerous and, for their time, noteworthy. In ordinary Romance perception, Greek was either a wholly foreign language spoken by eastern schismatics or, at best, a tolerated minority tongue. Within the still extensive communities of that minority, it remained a vehicle of written as well as oral communication.

Literary creation in Greek declined in Sicily and Calabria after the twelfth century. Some undated hymns to Calabrian saints may be later—as are certainly the anonymous *Life of Saint Cyprian of Calamizzi* and a hymn honoring this saint, a medical doctor and abbot who died no earlier than c. 1210 and under whose name a prayer for healing also circulated. The Salentine peninsula, in contrast, produced several generations of thirteenth-century Greek poets, some of whom were also prose artists. They included Nectarius of Casole (Nicholas of Otranto), John of Otranto (Johannes Grassus), George of Gallipoli, another Nicholas of Otranto (a son of John of Otranto), Theodotus of Gallipoli, and Leo of Gallipoli. The frequent presence in Apulia of Frederick II and his court favored this easterly shift: several of the poets just named held imperial appointments, contributed political verse, or both. But the literature continued even after the Angevin conquest of 1266-1268. A thirteenth-century linguistic compilation of note is a largely unpublished Greek-Latin lexicon (now at the College of Arms in London, MS Arundel 9A), whose south Italian parentage is proclaimed by entries for specifically Calabrian foodstuffs and for the famous icon of Rossano, the Achiropita.

The war of the Sicilian Vespers (1282-1302) proved devastating to the

Greek monastic communities on Sicily. Their archimandrite supported the Catalan dynasty that, contrary to the wishes of the papacy, had supplanted the Angevins here; in retaliation, Pope Honorius IV declared him deposed and his monasteries' holdings forfeit, whereupon the island's Basilian houses were widely despoiled. The treaty of Caltabellotta (1302; ratified by the papacy in 1303) legitimized the division of the kingdom into its separately ruled insular and mainland portions and thereby gave Frederick III (Frederick the Usurper) an opportunity to restore the monasteries to a limited degree. An outstanding act of recovery was the *menologion* (a liturgical book) for Santissimo Salvatore at Messina (now *codices Messanenses Graeci* 30 and 29), probably completed in 1308 and containing numerous ninth-century and earlier lives of Sicilian saints, plus later ones mostly by Sicilian and Calabrian authors. Without this precious, Sicily-focused collection from the mother house of the Greek monasteries in the newly independent kingdom we would have significantly less Italo-Greek religious literature and less information about early medieval Sicily and Calabria than we now do.

Insular Sicily's acceptance of suzerainty over the Duchy of Athens (1311) and its other types of involvement in Greece during the early fourteenth century led to increased Greek immigration, especially to Palermo and Messina, as well as to the importation of Greek slaves. As these new arrivals were subject to official and unofficial pressure to latinize, the net increase in speakers of the Greek language was only temporary; certainly, it did not revive the island's now moribund Greek literary tradition. On the mainland, where both the Angevin monarchs and the feudal nobility followed a pro-Latin administrative and cultural policy, ancient and medieval Greek literature was still read and copied, but at greatly reduced levels. Also of the early fourteenth century is the last medieval Greek poet from the Salento of any note, the epigrammatist Drosus of Aradeo. The linguistically and politically isolated Greek communities of the south seemingly could no longer sustain significant literary creation. In their libraries, though, they preserved a rich and often unique patrimony.

Until the mid-fourteenth century, Greek-speakers could also be found occasionally at the Angevin court in Naples. Here some translations, especially of medical works, continued to be made under

royal patronage. Noteworthy in this regard are Moses of Palermo, in the late thirteenth century; and, in the fourteenth century, Nicholas (of Deoprepus) of Reggio, renovator of the medical curriculum at Salerno. At Naples, too, almost certainly in 1339, the early Florentine humanist Boccaccio encountered Greek in the person of Barlaam of Seminara, a Calabrian monk and a theologian based in Constantinople. Boccaccio met Bar-laam through the good offices of the court librarian, Paul of Perugia. Barlaam's more controversial positions were declared heretical at a local council in Constantinople in 1341, whereupon he moved, again passing through Naples, to the papal court at the French city of Avignon. There the curia contracted with him for a series of lessons in Greek; and there, in 1342, the pioneering humanist Petrarch attempted to learn the language from him. These tentative contacts mark the beginning of what would become the humanist practice, stimulated by ancient Latin evidence for the importance of Greek culture, of promoting the study of Greek as part of a broader program of educational reform.

Later, in the winter of 1358/59, Petrarch became acquainted in Padua with Barlaam's student and fellow Calabrian, Leontius Pilatus. At Boccaccio's urging, Leontius was given a chair of Greek at the university of Florence; this post lasted from 1360 until 1362 and enabled him to produce Latin translations of Homer and other ancient Greek authors. In 1368 Petrarch advised a young man wishing to study Greek letters to travel to Calabria, identified in part as the home of the late Barlaam and of Leontius (also now deceased). Barlaam had in fact been made bishop of Gerace in 1342 and was succeeded in that post from 1348 to 1366 by another Greek-speaker, Simon Atumanus. In the late 1370s and early 1380s Simon would teach Greek in Rome, which was then once again papal. But the student's own reported intention to go to Constantinople may more accurately reflect whatever general perception existed in Italy as to the optimum venue for such learning. Only at the very end of the century did ongoing Turkish territorial conquests and other considerations initiate the Hellenic diaspora that in time revitalized Greek studies, first in Italy and then elsewhere in the west.

See also Amalfi; Barlaam; Boccaccio, Giovanni, Grottaferrata;

Justinian I; Nilus of Rossano; Normans; Petrarca, Francesco, Ravenna; Rome; Sicily; Venice

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Greek Orthodoxy in Italy

This essay is about the literary, cultural, and monastic aspects of Greek Orthodox spirituality in Italy from c. 408 (sometimes given as the year of the death of Theodosius I) to 1054; after the latter date, Greek Orthodoxy and Italy went different ways. Greek spirituality is more than the presence of Greek culture, which could be reasonably identified with Greek monks living in Italy, their liturgy, and Greek

manuscripts found in Italian depositories. Rather, Greek spirituality in medieval Italy can be understood as the presence of Greek religious thought and manners, translated into Latin and appropriated by Italians. In this sense, Greek spirituality is much more pervasive than the material presence of Greek people or books written in Greek, and Greek thought was most influential when translated and appropriated in the west.

This essay is also based on a conviction—or prejudice—that primary sources such as manuscripts and ancient libraries, or catalogues of libraries, are our main evidence for the past, and that pronouncements by scholars, brilliant and renowned as they may be, are not definitive. Accordingly, the discussion here relies on work (by figures such as Berschin, Bischoff, Courcelle, Siegmund, and Traube) that involved detailed study of the manuscript transmission of Greek texts in the west.

It seems simplistic, as well as unwarranted, to consider translations from Greek to Latin of works of spirituality as evidence of the "pervasive cultural economic influence of Byzantium" (Brown 1929, 342). For one thing, there is not a shred of evidence that interest in Greek works of spirituality—broadly defined as conciliar documents, biblical exegesis, and lives of saints—and their translation followed the economic fortunes of Byzantium. Second, Greek culture in Italy was not necessarily imported from Constantinople. In early times, Antioch and Alexandria played an important role, and southern Italy had been for centuries a crossroads between Greek and Latin culture, so that much "Greek" material, although indeed Greek in origin, is of southern Italian provenance. An example is *The Life of Saint John the Almsgiver* translated by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who informs us that he found the Greek original "in the Greek library." This library may have been at Constantinople, where Anastasius spent some time; but it may just as well have been in Rome, where Anastasius spent most of his life and where there were several Greek libraries.

A similar case in point is the Lateran Synod of 649, held in Rome, which provides an impressive list of Greek works. In the nineteenth century, G. B. De Rossi reasoned that, since this synod took place in Rome, all the Greek works cited in its proceedings must have been in the Lateran library at the time, and he wrote a learned essay on the

subject. However, we know from the synodal acts that thirty-eight Greek monks came to Rome specifically for the synod, and some scholars believe that the Greek works cited came to Rome with those monks. The truth is somewhere in between—where, precisely, remains to be seen. "Greek," then, could mean "belonging to the Greek community in Rome" or "from Constantinople," but it could also mean "from southern Italy" or "from anywhere under Byzantine jurisdiction." Therefore, "Greek" meant Greek culture wherever it might be found. As Irigoien noted (at the Twentieth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Paris in 2001), the transmission of Greek texts shows that southern Italy was a cultural area extending from Sicily to Naples. On the other hand, in Rome Greek monks formed, for centuries, a distinct cultural community.

Because Greek culture was conveyed in two ways—through direct contact with the east or with Greeks in the west, and as part of a native bilingual and bicultural tradition—its continuity was ensured. Direct contact with Constantinople might be intermittent, depending on political whims and on the comings and goings of individuals; but Greek books were always present, thanks to the local Greek culture. Years might pass between the issuance of a work in the east and its translation and impact in the west. The translation of material pertaining to the Council of Ephesus (431) is an example. The doctrinal dissent that led to the council was debated in the east: Cyril, who adhered to the received doctrine of the church, was in Alexandria; Nestorius was in Constantinople. When Cyril contacted Pope Celestine I, the response was clear: Celestine sent legates not as observers but as judges, to whom he had delegated the power of the keys. They acted accordingly, and the council did leave some tangible marks in Rome: the Nativity cycle of mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore is the visual expression—a witness to faith and a teaching tool for the unlettered—of the council's dogmatic definition of Mary, mother of God (*dei genitrix*), a translation of the Greek *theotokos*. It implies not that God, who is eternal, can ever be born, but that Mary gave birth to the infant Jesus and that the infant was both God and man. The sarcophagus of the Maccabees in San Pietro in Vincoli attests to the influence of the eastern style at this time. Very shortly after the Council of Ephesus, its documents were translated into Latin by Marius Mercator, an African

disciple of Saint Augustine. Yet his translation was not widely known in the west, and the council's documents did not have their full impact in the west until they were published in a new translation by Rusticus, nephew of Pope Vigilius, in 564-565.

The transition of theological thought from east to west and from Greek to Latin was, then, an ongoing process. Most important, the reception of Greek culture in the west involved appropriation and assimilation and was not random. Some texts (but not others) were chosen deliberately, for specific reasons, and became popular: Greek works of spirituality were chosen for translation in so far as they contributed to the knowledge of faith in the west. The *deposition fidei*, the tradition of faith handed down from apostolic times, was the same for east and west, but language and culture were different. A determination to preserve the unity of faith contributed to cultural unity, for Greek works were translated and disseminated in the west; in fact, Greek theological thought was in the lead. Conversely, periods when no unity of faith was recognized—the Iconoclastic period, the postschism period—were culturally less productive for Greek spirituality in the west.

The two principal modes of transmission of Greek spirituality were doctrine, expressed in theological and exegetical works, particularly canons of councils; and moral teachings, set out in the form of monastic rules and presented in practice through lives of the saints, the living examples of spirituality.

Beginning in 323, there were twenty ecumenical (general) councils. Those held in Greek territory were: Nicaea (325), which affirmed the divinity of Christ against Arius and debated the doctrinal issue of Easter; Constantinople (381), which affirmed the divinity of the Holy Spirit; Ephesus (431), which defined the divine maternity of Mary and the union of divine and human nature in Christ; Constantinople II (553), which confirmed the first four councils; Constantinople III (680-681), which affirmed human and divine will in Christ; Nicaea II (769), which considered the veneration of the holy images; and Constantinople IV (869-879), which dealt with the legitimacy of the patriarch of Constantinople.

Except for Ephesus, the first eight councils were held in or near Constantinople; the later councils were held in the west. Accordingly,

proceedings and resolutions (canons), the preparatory documents, and the commentaries were in Greek, and belief in a church universal by definition ("Go ye and preach the Gospel to all creatures," Mark 16:15) found expression in Greek thought and language. The first four councils were considered fundamental; the principles stated in these four councils were reaffirmed by the fifth and sixth. The veneration of images, central to the seventh council, presupposed that Christ could be represented in his humanity; on the other hand, to venerate the image of a lamb would be considered silly if the lamb did not signify a reality beyond human experience. Thus the cult of images presumed that human and divine nature, though distinct, were united in a mysterious but real way.

The canons (rules or decisions) of the councils included disciplinary matters as well as dogmatic definitions. Canon law is found in manuscripts much more frequently than dogmatic definitions, because discipline was a more frequent practical concern than dogma; however, the primary preoccupation was dogma, not discipline. This was the reason for the arrangement usually found in the acts of councils: first the dogmatic definitions, then the disciplinary measures. Dogma came first because it was for everybody and because without a clear perception of the truths of faith there could be no belonging to the church and no salvation; disciplinary measures came second because they were aimed at wayward clerics. Thus Dionysius Exiguus, in his preface to the *Synodicon* of Cyril of Alexandria, wrote that his work was meant to "make faith known." Chronologically, his translation was not the first, but he was more concerned than the previous translators with the precise formulation of dogma; to that end, it included citations from the gospels, thus linking the definitions of the third council to the faith of the apostles.

The dogma that transmitted eastern thought to the west was to last: the definitions formulated at Ephesus and Chalcedon are still with us. However, they remained dormant in the west for several centuries; indeed, as some scholars have observed, the dogma proclaimed at Ephesus did not permeate Christology in the west until Thomas Aquinas appropriated it. This is certainly a long time, and it took almost as long for Aquinas to be recognized by Pope Leo XIII as the official theologian of the Catholic church. Nevertheless, when such recognition

finally came it was given not only to Aquinas as an individual theologian but— more important—to the theology of Nicaea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon as perennially valid. It acknowledged the seed sown at the Greek councils and the work of translators that had brought the seed to fruition in the west. In our own time, Pope Pius XII felt a need to reaffirm the principles of Chalcedon in his encyclical *Sempiternus Rex*; and in 1994, addressing an academic audience, Leonard E. Boyle, O.P., restated the perennial paradox of Christianity as a down-to-earth religion unafraid to admit that we are human, have a body, and worship not only in spirit but bodily, and yet a religion based on faith in an unseen God who is in every respect an absolute, transcendent "other."

Nicaea and *Computus Graecorum*

The Council of Nicaea was convened before the period covered here, and its proceedings as such were not preserved, although the *Symbol* (which gained universal acceptance) and the canons (disciplinary in nature) were. There was one issue whose importance was not felt in Italy until much later: the proper celebration of Easter according to the Alexandrian cycle, known in the west as the *computus graecorum* (*computus* of the Greeks). The common translation "Easter reckoning" is probably the best available; however, it is misleading because it evokes the complex and esoteric calculations that were indeed necessary, if the day of the full moon after the spring equinox was to be determined in advance, but were not the primary concern of those involved in the debates. The calculations were originally Egyptian and had no Christian connotations; they were only a means to a end, intended to establish a memorial to the resurrection of Christ, the central event in the church calendar and in Christian belief. The mathematical details could be left to the experts; the primary issue was theological and of universal import—hence its centrality at Nicaea.

Contrary to widespread belief, the connection between the Council of Nicaea and the celebration of Easter according to the Alexandrian cycle is not only well attested to historically but also strictly logical. Eusebius's *Life of Constantine* tells us that Nicaea was concerned with

Easter, Logically, a council summoned for the purpose of affirming that Christ is God would also make sure that the celebration of Easter conveyed the same message: the resurrection, which is proof of the divinity of Christ, occurred on a Sunday; Easter, the memorial of this resurrection, should therefore also be celebrated on a Sunday and not on any other day. Just as logically, the council's deliberations concerning Easter were placed immediately after its deliberations on Arius—in the section on dogma, not with the canons in the section on discipline. To repeat, the mathematical calculations were delegated to the experts, who had learned them from the Egyptians; but although the reckoning was pre-Christian, the principles underlying it were Catholic. Concern for unity among churches was real, as we learn from Eusebius, but unity was not a consensus to be reached through compromise, democratic processes, or "ecumenical spirit." Unity meant the integrity of faith and the assent of all the faithful.

Thus the difference between the Christian and Jewish celebrations involved not merely the date but belief in Christ as God and man. Easter was not Passover. The Alexandrian bishop Proterius, in a letter to Pope Leo I, summed it up as follows: the Jews do not know Christ; therefore they do not know Easter. The fragments of the Nicaean council preserved in *Acta Silvestri* underline this difference between Christians and Jews.

To follow the "Alexandrian Easter reckoning" in Italy is to follow the inroads of Greek theological thought and spirituality in the matter most important to a believer: the proper theological understanding of the person of Christ. Such understanding was accepted in the west not because it was the fruit of Greek spirituality but because it was considered true, and grounded in the apostolic tradition. Still, the conveyors of this apostolic doctrine were Greek thinkers who wrote in Greek. A long effort of translation and interpretation was necessary before their work entered the mainstream of theological thought and spirituality in Italy.

The Easter reckoning in Italy is mapped out by a calendar published in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (AA IX), which contains the Easter cycles and the names of Roman and Byzantine emperors from the beginning of the Christian era to c. 800. Also noted are the milestones of Greek *computus*: the Council of Nicaea, which made it mandatory

for the whole church; Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who recommended it in a letter to Emperor Theodosius; Proterius of Alexandria, who explained it in a letter to Pope Leo I; and Dionysius Exiguus, who translated Proterius's letter in Rome in 525. Dionysius summed up Greek theology for the Romans, patiently explaining the theological reasons underlying the date chosen for Easter. He added one innovation, for which he is remembered today, by counting the years from the day of the incarnation (the annunciation of the angel to Mary, celebrated on 25 March) in a conventional year 1. After his death, the Easter dossier was disseminated from Vivarium, the monastic foundation of Cassiodorus in Calabria, for Romans and others. In 616, Felix of Squillace continued the work of Dionysius and Cassiodorus, but it took many years for the *computus graecorum* to become firmly entrenched in Italy and the west.

The Ecumenical Councils and Italy

In Italy, the impact of the first four councils was not immediate; there was a significant time lag between the councils and the dissemination of the pertinent acts. The proceedings of Nicaea I and Constantinople I have not survived; the canons of Nicaea are found most often in the edition of Dionysius Exiguus, almost 200 years after the council; those of Chalcedon also became known in Italy through Dionysius. The dossier of Ephesus gained popularity through the edition of Rusticus (564-565), together with Constantinople II. The canons were also disseminated through Dionysius.

This is not to say that there were no earlier translations. There was a contemporary translation of the Ephesus dossier by Marius Mercator, and the acts of Chalcedon were translated considerably before Dionysius; but, as far as we can tell from the manuscript transmission, they had little impact on Italians until Dionysius and his supporters—first Pope Hormisdas and later Cassiodorus—appeared on the Italian scene. One reason may have been a lack of theological acumen among Romans. An episode related by Boethius in his dedication to Mercurius is indicative: when certain Greek monks in Rome expounded their doctrine before a distinguished audience that included Roman senators,

there was general agreement with the monks' assertions—except from Boethius. Apparently, Boethius was the only person in the assemblage who realized what the monks were saying; and he proceeded to write a treatise in which tried to make the subtlety of Greek speculation understandable to the Romans. The almost contemporary editions of the canons by Dionysius were a response to the same need to educate Italians in the theology of the east; and the fact that there were two editions and a projected bilingual third edition tells us that this need was real. Cassiodorus propagated Dionysius's translation of the canons from Vivarium, as he had done for the Alexandrian *computus*. Rusticus, who was well aware of Cassiodorus's efforts, also labored to make Greek theological thought better understood. The dissemination of such material took on momentum in the sixth century, and Greek spirituality in Italy flourished along with it. In the seventh century, there was no time lag in the dissemination of the proceedings of the sixth council; and the Lateran Synod of 649 was the work of Greek monks led by Maximus the Confessor and sustained and ratified by an Italian pope. "One in language with Constantinople, one in faith with Rome," said Maximus. However, there was a price to pay for unity of faith and respect of cultural identity; both Maximus and Pope Martin died as martyrs; and although the year 680 was hailed in Rome as the beginning of a new era, the Iconoclastic struggle was soon to follow. The next flourishing of Greek spirituality in Italy would be in the ninth century, with Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and at that time works of hagiography would come first.

Exegesis

Canons and acts of councils were not meant for a wide audience, and the number of extant manuscripts is relatively small. Yet if direct reading was limited to clerics and lawyers, the principles involved were basic tenets of the faith, required of all believers, and were conveyed to the whole church. Works of exegesis by the Greek fathers were not the official teaching of the church and thus did not reach the faithful in the pews; these works were aimed at a more specialized audience (mostly monks), who used exegesis in their daily meditation on the scriptures.

Patristic exegesis was not as widely translated in Italy as hagiography (lives of saints), which was immensely popular. Often, it is difficult to determine when and where exegetical works began to become known, since most of the translations are by anonymous monks and were intended for their fellow monks. Authors and works that can be securely assigned to Italy include Basilus (monastic *Rule* and *Hexaemeron*), who influenced the rule of Saint Benedict and thereby all of western monasticism; Athanasius (various letters, attested to in Rome and in the works of Lucifer of Cagliari) and the *Symbol*; Dionysius Exiguus, who translated Proterius's letter to Pope Leo and Gregory of Nyssa; Isidore of Pelusium, whose letters were partially translated by Rusticus for his edition of the councils; and *Verba seniorum*, an influential collection of maxims attributed to the desert fathers, translated in Rome by Pelagius and Iohannes Subdiaconus (later popes Pelagius, r. 556–560; and John III, r. 560–573).

By far the most important translations of Greek exegesis came from the team of Cassiodorus (Squillace, second half of the sixth century) and from Anastasius Bibliothecarius (Rome, late ninth century). The continuity between Cassiodorus and Anastasius is very real: for both scholars, translations from the Greek were not isolated but were part of a stated program. Cassiodorus, like his master Dionysius, intended to make Greek spirituality better known among Italians; Anastasius undertook the additional effort of rewriting in cultured Latin pieces that had already been translated but that contained errors or lacked literary polish.

Cassiodorus, with his friends and associates Bellator, Mucianus, and Epiphanius, continued from Vivarium the work that Dionysius Exiguus had begun in Rome. They were responsible for the translation of John Chrysostom (*Omilia ad Hebraeos*, translated by Mucianus); Clement of Alexandria (*Adumbrationes*); Didymus (*Commentary to the Proverbs*, translated by Epiphanius, and that on *Catholic Letters*); Origen; and Philo of Karpasia (*Commentary to the Song of Songs*, attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus). *Historia tripartita*, so called because it was derived from three eastern theologians—Socrates, Theodoret, and Sozomen—was also a history of faithfulness to belief handed down in the church.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius quite deliberately continued the history of

fidelity to Catholic belief with his *Ecclesiastical History*. Though he is better known for his translations of the seventh and eighth councils and of hagiographical works, Anastasius rendered into Latin the *Vita mystica* of Maximus the Confessor and glosses to Maximus's works.

Hagiography

The second mode of transmission of Greek thought was spirituality in action, both in the collective life of the church and in the individual lives of monks and ascetics. This doctrinal and moral content, constituting a well-defined *corpus*, cannot be diluted in social history, *histoire* of the *mentalités*, or history of any other kind. It found expression in Greek before it was conveyed to the west in a Latin translation. Greek monks were also personally present in the west, for instance at the Lateran Synod of 649, where they had an essential role as carriers of theological thought. Though comparatively few in number, Greek monks in Rome constituted for centuries a distinct and visible entity and contributed to the life of the church in the west through their liturgy and their libraries. Basilian monks also had convents throughout southern Italy, as well as near Rome. Most often, though, Greek monks were present in a way that transcended time and space—through their holiness and their writings, and in writings about them.

Hagiography is the account of lives of saints: first martyrs (individuals who gave up their lives rather than deny their Christian belief) and then monks (who had given up the world and its pleasures to serve God in a monastery or in the desert). These figures were held up to the faithful as examples of what could be done in the service of God, and their miracles were recounted as tangible proof that these saints existed and were a source of help. The enduring legacy of Greek spirituality to Italy and the west was a model of the saint: an ascetic, living apart from the world in a monastery or in the desert, devoted to prayer and the study of the scriptures, working with his hands to provide for the basic necessities, compassionate toward his fellow men, and ready to leave his cell to save a soul. (The story of Abraham and his niece is an exemplar.) In Italy this model was to last until the Mendicant orders came along—only then did the friars go out to preach

where the crowds were thickest, and, as one friar said, their convent was the world.

The number and variety of lives of saints that are of Greek origin are extraordinary, but it is often difficult to determine the dates and places of origin of the translations. Not surprisingly, most *vitae* (lives) that are securely attributed come from southern Italy, which was always a crossroads of the Greek world and the rest of Europe. Significantly, although Cassiodorus included lives of martyrs in his list of suggested readings, Pope Gregory I a few years later could find very few lives in Roman libraries. The best indicator of the vitality of Greek lives of saints is their survival in various vernacular legends. These lives were popular—a term which suggests not that they were superstitious or subliterate (on the contrary, they were a literary genre with its own stylistic requirements), but simply that they were widespread among the people. They conveyed in very practical terms the same doctrinal message as biblical exegesis and the canons and definitions of the councils. We know this from the number of manuscripts that are extant or attested to.

The first immensely popular *Life* was that of Saint Anthony, written by Athanasius and translated by Evagrius toward the end of the fourth century. Later on, Dionysius Exiguus (*Life of Pachomius*, *Poenitentia Thais*, and *Inventio capitis Iohannis Baptistae*) and Anastasius Bibliothecarius were the most influential translators. In his preface to the life of Pachomius, Dionysius proposed the life of a desert monk as a model for the Romans, thus establishing a pattern that would last for centuries. Anastasius rewrote many Greek lives in a style suitable to an educated Latin public. Among his translations are *Passio Acacii*, *Passio Clementis*, *Miracles of Demetrius*, *Life of Sophronius*, and *Life of Basilus*. "Bonifatius Consiliarius," who was active in Rome, translated *Passio Theodori* and is probably to be identified with the adviser (*consiliarius*) of Pope Sergius I.

In Naples, from the end of the ninth century through the tenth century, there was an active group of translators: they included Guarimotus (*Life of Saint Eustrathius*), John the Deacon (*Acta Febroniae*, *Life of Nicholas*), and Paul the Deacon. In the eleventh century John the Monk (from Amalfi) translated the *Pratus spiritalis* of John Moschus and *Passio Irenis*. Other, anonymous translations include

the legend of the Seven Sleepers, the legend of Saint George, *Inventio Stephani*, *Passio Mercurii* (from Beneventum), *Passio et miracula Demetrii*, and *Life of Saba*, which can be reasonably attributed to the monks of San Saba in Rome.

Greek Monasticism in Italy and the Liturgy

Finally, there was the physical presence of Greek monks in Italy. In Rome, they were particularly influential for their liturgy, which is a concrete communal expression of spirituality: *lex orandi, lex credendi* ("the way we pray is the way we believe"). Greek monks introduced many feasts of saints to Italy, as well as many church buildings; but (apart from Rome) it is often difficult to quantify such contributions or to provide proper documentation and chronologies.

This is especially true of the Basilian monks. According to local tradition, their presence in southern Italy was universal, and typing into a search engine "Basiliani + Italia" will yield every hamlet that claims the legacy of Basilian churches or convents. However, actual records are scant before the Norman period, and the assumption that the Basilians came to Italy as refugees during the Iconoclastic period would need further documentation. There are many valuable studies devoted to particular Basilian monasteries or areas; but the documents that could tell us precisely how long the monasteries were active in a given area, how many monks they included, and how much land they possessed are still for the most part awaiting publication in the Vatican Archives. The publication of the *Bullarium* of Piero Menniti—a collection of papal and imperial documents and privileges and diplomas granted to the Basilians in Italy to the year 1707—would be particularly important. There is a posthumous draft, with a detailed outline of the planned work, in the Vatican Archives. Until that and other written sources are published, we have to concur with Paul Arthur's evaluation of archaeological discoveries: tradition abounds, but evidence for the pre-Norman period is scarce. For the Basilians in Italy, as for the many texts attested to in various manuscripts but not yet situated in place or time, there is still plenty of work to do to bring the riches of Greek spirituality in Italy to light.

See also Councils, Ecclesiastical; Greek Language and Literature

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Gregorian Chant

Gregorian chant is music for the liturgy of the Roman Catholic church, consisting primarily of biblical texts set to monophonic melodies that vary widely in style and scope. Chants are provided for major feasts and ordinary Sundays of the liturgical year (the *temporale*) as well as for saints' days (the *sanctorale*). Pieces with unique texts and melodies for the mass—called "proper" chants—include the introit, gradual, alleluia, offertory, and communion. The chants of the "ordinary" consist of invariable texts and a limited number of melodies: these are the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. The repertoire for the eight canonical hours of the divine office consists primarily of hymns, antiphons, and responsories; the last of these are closely allied with the liturgical readings of matins.

Wagner's general means for differentiating the various Gregorian melodic styles was formulated nearly a century ago and still remains a useful preliminary tool for analysis and comparison. Wagner frequently categorized the melodies according to the relationship between tune and text, specifically by the number of notes applied to individual

syllables. "Syllabic" melodies consisted for the most part of one or two notes per syllable; "neumatic" melodies had up to five notes per syllable; "melismatic" melodies were highly ornate, with long flowing passages and multiple pitches applied to single syllables. Wagner's three categories can be applied, with some consistency, to the various liturgical genres described above. Office antiphons are largely syllabic melodies; introits, communions, and office responsories are often neumatic; and the graduals and alleluias of the mass are frequently virtuoso melodies with highly decorated lines.

The early theorists categorized the Gregorian melodies according to a more abstract model that facilitated the memorization of the repertoire during its dissemination before it came to be notated. The earliest testimony to this system is preserved in books called tonaries. These sources organize large portions of the chant repertoire according to varied but interdependent means of categorization. Melodies may be grouped, for example, according to their final and opening pitches, in sets of melodic families, and according to their use of specific scale segments that differ in the arrangement of half steps and whole steps. Carolingian in origin, this system of the ecclesiastical modes consists of eight primary pitch sets (*manneria*) organized around four focal tones, which may be thought of as the pitches d, e, f, and g (*protus*, *deuterus*, *tritus*, and *tetrardus*, respectively). These tones, called *finals*, were often the opening and concluding pitch of a chant of a given mode, and they were frequently a point of melodic attraction throughout the life of a melody. Each of the four *manneria* was further subdivided according to the general range of a given melody. Pieces that dwelled primarily within the octave above a given final were considered "authentic" and were sometimes referred to numerically as modes 1, 3, 5, and 7. Melodies that traversed the fourth below the finals and remained for the most part a fifth above it were called "plagal"; these were modes 2, 4, 6, and 8. Though the sources for this system were highly speculative in nature, the impetus for the Carolingian modal system was purely practical: some way of prodding the memory was necessary, in the absence of a written record; and some way was also needed to properly connect the conclusion of a verse melody (sung to unvarying recitational formulas) with the beginning of a unique melody.

The existing manuscripts containing the texts and melodies of the

standard Gregorian corpus are all non-Roman in origin. The earliest complete books contain only the texts for the mass proper; six of these are indexed in Hesbert's indispensable *Sextu-plex* (1935). The earliest notated sources date from the ninth century. The musical notation found in these sources varies considerably in terms of orthography, though regional families of writing styles are clearly in evidence. The signs themselves consist of various dots and strokes called neumes, though their notation in the earliest sources gives little information regarding specific pitches (*in campo aperto*) and cannot be transcribed directly without reference to later "heighted" manuscripts copied with staff lines.

Aside from these northern sources, there are five notated books that were copied in Rome itself, including three manuscripts for the music of the mass and two for the divine office. All are of a comparatively late date, ranging from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. The feasts, liturgical assignments, and texts that they contain are nearly identical to the earlier non-Roman books, and their melodies are most often clearly related to the Gregorian corpus. Yet the Roman settings are often highly ornate in comparison with the more familiar versions copied in northern sources.

Finding an explanation for these melodic differences was described as the "central problem of Gregorian chant" (Apel 1958), and this problem has continued to be a major topic in the secondary literature. In general, it may be said that both melodic dialects—the "Gregorian" (i.e., Frankish) and the Roman (i.e., "old Roman")—are descended from a common melodic fund. Which of these two traditions might better reflect the state of the melodies in the mid-eighth century, when they were first taken over by the Franks, is a matter of debate. Since both redactions originated without the benefit of notation, the degree to which orality influenced the shape of the Gregorian and old Roman repertoires as they are preserved in the sources is also an open question.

Until quite recently, the term "Gregorian" reflected a belief that the chant had been organized and edited by Gregory the Great (d. 604). Gevaert (1890) called this into question, noting that the brief biography of Gregory I in *Liber pontificalis* makes no mention of his interest in or impact on liturgy or music. The biography of Gregory II (r. 715–731), however, is replete with such details, as is that of his successor Gregory

III (731-741); Gevaert therefore suggested that the Gregorian legend more likely referred to them. His thesis was harshly criticized by the primarily clerical scholars who dominated the study of chant at the beginning of the twentieth century, and many of them continued to assume Gregory I's authorship as a given. Considering the huge corpus that constitutes Gregorian chant, it seems reasonable to suppose that the creation, codification, and preservation of this music would have depended on dedicated and long-standing institutional support and a vibrant ecclesiastical milieu—requirements that were decidedly not met in the sixth century. Recent scholarship has suggested that a more likely span of time for the creation of the main body of Gregorian chant was the late seventh century to the early eighth, though of course what survives in the written sources comprises chronological strata reaching both before and beyond this period.

Southern Italian sources of Gregorian chant frequently contain evidence of great antiquity—evidence that is not found in northern books—including features that disappeared elsewhere as early as the eighth century. Examples of these features are the use of the Roman psalter for introit verses (as opposed to Jerome's "Gallican" version used from the time of Charlemagne on); dependence on an earlier lectionary for the gospel readings on the Sundays after Pentecost; the use of two graduals for Saturday in the fourth week of Lent, which is matched in the oldest lectionaries but which was apparently abandoned elsewhere by the early ninth century; and the absence of the mass for the seventh Sunday after Pentecost: the mass is also missing in early documents for the Roman tradition but routinely appears elsewhere in the Gregorian tradition.

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Gregorian Reform Movement

See Gregory VII, Pope

Gregory I, Pope

Pope Gregory I (Gregory the Great, c. 540-604) is one of the most notable personalities in the early church. The defining characteristics and organization of the medieval papacy, and indeed of modern Catholicism, owe their foundations to Gregory. His legacy includes associations with major liturgical and musical developments, so much so that the music of the Catholic church is named for him—Gregorian chant. He is also remembered, among numerous other accomplishments, for sending Saint Augustine of Canterbury to evangelize the British Isles.

Early Life

Gregory was descended from the senatorial nobility in Rome. His father, Gordianus, was a wealthy patrician of the famous *gens* Amicia and owned large estates in Sicily and a mansion on the Caelian Hill in Rome. Gregory's mother, Silvia, also was of good family; she is celebrated as a saint on 3 November, and her two sisters were canonized as well. Little is known of Gregory's early education, but he was, according to Gregory of Tours (538-594), unsurpassed in Rome in grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. The religious atmosphere of his childhood—a time when, John the Deacon tells us, he was like a saint among saints—gave him an solid grounding in the scriptures. His rank and position certainly indicated that he should embark on a public career. Our first record of him is in 573, when he became prefect of Rome at age thirty. Though this office was not then as prestigious as it had formerly been, it was still the highest civil dignity in the city. Soon after achieving this honor, however, Gregory gave up his office and the

tenor of life and became a monk, c. 574. His estates were donated to the church, and his mansion on the Caelian Hill became a monastery devoted to Saint Andrew.

Monastic Life

From 574 to 578, Gregory lived as a monk in Saint Andrew's, probably following the rule of Saint Benedict. In his own writings he describes this as the happiest time of his life. In 578, Gregory—against his will—was ordained by the pope and was sent as the pope's ambassador to the court of Byzantium. Since the Lombards were advancing toward Rome, the pope needed the help of Emperor Tiberius, and this crisis required Gregory's political acumen. For six years, Gregory endured the worldly court at Byzantium, adhering as much as possible to his monastic regimen. It was during this time that he wrote his *Morals* on the book of Job, after meeting Saint Leander of Seville. A dispute arose between Gregory and Eutychius, the patriarch of Constantinople, on certain aspects of the resurrection. Gregory's mission was a failure, and he learned from it that Rome could no longer count on help from the eastern church. Gregory's subsequent course of action as pope would determine the policy of the western papacy toward Constantinople throughout the Middle Ages.

Around 585-586, Gregory returned to Rome and Saint Andrew's monastery, where he was elected abbot soon afterward. During this time, his *Morab* was published and distributed. Gregory's famous encounter with English slaves in the Roman Forum also happened during this period. As a result of his renown, he advanced to become chief adviser, assistant, and secretary to Pope Pelagius II. A letter by Gregory to the schismatic bishops of Istria still survives from this time; as a treatise, it gives hints of his skill as a writer and theologian.

The year 589 brought disasters throughout Italy. The Tiber overflowed its banks, and indeed there were floods in the entire peninsula. A plague swept through Rome, leaving the city full of corpses and virtually deserted by the living. When Pope Pelagius II died in February 590, the clergy and people of Rome were unanimous in their choice of Gregory as his successor; but Gregory, who did not want

to be pope, wrote to Emperor Maurice asking him not to confirm the election. While waiting for a reply, Gregory was called on to lead a sevenfold procession through Rome, praying to God to end the plague. The legend that the archangel Michael himself was seen stopping the plague reinforced the belief among the Romans that Gregory was God's elect, and when the emperor confirmed their choice Gregory was consecrated pope on 3 September 590, despite his protests.

Gregory's Pontificate (590-604)

The papacy proved to be a considerable strain on Gregory's health; he suffered constantly from indigestion, fever, and also from gout during the later years of his life. It is remarkable how much he accomplished despite his infirmities. The short work *Liber pastoralis curae* (*Book on the Office of a Bishop*) was published by Gregory at the beginning of his pontificate, and he adhered to it closely. One of his first acts was to replace the laypeople in the Lateran palace with clerics; and since no *magister militum* lived in Rome, he also assumed command of all military matters in the city. He instituted the "stations" still observed today and recorded in the missal.

There is some disagreement on the extent of Gregory's reforms of the Roman liturgy, but he did make the following modifications:

1. He ordered the paternoster (Lord's prayer) to be recited in the canon before the breaking of the host.
2. He prohibited the use of the chasuble by subdeacons assisting at mass.
3. He inserted the words *diesque nostras in tua pace asponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum iubras grege numerari* in the canon of the mass.
4. He provided that the alleluia should be chanted after the gradual except during paschaltide (the period following Easter).
5. He forbade deacons to perform any of the musical portions of the mass other than singing the gospel.



Pope Gregory I. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 148r.

Gregory was a peerless manager of the vast estates owned by the church: the yearly income from its landholdings in Africa, Sicily, and Campania—well over 1,300 square miles (3,380 square kilometers) all together—has been estimated at more than \$1.5 million by today's standards. He appointed clerics as his rectors, teaching them how to provide detailed accounts and reports concerning their districts.

Even though much of Italian territory was in the hands of the Lombards and their Arian clergy, Gregory tried to care for the needs of the faithful in these dioceses whenever an opportunity arose. On the islands near Italy, of which Sicily was the largest and most important, he maintained and strengthened the existing church structure. Local synods on a regular basis were strictly enforced, and Gregory's many letters attest to his concern for this practice. He approached the filling of bishoprics in a disciplined way, enforced the celibacy of the clergy,

maintained the exemption of clerics from lay tribunals, and did not hesitate to deprive clerics of their holdings and offices if they were guilty of criminal or scandalous offenses.

It is well documented that Gregory maintained, strengthened, and extended the powers, privileges, and jurisdiction of the head of the Roman see over all other Christian churches. In fact, Gregory's claim that the Roman see had supreme authority over the church universal was the basis for the primacy of the papacy in the medieval period and in modern times. The title of ecumenical bishop assumed by the patriarch of Constantinople was brought up for debate by Gregory at a synod held in 588. His manner toward all bishops and patriarchs, western or eastern, was cordial, despite his differences with the eastern church.

In his relations with the Lombards, Gregory worked hard to achieve a lasting peace. Authari, king of the Lombards, died a few days after Gregory's consecration as pope and was succeeded by Agilulf, duke of Turin. Gregory attempted to negotiate a separate peace for Rome with the Lombards, using Queen Theodolinda, who was a Catholic and a close friend, as an intermediary with King Agilulf and other Lombard chiefs. He exercised his temporal authority in response to the Lombard threat by appointing governors to cities, providing munitions, counseling generals, sending ambassadors, and negotiating, often without imperial authorization from Constantinople.

Gregory's connections with the Franks were perhaps the most important legacy of his papacy, because they resulted directly in his major diplomatic and spiritual accomplishment—the missionary effort in the British Isles. The Kentish queen, Bertha, was a Catholic Frank who wrote to Gregory often and at length, asking him to send spiritual ambassadors to the Kentish court and eventually to the entire island. The story of the mission to England of Saint Augustine of Canterbury in 597 was recorded in Gregory's letters and was also recounted by an anonymous monk of the English abbey at Whitby in the early eighth century. The English mission eventually brought together the Celtic and the Roman churches that had been torn apart by the breakup of the Roman empire two centuries earlier. After settling ecclesiastical and liturgical practices, English monasticism would reach its full flowering in the early ninth century, when Alcuin, a monk of York, became chief

spiritual adviser to Charlemagne. Gregory's accomplishment earned him the title "apostle to the English."

In his relations with the imperial government, Gregory again trod new ground. He believed that church and state should form a united whole, yet be as distinct and independent from each other as possible in their respective spheres, the ecclesiastical and the secular. The records of the imperial government centered in Constantinople under Emperor Maurice and eventually Emperor Phocas are a source for the interaction between it and the Roman church, as is Gregory's immense correspondence.

Besides his missionary effort to the Angles, Gregory also made efforts to root out paganism in Gaul, Africa, northern Italy, and Istria. His policy toward schismatics, pagans, and heretics was to use persuasion first and force only as a last resort. His contribution to monasticism followed naturally from his own background as a monk. Gregory's firm opinions on discipline, order, austerity, and obedience among monks, abbots, and bishops are extensively recorded in his numerous letters and were applied by many monastic orders during the Middle Ages.

The last years of Gregory's life were filled with suffering, both mental and physical. He died on 12 March 604, and his body was displayed in the portico of Saint Peter's basilica. His relics were moved several times during the medieval period and later, most recently by Pope Paul V in 1606. He was canonized immediately by popular acclaim. In art, the dove is his special emblem, because of a story, recorded by Peter the Deacon, that a dove placed the word of God on Gregory's lips while he was dictating his homilies on Ezekiel to his secretary.

Gregory the Great was not a philosopher or a man of profound learning; but he was a trained Roman lawyer, a monk and missionary, a highly regarded preacher, and a leader of men. His two major contributions to the papacy were his intense focus on convincing the world that the see of Peter was the one supreme, decisive, authority in the Catholic church, and his mission to the British Isles. He enabled the papacy, eventually, to become a power stronger than king, emperor, or patriarch. In his writings, Gregory summed up the teachings of the early fathers in a harmonious whole, so that they became a textbook for laymen and clerics alike throughout the medieval period. Writings

confidently attributed to Gregory are *Moralium libri XXXV*, *Regulae pastoralis liber*, *Dialogorum libri IV*, *Homiliarum in evangelia libri II*, *Homiliarum in ezechielem prophetam libri II*, and *Epistolarum libri XIV*. Gregory's extensive contributions to the standardization of the liturgy and liturgical music include several hymns, the Gregorian sacramentary, and the antiphonary.

See also **Frankish Kingdom; Gregorian Chant; Lombards; Papacy**

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Gregory II, Pope

Pope Gregory II (669-731, r. 715-731) was born into a Roman family. He had extensive experience as a papal functionary and diplomat, participating in a papal embassy to Constantinople and negotiating with Emperor Justinian II in disputes concerning the Quinisext Council of 692. In May 715, Gregory was chosen pope—the first of Roman background after a series of popes of Greek and Syrian birth. Gregory's main problems then involved dealings with the Lombards, who were newly resurgent under King Liutprand (r. 712-744). The Lombard threat reached a climax in 729, when Liutprand menaced Rome and was deflected only by Gregory's dramatic personal intervention. Meanwhile, Rome's overlord, the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople, who was supposed to be providing protection, was instead levying burdensome taxes. The mounting tension was complicated when Emperor Leo III initiated his new religious policies of iconoclasm. Gregory not only objected to iconoclasm as heretical but resisted the concept that the emperor had a right to interfere in matters of doctrine. Throughout Italy, Leo's attempts to impose the iconoclastic policies by fiat prompted widespread resentment and resistance, of which Gregory became the principal spokesman. Gregory, as a sponsor of the missionary work of Saint Boniface in northern Europe, pursued contacts with the Frankish ruler Charles Martel, thus initiating what would become a new direction of papal policy. An active builder and a strong supporter of monasticism, Gregory was responsible for beginning a restoration of

the Abbey of Monte Cassino after its destruction by the Lombards. His active interest in liturgy and liturgical reform was also reflected in his introduction of Roman liturgical practice to the German church. He planned a journey to northern lands but died before he could undertake it.

See also Frankish Kingdom; Leo III, Emperor; Liutprand; Lombards; Monte Cassino Monastery; Papacy

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Gregory III, Pope

Pope Gregory III (d. 741, r. 731-741), a priest in Rome of Syrian origin, was chosen pope by spontaneous popular acclaim during the funeral of Gregory II. As Gregory III, he inherited from his predecessor a growing problem of friction with the Byzantine emperor Leo III over Leo's program of iconoclasm. Failing to persuade Leo to change his policies, Gregory launched a strong campaign against them, which provoked Leo to send a punitive military expedition to Italy. However, the expedition ended in disaster, and Leo then retaliated by exercising the imperial rights of ecclesiastical administration, to the disadvantage of the papacy. Specifically, he transferred the church provinces of Sicily, Calabria, and Illyricum (the Balkan peninsula), which until then had been under Roman jurisdiction, to the see of Constantinople—at a great cost to Rome in revenue and influence.

Despite Leo's actions, Gregory attempted to remain loyal to imperial authority and even gave aid to the Byzantine exarch of Ravenna when Lombards briefly expelled the exarch from that city (737–740). Such steps provoked renewed hostility from the Lombard king Liutprand, and Gregory was impelled to repair the fortifications of both Rome and Civitavecchia. With regard to diplomacy, Gregory sought alliances with Liutprand's rivals, the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto. This led to direct aggression by Liutprand. Recognizing that it was futile to depend on the Byzantine empire and that a more formidable protector was needed, Gregory turned to the one western Germanic power of sufficient strength. During 739-740 Gregory sent embassies to the Frankish leader Charles Martel, urgently beseeching his assistance. Charles, who was on good terms with Liutprand, declined the request; but although such appeals were not immediately successful, they became the precedent for a momentous alliance soon to come between the papacy and the Franks. For the moment, however, Gregory could only turn again to Liutprand's rivals, further inflaming the Lombard king.

Although his policies in Italy would not reach fruition until the reigns of succeeding popes, Gregory did not miss opportunities to extend the influence of the papacy to northern lands, continuing his predecessor's support of Saint Boniface in Germany and of the see of Canterbury in England. Gregory died, ironically, in 741, the same year that saw the death of his bitter opponent, Emperor Leo III.

See also Frankish Kingdom; Leo III, Emperor; Liutprand; Lombards

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Gregory VI, Pope

Pope Gregory VI (John Gratian, Giovanni Graziano; d. 1048, r. 1 May 1045-1046) had been canon of San Giovanni fuori Porta Latina in Rome. He became pope after the abdication of his godson, the Tusculan pope Benedict IX (r. 1032-1045 and 1047-1048), and after either Gregory VI himself or his supporters had reimbursed Benedict IX for his election expenses.

The use of money to obtain a spiritual office led to the accusation of simony at the latest on 20 December 1046, when a synod convoked and guided by King Henry III met in Gregory's presence and deposed the pope, as well as Sylvester III, a bishop of Sabina who had been pope for a few weeks in early 1045, when an uprising had expelled Benedict IX from Rome before Benedict ceded the papacy to his godfather in May. A second synod held by Henry III in Rome on 23 December deposed Benedict IX and elected Henry's court chaplain, Bishop Suidger of Bamberg, as Pope Clement II (d. December 1047). Gregory VI was sent

into exile in Germany, probably in Cologne; he was accompanied by some of the papal clergy, including Hildebrand, who was much later to become Pope Gregory VII. Gregory VI died, possibly at Cologne, in mid-December 1047.

Little is known about the pontificate of Gregory VI. He was, however, a church reformer. His own accession as well as the depositions at the synod of Sutri demonstrated clearly that a reform of the papacy was desperately needed. The actions of Henry III freed the see of Saint Peter from its dependence on the Roman nobility and enabled the popes to become the leaders of the eleventh-century church reform.

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Gregory VII, Pope

Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand; c. 1020-1085, r. 1073-1085) was the only Italian among the eleventh-century reforming popes involved in the investiture controversy, apart from Paschal II (r. 1099-1118). Gregory VII was born in southern Tuscany (possibly in Soana) into a well-to-do

family and came to Rome as a young child. In his letters, Gregory mentions that he grew up in the bosom of the Roman church, and he refers to the special guardianship of the apostle Peter, as well as to a Roman palace (perhaps the Lateran) where he attended school with other upper-class Romans. He spent some time at the monastery of Saint Mary on the Aventine Hill, where his uncle was abbot. Saint Mary's had once been reformed by Abbot Odo of Cluny and had connections with certain local reformers of the church.

The first secure date for Gregory VII—then Hildebrand— is January 1047. He accompanied Pope Gregory VI (r. 1045— 1046) into exile in Germany after the latter's deposition by Emperor Henry III at the synod of Sutri (20 December 1046). In early 1049, Hildebrand returned to Rome in the entourage of Pope Leo IX (r. 1049—1054). He had probably become a monk by then, although it remains unclear where and when he made his vows. Certainly, however, this did not occur at Cluny. In Rome, he became subdeacon and then rector of the Abbey of Saint Paul's Outside the Walls. He was sent as papal legate in 1054 to the synod of Tours and in 1056 to the synod of Chalonsur-Saône. The synod at Tours was concerned with the teachings of Berengar of Tours on the eucharist (a topic that Hildebrand would have to deal with again later, as pope); the synod at Chalonsur dealt with simony and led to the deposition of six simoniac bishops by Hildebrand. At least once during these years, Hildebrand must have been at the court of Emperor Henry III (d. 5 October 1056); later, as pope, he would note that Henry III honored him more than other Italians. Moreover, Hildebrand participated in a court ceremony in which the boy Henry IV (r. 1056-1105) was either elected or acclaimed king. In 1057, Pope Stephen IX (r. 1057-1058) once again sent Hildebrand to Germany, together with Anselm of Lucca (later Pope Alexander II, r. 1061-1073). Stephen IX demanded a solemn oath from the cardinal bishops and the clergy and laity of Rome that if he died they would await Hildebrand's return from Germany before electing a successor; this is an indication of Hildebrand's standing in Rome. It is very likely that Hildebrand collaborated actively with Stephen's successor, Pope Nicholas II (r. 1059 — 1061) and helped shape Nicholas's policies toward the Normans and the Patarnes; but it is difficult to identify Hildebrand's influence precisely or to determine whether he differed from other reformers.

Apparently, he did not sign the election decree of the Lateran synod of April-May 1059, but in a speech at this council he severely condemned the Aachen rule of 816 for regular canons, which had permitted the holding of private property. In the autumn of 1059, Nicholas II named Hildebrand archdeacon of the Roman church, entrusted with financial, judicial, and military tasks. Hildebrand would also have been responsible for the papal states, would have acted as vicar during the pope's absence, and would have administered the see of Rome during a vacancy. These were heavy responsibilities, but it would be an exaggeration to claim that Hildebrand was the power behind the papal throne during his more than twenty years at the curia.

Pontificate

During the funeral of Alexander II on 22 April 1073, Hildebrand was proclaimed Pope Gregory VII in a tumultuous election by the Roman people—an election that was subsequently formalized by the cardinals, the clergy, and the Roman laity in San Pietro in Vincoli. Gregory's pontificate is relatively well known. His invaluable register, the official papal record containing chiefly his letters but also some synodal protocols, feudal oaths, etc., is still preserved in the Vatican's Archivio Segreto. It provides a solid basis for an evaluation of Gregory's policies, but it is limited because only a certain number of letters were registered (the selection criteria are unknown), because many important letters were originally supplemented with oral messages, and not least because many of Gregory's declarations are ambiguous and often impenetrable for modern readers.

Gregory interpreted his election as a call by God to continue unhesitatingly, not to say ruthlessly, the fight for what he considered the proper world order and to restore the church to its original splendor, as envisioned by the eleventh-century reformers. He linked the battle against simony and for celibacy—the chief characteristics of the Gregorian reform (which took its name from him)—with a marked emphasis on the primacy of the papacy. This primacy did indeed include the subordination of all temporal Christian governments to the pope's authority, but it applied first of all to the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

In Gregory's view, all Christians, including kings and emperors, owed the papacy unquestioned obedience because the pope alone, by virtue of his mystic connection with Saint Peter, would never deviate from the Christian faith. According to Gregory, Saint Peter himself, through the pope, directed the church. Obedience to God became obedience to the papacy.

Gregory's attitude had profound political consequences. He emphasized the territorial claims of the papacy and tried to bring several areas of Europe under the overlordship of Saint Peter, i.e., the pope. The conditions varied; they included the simple oath of fealty by William of Burgundy and clearly feudal relationships involving homage and investiture as well as fealty. The popes thus became feudal lords. The vassals' obligations corresponded to those customary in the secular sphere and included military and financial aid. Examples are the alliances with the Normans (1059), Aragon (1068), Denmark, Hungary, Kiev, Croatia, and Dalmatia. Like his predecessor, Gregory supported the *reconquista* in Spain by French knights, provided that they were willing to take over the conquered lands as vassals of Saint Peter—since, Gregory argued, Spain had belonged to Peter from ancient times. Some princes of Poland and Bohemia had asked Gregory for support of their claims, and it is not surprising that he expected special links to the papacy in return. He saw the relationship with England similarly. In 1080, he wrote to William the Conqueror, reminding William of his assistance in 1066. As we can gather from William's negative reply, the messengers who delivered the letter had asked him to do homage for England to the pope. The legal premises for the largely unsuccessful papal claims are still disputed, but evidently the Donation of Constantine played only a subordinate role. These feudal relationships—which were an innovation as far as the papacy was concerned—were intended to further church reform and to gain financial and military support for papal policies. Episcopal oaths also included the promise of troops. Since Gregory also planned to lead an army to assist Constantinople against the Muslims, it is not surprising that he has the reputation of being a particularly warlike pope.

Gregory never had occasion to intervene in England; and Spain largely accommodated the claims of the papacy. In France and Germany, however, direct intervention by the papacy in the

appointment of bishops and the prohibition of their investiture with ring and staff (possibly 1077-1078) created severe tension. Especially serious were Gregory's clashes with Germany, although, despite some initial problems, there was no hint of this at the outset of Gregory's pontificate. Gregory, who saw in Henry the future emperor, suggested in a letter of December 1074 that Henry was to protect Rome and the Roman church during the papal crusade. It was the German episcopacy rather than the king that appeared to hinder church reform in Germany. Gregory counted on Henry's support. But events taught him otherwise, and in a letter of December 1075 to Henry, Gregory can barely contain his anger. It is possible that the oral message accompanying the missive was a threat of excommunication. In harsh language, Gregory blamed Henry especially on account of the customary royal appointments to the Italian bishoprics of Milan, Fermo, and Spoleto. A second issue was Henry's continued contact with his excommunicated advisers. On 24 January 1076, at the Diet of Worms, Henry IV and the vast majority of the German bishops replied in even harsher terms. In a letter addressed to "Brother Hildebrand," they renounced their obedience to Gregory. The king asked Gregory to abdicate and the Romans to elect a new pope. Northern Italian bishops immediately joined in this renunciation of obedience. The letters reached Gregory during the Lenten synod (14-20 February 1076), and he replied at once, declaring Henry deposed and absolving all of Henry's Christian subjects from their oath of fealty. Henceforth no one was to serve Henry as king, and Henry was anathematized.

The effect of the excommunication was tremendous. Gregory assumed that he had historical precedents on his side, but never before had a pope deposed a king. Gregory's deposition of Henry was then, and has remained, his most hotly debated action. Gregory had pursued to its logical conclusion his conviction that papal primacy was secular as well as spiritual. Church reform now became a struggle over dominance between priestly power and royal power. To save his crown, Henry submitted to Gregory at Canossa (28 January 1077), implicitly recognizing the papal claim to universal lordship.

The encounter at Canossa interrupted Gregory's journey to Augsburg, where the German princes had intended to elect a new king. After the reconciliation of Henry with the church, Gregory returned to Rome, but

the German princes nevertheless proceeded to elect Rudolf of Swabia (15 March 1077). Gregory waited until the Lenten synod of 1080 to grant Rudolf full recognition as king; at that time he repeated the excommunication and deposition of Henry IV. However, Henry had reasserted himself after his absolution at Canossa; the new excommunication had little effect; and the king was victorious in a civil war. A royal synod at Brixen formally deposed Gregory (25 June 1080) and elected Wibert (Guibert, Guiberto) of Ravenna pope, or antipope; he was eventually enthroned in 1084 as Clement III. Henry's Italian campaign of 1081 was successfully concluded when he entered Rome on 21 March 1084; the gates of the city were opened to him by many members of the Roman clergy who condemned Gregory's inflexible attitude, and by the Roman populace. Clement III crowned Henry emperor on 31 March 1084. Gregory VII had fled to Castel Sant'Angelo. He was freed by his Norman vassal Robert Guiscard in May and accompanied Robert to Salerno; there, in exile, Gregory died on 25 May 1085. Pope Paul V canonized Gregory in 1606, and his feast day (25 May) was expanded from Salerno to the entire church in 1728.

Gregory VII was certainly one of the great medieval popes. The history of papal primacy—especially but not only with regard to secular power—cannot be imagined without him. Gregory attempted to translate his own religious experience, with its mystical core, into historical reality. Concepts that he grasped intuitively were legally and theoretically elaborated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, resulting in what is known as the papal monarchy.

See also Canossa; Henry IV, Emperor; Investiture Controversy; Nicholas II, Pope; Normans; Pataria; Robert Guiscard; Salerno; Stephen II, Pope

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Gregory IX, Pope

Pope Gregory IX (Ugolino, Ugo, Hugolino, count of Segni; c. 1170—1241, r. 19 March 1227-22 August 1241) was born in Anagni and studied in Paris and Bologna. In 1198, under his great-uncle Pope Innocent III, he became cardinal deacon of Saint Eustachius. In 1206, he was consecrated cardinal bishop of Ostia; he kept this position until he was

elected pope. The papacy of Gregory IX was marked by a struggle against heresy; by continual fights with Emperor Frederick II; and by strong support of religious orders, in particular the newly founded mendicant orders—the Dominicans and Franciscans.

Gregory attempted to defeat heresy on all fronts. He first turned against the Albigensians in southern France and signed a treaty with Raymond VII of Toulouse for the suppression of the Waldenses and the Cathars. To relieve the bishops of France and increase the efficiency of the battle against heresy, Gregory made the Inquisition an institution directly affiliated with the papacy. From then on, the Inquisition became centralized and operated under the pope's direct authority. This centralization of inquisitorial powers was soon extended to Italy, where great numbers of Waldenses and Cathars had fled. As part of the effort to eliminate heresy, the Militia of Jesus Christ was created and approved in 1234. Those Cathars who had moved from Languedoc across the Pyrenees into Spain were also persecuted and repressed. For this purpose, King James I of Aragon made the Inquisition an institution of his state.

During Gregory's reign, the relationship between the papacy and the empire was particularly tumultuous. In September 1227, shortly after his ascent to the papal see, Gregory excommunicated Frederick II, who had refused to commit himself to a promised crusade. Gregory renewed the excommunication in March 1228 and then put all of Frederick's places of residence under an interdict. After the emperor left on a crusade in June 1228, Gregory began a campaign against him in Italy and reappropriated all papal territories that had fallen under imperial rule. Frederick then came back from the Holy Land and reconquered part of them. A peace was reached in June 1230, according to which Frederick's excommunication was lifted and papal properties were restored to Gregory.

Throughout his papacy, Gregory was a strong supporter of religious orders. The Camaldolese, the Cistercians, and the followers of Joachim of Fiore profited immensely from papal support. Gregory canonized Saint Dominic and also made special use of the recently founded Dominicans in the struggle against heresy. As Cardinal Ugolino, before his election to the papacy, he had been a special protector of the Franciscans and a friend of Francis; as pope, he canonized Francis in

1228, after declaring the authenticity of Francis's stigmata. Their amicable relationship began at their first meeting in 1217. Ugoiino introduced Francis to Dominic and in 1221 was appointed official protector of the new Franciscan order by Pope Honorius III. In this position, Ugoiino urged all bishops and prelates, who suspected the new and radically poor religious of heresy, to oppose them no longer and grant them permission to preach. He helped Francis draft the Franciscan rule and was responsible for the rules of the Poor Clares and of the third order of Franciscans.

Gregory also had a fundamental role in organizing and incrementing canon law during his papacy. He established the systematic collection of canon laws and pontifical and conciliar constitutions that became known as the *Decretales*.

See also Cathars; Dominican Order; Franciscan Order; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Heresy and Religious Dissents Hon orius III, Pope, Innocent III, Pope; Inquisition in Italy; Joachim of Fiore; Law Canon: Waldensians

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Gregory X, Pope

Pope Gregory X (Teobaldo or Teldaldo Visconti; 1210-1276, r. 1271-1276) was born at Piacenza. He became canon of Lyon and archdeacon of Liege before becoming pope. Not yet ordained a priest, he was on a crusade at Acre with Edward I when he was elected to the papacy. Gregory X was more concerned than his predecessors with ending the interregnum in the empire. He encouraged the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg as king of the Romans in 1273. He also encouraged a union between the Greek and Latin churches, which was approved in 1274 at the council of Lyon. To further the negotiations, he forbade Charles of Anjou to pursue plans for an expedition to recover the Latin empire of Constantinople for Charles's son-in-law. Charles, facing opposition in northern Italy, had to obey, giving the Greek emperor Michael time to organize a defense and to encourage the northern Italian Ghibellines—including his ally, Genoa—to take a stance against Charles. Consequently, war erupted between Guelfs and Ghibellines in the north, threatening the Angevin lordship in Piedmont. Gregory, rather than supporting Charles, called in the emperor-elect Rudolf, who did little to pacify the area and nothing to help Charles. By 1276, Charles lost almost all of Piedmont.

Gregory was not entirely hostile to Charles—he urged Charles to buy Maria of Antioch's claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem—but he discouraged the Angevins' pretensions in northern Italy; and his main goal, peace within Christendom to facilitate a crusade in the Holy Land, ran counter to Charles's objectives.

See also **Charles I of Anjou**

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Gregory XI, Pope

Pope Gregory XI (Pierre-Roger de Beaufort, 1329-1378, r. 1370-1378) was a nephew of the Avignonese pope Clement VI. Gregory held church appointments from his early years; his uncle made him a cardinal in 1348, and he was sent for a legal education to the University of Perugia, where he studied under Pietro Baldo degli Ubaldi. Among the cardinals at Avignon, he became known as an expert on Italian affairs as well as on law. He accompanied Pope Urban V to Rome (1367-1370); this journey drew his attention more strongly to the burning issue of the return of the papacy to that city.

On 30 December 1370, at Avignon, he himself was chosen as pope. Despite his quiet disposition and his chronically poor health, he was a dedicated and energetic pope. He seems to have committed himself from the outset to the goal of returning the papacy to Rome, but he was deterred by numerous distractions, including a severe shortage of revenue. He worked to bring peace between the English and French monarchies, then engaged in the Hundred Years' War; and he did at

least establish his reputation as a mediator in their disputes, and in the conflicts of other princes as well. He dreamed of organizing Christendom to undertake a new crusade. He also worked to resolve conflicts among the states of Italy, and particularly to counter the ambitious designs of the Visconti family of Milan, against whom he went so far as to impose an interdict and preach a crusade. At the same time, he remained French in spirit and continued to fill the College of Cardinals mainly with French appointees.

His efforts to realize the return to Rome were frustrated by Florentine interests, which forced him to impose an interdict on Florence. He was, however, able to send a mercenary force under cardinal Robert of Geneva to restore order in the papal states. Prodded by remonstrances from Catherine of Siena during her residence in Avignon, he finally carried out his journey to Rome, arriving there in January 1377. In the ensuing months he was occupied with a large number of projects; the plans for a crusade against the Turks came to naught, but he undertook major efforts to reform the Hospitallers and the Dominicans. He became a tireless opponent of heresy, including the beliefs of Wycliffe in England. He faced continued diplomatic difficulties with Florence as well as with the Holy Roman emperor Charles IV. Gregory's reputation in Italy was further tarnished by the atrocities committed by Robert of Geneva at Cesena in February 1377. Worn out by mounting criticism and disillusioned by the strife around him, Gregory died on 27 March 1378. He is buried in the church of Santa Francesca Romana in Rome.

See also Avignonese Papacy

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Gregory of Monte Sacro

The Benedictine monk Gregory of Monte Sacro (c. 1190-c. 1245) is the foremost religious poet of the Norman-Swabian period in the kingdom of Sicily. He was of Apulian origin, and his original name may have been a diminutive of Peter. He entered the religious life early, under the patronage of the cardinal legate Gregory of Sancto Apostolo (papal governor designate of Sicily, 1199; d. 1202), taking the name of this "adoptive father." Gregory undertook advanced study in Rome and in Paris, traveled to England, and came to know several leading churchmen. By 1220, he had been elected abbot of Santissima Trinita on Monte Sacro in the Gargano peninsula, a monastery directly subordinate to the papacy. From here he oversaw dependent churches and priories in eleven dioceses and conducted special papal missions in the region. Here, too, he wrote much of his poetry, all of which is in Latin, and oversaw its copying in several manuscripts. Two of these manuscripts survive, one partly autograph.

Until relatively recently, Gregory was known chiefly for his *Perì tòn anthrópon theopíisis*, or *De hominum deificatione* ("On the Deification of Men"), a huge learned didactic poem of more than 13,000 hexameters. This encyclopedic theological work was completed sometime between 1228 and 1239 and was intended as an exhaustive and rationally arranged guide for the attainment of Christian salvation.

Additionally, modern editing has confirmed Gregory as the author or probable author of some 2,700 lines of fluent, often sonorous metrical and rhythmic poetry in less extensive compositions. Among these are *Cur deus homo*, an impressive semidramatic piece in 362 strophes; *Flores psalmodum*, a poem to Jesus based on the Psalter and consisting of a preface and 171 strophes; *Oratio*, an ecstatic prayer to Christ in 253 hexameters; a sizable body of liturgical writing; and smaller poems on a

variety of topics.

See also Latin Literature

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Grimaldi Family

The Grimaldi family was one of four outstanding noble families of medieval Genoa. Its origins go back to the twelfth century; and its head may be identified as Otto Canella, who in 1133 and c. 1135 served the commune as consul, the highest communal office at that time. His youngest son, Grimaldo, also held the consulship in 1162, 1170, and 1184. Grimaldo was, moreover, among the Genoese ambassadors at the court of Frederick I Barbarossa, at the royal court of Morocco, and at the Byzantine court of Constantinople. From this time onward Grimaldo was used as the family name (*Grimaldi filius*, "son of Grimaldo").

The Grimaldi acquired wealth in commerce and banking and played

a vital role in the making of policy and in the internal factionalism of medieval Genoa. The Grimaldi together with the Fieschi family formed the leading party of Guelfs in Genoa, loyal to the interests of the papacy. As a result of continuing conflicts with the Genoese Ghibellines led by the Doria and Spinola families, the Grimaldi and other Guelfs were forced to leave Genoa three times, in 1270, 1296, and 1335. During the second period of exile, Francesco Grimaldi (d. 1309), called Malizia, led a surprise attack in which the Guelfs conquered the "old castle" at the top of the rock of Monaco in January 1297. However, they had to withdraw again in 1301.

Monaco was an important port with a Genoese fortress (from 1215 on) in the extreme western part of the city's sphere of influence. With temporary interruptions during the first half of the fourteenth century, Monaco henceforth served the Grimaldi as a strategic base that became the main stronghold of the dynasty. In 1341, the Grimaldi acquired the fortress and the countryside from the Spinola family. From Monaco, the Grimaldi family operated its famous fleet either on behalf of the French crown or for piracy.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century there were already ten family lines, one of the most important being the Monacan line. In this line, Rainier I (1267-1314), a cousin of Francesco Malizia, fought at sea in the service of the French crown. Rainier I was named commander-in-chief of the French fleet after a successful battle against the Flemish fleet at Zierikzee in 1304. Back in Naples, he was appointed baron of San Demetrio in Calabria by King Robert of Anjou and received the important *signorie* of Cagnes and Antibes. His son Charles I (d. 1357) served as admiral under King Philip VI of Valois and was much involved in the military activities of the French crown in the Hundred Years' War. In the battle of Crécy (1346), Charles I and Ottone Doria led 6,000 arbalesters. Between 1370 and 1400, fourteen members of the Grimaldi family served France as commanders of arbalesters or as admirals, among them Rainier II (d. 1407), son of Charles I. After being expelled from Monaco again in 1357, the Grimaldi dynasty was not able to reenter it until 1419, under John I (1382–1454) and his wife Pomellina Fregoso. John's will has been important for the continuity of the family's dominion in Monaco until the present day: in the absence of a male successor, a female Grimaldi can inherit only if her husband

and their children exclusively assume the name and arms of Grimaldi.



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See also Angevin Dynasty; Fieschi Family; Genoa; Sptnola Family

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Grimoald of Benevento, King

Grimoald I (d. 671), the son of Gisulf II of Friuli, was duke of Benevento from 647 and king of the Lombards from 662 to 671. Grimoald and Rothari are among the very few rulers of the Lombards who were almost certainly Arian Christians.

Grimoald's reign was somewhat unusual in that Benevento was normally not a cohesive part of the Lombard state, and most dukes of Benevento were content to act as virtually sovereign rulers in their own duchy. However, the separation of Benevento continued even during the reign of Grimoald, who seems to have left his son Romoald to rule Benevento in his absence. Grimoald's reign was spent in dealing with renewed imperial threats to the Lombard boundaries and in quelling internal disorders. However, he also found time to issue nine laws to supplement the *Edict* issued by Rothari in 643.

After his death, Grimoald was succeeded very briefly by a young son, Garibald, who was almost immediately overthrown by Perctarit.

See also **Benevento; Lombards**

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Grottaferrata

Located southeast of Rome along the ancient Via Latina, the monastery of Grottaferrata sits in a valley between the Alban and Tusculum hills. In the seventh century B.C., the area was inhabited by the Etruscans; some centuries later, many Roman villas were built in the hills, among which was Cicero's famous Tusculanum. The site of the monastery may have belonged to the Roman Acilii family, and it was renowned well into the late Middle Ages for its fresh clear water from the Giulia River. Very little is known about the history of the area during the medieval period until the eleventh century; but inscribed early Christian gravestones from the third and fourth centuries indicate that Grottaferrata was already a Christian burial site during the period of persecutions and at the time of the "peace of the church" under Constantine (312-314).

Grottaferrata began its rise to a major monastic site in the early eleventh century, when the Basilian order of the Greek rite established a house there following the tradition of its founder, Saint Basil (c. 330-379), who brought the Greek language to Italy in the early Middle Ages. Nilus (Nicolas Malana da Rossano) the Younger and his disciple Bartholomew da Rossano (who were both born in Rossano in Calabria) founded the monastery in 1004. As legend has it, Nilus, Bartholomew, and their companions were traveling from their monastic house at Vallerucio (near Cassino) to Rome to seek the aid of the papacy against the German emperor Otto III. On their return to Rossano, they were caught in a terrible storm and sought refuge in a grotto, where the Virgin appeared to them, gave them a golden apple, and exhorted them to build a monastery on the spot. The abbey was constructed on the site of an ancient Roman villa; and the name Grottaferrata may be derived from *crypta*, *crupta ferrea* and thus may refer to two small rooms with iron grille windows that comprised a burial chamber of the villa and became a Christian oratory in the fifth century. Alternatively, it may be

derived from *cryptoporticus*, a term referring to a hidden passageway in the villa.

When Otto III died in 1002, Gregory I, count of Tusculum, donated the land to Nilus and his companions for a new monastery. Nilus died two years later, on 26 September 1004, and the abbey church was built by his successors, Bartholomew and Cyril. It was consecrated on 17 December 1024 and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary by Pope John XIX (another member of the Tusculum family). In the fifteenth century, it was fortified by Giuliano Sangallo. The monastery is now surrounded by massive walls and turrets but still retains some of its early Byzantine structures

In spite of its connection to Greece, the community maintained strong ties with Rome. Initially, Grottaferrata had direct support from the papacy, and in the first two-thirds of the twelfth century it received many donations. During the Middle Ages the monastery was protected by a (now dilapidated) tenth-century castle called the Borghetto, owned first by the counts of Tusculum and later, in the thirteenth century, by the Roman Savelli family. In later years the monastery came under the protection of subsequent popes, which was a mixed blessing. In the eleventh century, Robert Guiscard, duke of Puglia (Apulia), invaded the town that had grown up around the monastery and massacred its citizens. In the late twelfth century, during a conflict between the counts of Tusculum and the Romans, the town of Tusculum was destroyed; the monks fled to the monastery at Subiaco and did not return for a number of years. In 1241, while on an expedition to lay siege to Rome, Frederick II resided in the monastery; by his presence there, he wished to indicate his symbolic occupation of papal territory. This type of occupation of the monastic complex by foreign forces recurred during the struggles between the pope and the antipope, the Caetani family, and Ladislao (king of Naples); and the complex was occupied again, by Niccolò da Fortebraccia, during the struggle of Martin V to retake Rome after the end of the Great Schism (Council of Constance, 1417).

Despite these incursions, Grottaferrata was the center of Greek learning in Italy during the Middle Ages; and although it eventually came under latinizing influences, it always maintained a strongly Greek ambience, as may be seen in its large production of fine Greek

manuscripts. The complex suffered depredations during the Napoleonic invasions, but an eleventh-century baptismal font and remnants of Cosmatesque floor, wall, and other decorations have survived.

The chapel of Saint Nilus and other parts of the abbey church, including its murals and mosaics, were restored relatively recently. Both the murals and the mosaics depend considerably on earlier Byzantine traditions; most notably, they reflect the narthex porch mosaics of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. In the church vestibule (portico), eleventh-century columns and ancient capitals support a horizontal marble architrave in the Byzantine style. The fine marble cornice around the main entrance portal (the *Porta Aurea*) is decorated with birds and other animals accompanied by inscriptions in Greek. Mosaics dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries were installed in the tympanum over the portal and repeat the *deists* formula of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, but they reflect more directly the styles of the cathedrals in Cefalii and Monreale: Christ is enthroned between the Madonna and John the Baptist, with the smaller figure of Saint Bartholomew of Rossano included as a devotee suppliant for the Greek monks. A thirteenth-century mosaic depicting the disciples at Pentecost, six seated on each side of the empty throne, also survives on the triumphal arch of the church choir; and above this tessellated mosaic frieze is a fresco of Christ seated on the lap of God the father, with light radiating from him to the apostles in the mosaic below. Other frescoes dating from c. 1272 that once decorated the nave of the church have been detached and removed to the monastery museum. Murals illustrating the passion of Christ have been compared to the frescoes in the cathedral of Anagni. The museum also contains medieval sculptures, tapestries, and liturgical vestments. The bell tower dates from the thirteenth century; its trifurcated windows and polychrome tiles reflect the tastes of the Italian Romanesque. Many of the manuscripts that were not destroyed during the Napoleonic invasion have been moved to the Vatican library. These works and the surviving frescoes indicate that this location was a major artistic site.

See also **Greek Language and Literature, Nilus of Rossano**

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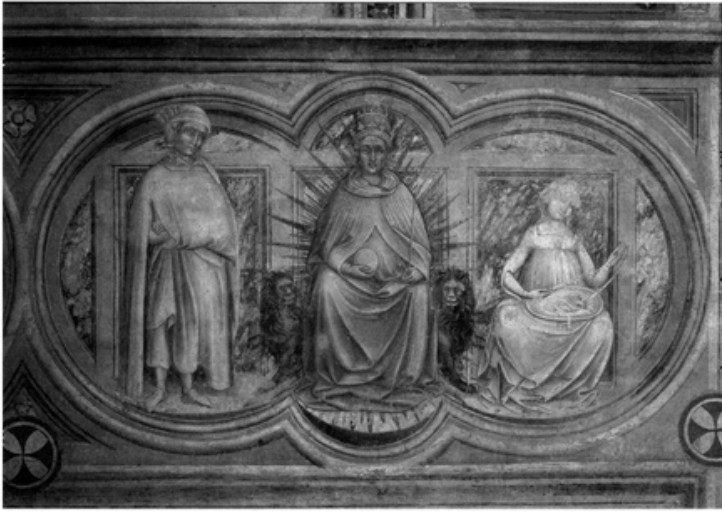
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Guariento Di Arpo

Guariento di Arpo (fourteenth century), the first important painter of his school, was already a master in July 1338, when he is first mentioned in a Paduan archival document. A crucifix originally in the church of San Francesco at Bassano (now in the civic museum there) is his only signed work; it is generally dated early. An important polyptych with the Coronation of the Virgin as its central subject and scenes of the early life of the Virgin and the story of Christ (formerly owned by the Czernin counts of Vienna and now in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, California) may be securely attributed to Guariento; the date 1344 is inscribed. From the inscription and from a later document it may be deduced that the altarpiece was painted for the church of San Martino at Piove di Sacco near Padua. Not strictly documented, but supported by a strong local tradition, is the decoration of the chapel in the palace of the Carrara lords of Padua, probably painted c. 1350-1355. Old Testament frescoes survive in this room (now the main hall of the Accademia). Some of the ceiling panels, mostly depicting an angelic hierarchy, have been dispersed (to the civic museum and elsewhere); others have disappeared. In early sources, Guariento is associated with the *Sala di Tebe* (Room of Thebes) and the *Sala virorum illustrium* (Room of Famous Men) in the Carrara Palace. The Room of Thebes, painted c. 1345-1347 (and now lost), illustrated the *Thebaid* by the Roman poet Statius; the Room of Famous Men is better attributed to Altichiero and Avanzo. Early tradition ascribes to Guariento the decoration of the sepulchral chapel of the Carrara in the church of Sant'Agostino. A fragmentary detached fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin, now in the Eremitani church, once adorned the tomb of Jacopo da Carrara and was done c. 1351, the year the

Venetian sculptor Andriolo de Santi signed a contract to carve the tomb. Two other fresco fragments in the Eremitani once also belonged to the Carrara tombs. One is apparently a portrait of Jacopo and the other a portrait of Ubertino (d. 1345). In the choir of the Eremitani are the remnants of a great fresco cycle (half destroyed during World War II) depicting the Last Judgment; the legends of saints Augustine, Philip, and James the Less; and other subjects, including the pagan star gods and the ages of man. These too are undocumented, but a strong local tradition supports their attribution to Guariento; they were probably painted in the 1360s. The early sources also agree that Guariento painted the imposing fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Hall of the Great Council of the Ducal Palace in Venice. (It has been removed to another room and is in poor condition.) An inscription stated that it was done for Marco Cornaro, doge from 1365 to 1368. Documents prove that Guariento was in Venice in March 1366 and back in Padua in December 1367. From July 1338 to this latter date, Guariento's name appears at varying intervals in Paduan archival documents. December 1367 is the last time he is mentioned as alive; in an instrument of September 1370 he is described as deceased.

Several works may be attributed to Guariento on the basis of style alone. Among the most important of these are three panels of the enthroned Madonna and Child (one in the Courtauld Institute in London; another in the Weitner Collection in London; and the third, which may be part of an altarpiece from the Carrara Palace chapel, in Berlin). All three were probably painted c. 1345-1355.



Guariento di Arpo (fl. 1338, d. 1367 or 1370), *Allegory of the Sun*. Fresco. Chiesa degli Eremitani, Padua. Photo: © Almari/Art Resource, N.Y.

The Norton Simon polyptych and other early works by Guariento show the influence of Giotto's decorations in the Arena Chapel and of the school of Rimini, including the frescoes in Padua attributed to Giuliano and Pietro da Rimini. Guariento's work is more Gothic, but the Gothic style was not uncommon in painting and sculpture in the Veneto at the time. It was a principal component of the art of Paolo Veneziano, with which Guariento was familiar. Guariento must have studied the work of the great Sienese painters of the first half of the *Trecento*, particularly the Lorenzetti; and there is evidence that he knew of Giotto's pupils in Florence, who were themselves aware of the Sienese. Guariento's frescoes, invariably crowded with animated, realistic figures and characterized by deep, elaborate architectural settings, influenced later painters active in Padua, among them Altichiero and Giusto de' Menabuoi. These two artists, with their better understanding of the achievements of Giotto, had a more lasting impact than Guariento on late fourteenth-century Paduan art. However, such works by Guariento as the Coronation of the Virgin in the Ducal Palace and his enthroned Madonnas inspired Venetian painting until at least the fourth decade of the fifteenth century and also inspired the international Gothic style.

See also Altichiero da Zevio; Giusto de Menabuoi; Padua; Rimini, School of; Scrovegni Family Chapel; Veneziano, Paolo

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Gubbio

Gubbio (Iguvium, Eugubium, Agobbio), an ancient Etruscan and Roman town in the region of Umbria, is perhaps most famous for seven bronze tablets of Etruscan origin, the *tavole Eugubine*. They were discovered in 1444 by Paolo di Gregorio, who sold them to the commune in 1456. These tablets provide information on the early rites of Etruscan religion and are most important as testimony to the ancient language of Umbria. The panels are preserved in the civic museum in the Palazzo dei Consoli.

Although it was not located on a major Roman trade route, Gubbio was designated a *municipium* in 90 B.C. Its local industries, though prosperous, have always been small: ceramics, metalwork, agricultural products, wool, and silk. Among the vestiges of its Roman past is a large and well-preserved theater from the first century B.C. Much of the ancient character of Gubbio is preserved by the finely cut stone of which most of the houses are made, reflecting building traditions that date from the Etruscan era. The streets of the medieval town are arranged in parallel rows at different levels along the hillside.

Very little is known about Gubbio's history in the early medieval period. Charlemagne reportedly stopped here after his coronation in Rome in 800. The most famous resident in the early period was Saint Ubaldo, bishop of Gubbio from c. 1126 (or 1129) until his death in 1160. Among Ubaldo's many good works was his rescue of Gubbio from destruction by Frederick I Barbarossa. Ubaldo was canonized by Pope Innocent III in 1192, and two years later his remains were translated to a basilica erected in his honor high above the city on Monte Ingino (elevation 2,500 feet, about 750 meters).

Much of Gubbio's political life was determined by the struggle between the papacy and the empire. In 1239, Frederick II entered Urribria, where factions were generally divided between the nobility and the town citizens and merchants. As in other cities, this factionalism drove a wedge between the feudal aristocracy and the thriving commercial town. After Frederick II died in 1250, the separation between the town and the surrounding castles was a critical aspect of the life of the city and remained so for the next hundred years. Initially, the feudal aristocracy won out, taking the small towns of Nocera, Fossato, Sigillo, and Sassoferrato for Perugia; but the lands and castles taken from Gubbio were eventually restored, thanks to intervention by the papacy. Gubbio then became a papal town under the control of a bishop. During the medieval period the city was divided into four parts, with each quarter placed under a major ecclesiastical institution: Sant' Andrea, San Giovanni, San Giuliano, and San Pietro.

Gubbio, like many other cities, had a *capitano del popolo* (captain of the people), who was described as the *defensor comunis e populi civitatis eugubii*. One of the leading families in Gubbio, the Gabrielli, ascended to power in 1350, when Giovanni Gabrielli became lord of the city. He ceded power to Cardinal Albornoz in 1354 after the cardinal successfully laid siege to Gubbio and captured it once again for the papacy. In 1376, Gubbio succeeded in casting off rule by papal legates and became a free commune. In 1381, the bishop, Gabriele Gabrielli, assumed the position of lord of the city, but once again a popular uprising returned it to more democratic governance. The Gabrielli family, however, continued to war with the city, which sought and received protection from Antonio da Montefeltro of Urbino in 1384.

Gubbio remained under the control of Urbino for almost 250 years, until 1631, when it returned to papal authority.

Among the earliest ecclesiastical edifices is the church of San Pietro, built c. 1000, reconstructed in the Gothic style in the thirteenth century, and subsequently heavily restored. Another early foundation is the church of Sant' Andrea (eleventh century), to which the Benedictine monastery of San Marziale was given in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. A number of churches were built in the Gothic style as an expression of the political life of the city in its alliance with the papacy. The fourteenth-century church of Santa Maria Nuova reflects the Cistercian style first introduced into Italy at Fossanova, and this style is also found in the church of Sant' Agostino (late thirteenth century). The church of San Francesco was built by Fra Bevi-gnate of Perugia (1259-1292) with three polygonal apses in the Romanesque tradition, but its interior is defined by a conservative Gothic style. The *duomo* (early fourteenth century) is in the Gothic style and resembles other churches in Umbria: it has single wide nave, and above the entrance portal is a large rose-wheel window surrounded by symbols of the evangelists and the mystical lamb.

Municipal buildings such as the Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo and Palazzo del Bargello date from the thirteenth century. Gubbio produced its own architects, who worked in the Romanesque style; one of these, Giovanni da Gubbio, built the cathedral church of Assisi (San Rufino, 1140) some ninety years before the more famous church of San Francesco was begun there. Another native of Gubbio, Matteo di Giovanello, called Gattapone, built a number of important fortress-palaces, such as the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna, the fortress in Spoleto, and the citadel at Porta Sole in Perugia. Gattapone and Angelo da Orvieto played major roles in the completion of the Palazzo dei Consoli in Gubbio (1332–1337), which with its characteristic battlements and bell tower is not unlike the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. The Palazzo dei Consoli is generally considered one of the finest medieval public palaces in Italy.



Palazzo dei Consoli, Gubbio. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The earliest known painter from Gubbio is Guido Palmerucci (c. 1280-1349; documented 1315-1349), who was influenced by Sienese art and whose work is a liberal interpretation of the style of the Lorenzetti brothers. Another native of Gubbio, Ode-risi (late thirteenth century), was a painter of miniatures in manuscripts. He was praised by Dante in Canto 11 of *Purgatorio* for his artistic excellence, but there is very little biographical information about him and few of his works have survived. An anonymous artist whose style links him to Avignon painted a fresco of John the Baptist in Gubbio dating from the mid-

thirteenth century.



Saint Francis and the Wolf, Gubbio. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Gubbio became famous during the Middle Ages for the story of Saint Francis and the wolf of Gubbio, found in the anonymous *Fioretti* (*Little Flowers*). According to the legend, Gubbio and its citizens were menaced by a large, voracious wolf that ate not only wild animals but any hapless humans it might come across. At one point, the citizens of

Gubbio armed themselves as if for war and sought out the wolf, but they succeeded only in losing more citizens to its insatiable appetite. Saint Francis, on a visit to the town, decided to go and meet the wolf despite the warnings of the townspeople. Some of them accompanied him when he set forth, but they fled as he approached the wolf's lair. When he encountered the wolf, Francis made the sign of the cross and spoke to it, commanding it to do no harm to him and no more harm to the citizens of Gubbio, and asking for some form of acknowledgment; the wolf thereupon bowed its head to the saint. Francis then made a pact with the wolf whereby if the citizens fed the wolf it would neither threaten nor attack them. Francis returned to the town—according to tradition, to the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria—accompanied by the wolf, gave a sermon beseeching the citizens to accept the agreement, and again asked the wolf to acknowledge its understanding; the wolf then raised its paw to the saint. For the remaining two years of the wolf's life, the citizens put out food for the animal, and it attacked no one; no dogs even barked at it. This typical medieval story about the conflict between rational and irrational creatures (in this case humans and the wolf) may also be interpreted as an allegory about sin. Indeed, Francis does interpret it that way in his sermon; he reminds the citizens of Gubbio that God permits such calamities when people act sinfully, and he urges his listeners to "free themselves from the wolf," i.e., from their own appetites.

See also Assisi; Francis of Assisi; Perugia

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Guelfs

Before the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the Guelfs were members of the ruling elite who tended to advance their own local political and economic interests in the communes by aligning themselves with the papacy in its struggle against the emperor for supremacy in Italy. Guelfs also traditionally desired autonomy for their cities, in the sense of freedom from imperial interference. Their opponents, the Ghibellines, tended to associate themselves with the cause of the German emperor. The Guelfs did not form a coherent or unified party, however, and they defy any simple definition, identification, or categorization. They were primarily an informal amalgam of factions and allegiances (many of which predated the thirteenth century) that rallied around the papal banner to protect or acquire access to local political and economic benefits. The principal goals of these struggles included political offices and economic influence within the communes. Following the eclipse of the imperial cause in the mid-thirteenth century, "Guelf" became increasingly synonymous with support for an economic and political alliance after 1268 between the papacy, the Angevin rulers in southern Italy, and Florence.

The ideological roots of the conflict between the Guelfs and Ghibellines began in Germany during a disputed imperial election in 1198. The disputants were Philip of Swabia, who was a member of the

Hohenstaufen family and the brother of the recently deceased Henry VI (d. 1197); and Otto of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion (d. 1195). Henry the Lion had been the Welf duke of Saxony and Bavaria, a bitter opponent of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152-1190). Those who supported Otto and the Welf faction generally wanted the German regional nobility to be more independent of the emperor. Those who supported Philip, the standard-bearer of the Hohenstaufen faction, tended to advocate more centralized control by the emperor over the regional princes. For the nobility in Italy, support for the Hohenstaufen cause in the early thirteenth century meant advocacy of strong centralized imperial rule in northern Italy and incorporation of the communes into a single state under the rule of the emperor. After all, in the mid-twelfth century the Hohenstaufen emperor, Frederick I, had attempted, though unsuccessfully, to destroy the independence of the prosperous Lombard communes. Support for the Welf claimant, on the other hand, generally indicated a desire to maintain communal autonomy and resist imperial pressures.

By the end of the twelfth century, the aristocratic communes of Italy were already profoundly divided by factionalism and conflict. Though the history of these divisions is obscured by myth and lack of documentation, they appear to have emerged out of feuds and disputes between rival noble factions for influence and power in the early aristocratic communes. In the 1230s and 1240s, when Frederick II Hohenstaufen invaded northern Italy and attempted to reimpose direct imperial control over the entire peninsula, the papacy strongly opposed him. Indeed, papal policy basically attempted to separate Sicily—Frederick's principal power base—from the rest of his empire.

The outbreak of this conflict between the empire and the papacy for hegemony in Italy in the first third of the thirteenth century forced the already divided factions within the communes to choose sides. The split between Guelfs and Ghibellines began among these noble factions. Those who took the side of the papacy and resisted direct imperial rule came to be called Guelfs, an Italianization of the name Welf. Those who supported the imperial cause came to be called Ghibellines, an Italian corruption of Waiblingen, the name of a Hohenstaufen castle in Swabia. The earliest evidence of the terms Guelf and Ghibelline in Italy dates from Florence during the reign (1215–1250) of Emperor Frederick II.

There are references to "captains of the Guelf party" (*parte Guelfa*) in the 1240s. From Florence, the terms Guelf and Ghibelline apparently spread first to Lombardy and then throughout the rest of the Italian peninsula, probably diffused by exiles of both factions who settled in other communes.

Whereas the Guelfs called themselves the *pars ecclesiae* (party of the church), the Ghibellines referred to themselves as the *pars imperii* (party of the empire). Each side believed that its local interests would be best served through an alliance with one or the other side in the dispute between the papacy and the empire. Before 1266, Guelf associations or affiliations within the communes tended to be informal, with no coherent hierarchical organization. At this time, the Guelf and Ghibelline factions were almost exclusively composed of nobles who tended to be members of the knighted aristocracy and of the traditional consular families. In Florence, for example, dominant Guelf houses included the Visdomini, the Adimari, and the Donati. The Ghibellines tended to be the traditional aristocratic lineages with long-standing economic and political ties to the emperor. Many Ghibellines were vassals of the emperor or descendants of vassals who had received fiefs from him. They believed that an alliance with the emperor was the best means of protecting their economic and political interests (especially in the countryside) from communal encroachment. Many of the Ghibelline houses with substantial rural holdings (like the Florentine Pazzi del Val-d'arno) flourished most when communal governments were weakest.

In the mid-thirteenth century, certain Guelf aristocrats aligned themselves increasingly with the *popolo*, an association of prosperous, upwardly mobile, but nonnoble residents who demanded more political equity and representation in the affairs of the commune. Guelfs and the *popolo* had a common interest in opposing imperial interference with the internal affairs of the communes and in preserving communal independence. During the *primo popolo* (1250–1260) in Florence, for example, certain segments of the Guelf aristocracy increasingly found common ground with the *popolo*. The Ghibellines' defeat of the Florentine *popolo* at Montaperti in 1260 began a six-year period of Ghibelline control of the commune, further encouraging the fusion of the Guelfs and the *popolo*. The Guelfs expelled the Ghibellines in 1266,

and the party organization of the Guelfs (*parte Guelfa*) effectively dominated the Florentine government from 1267 to 1280. After 1267, the dominant Guelfs became more and more an amalgam of well-to-do *popolani* (particularly leaders of the craft guilds) with members of the traditional aristocracy, enriched by rental and commercial income.

In Bologna there was a similar pattern of development. There, as in Florence, one of two traditional factions of the nobility gradually sided with political organizations associated with the *popolo*. Arezzo had two Guelf parties by 1249. An alliance between the *popolo* and the Guelfs at Siena is attested to by the constitutional reform of 1271, a decade after such a bond first appeared in Florence. This political alliance between the Guelfs and the principal merchants of the commune helped sustain a political system in Siena that lasted until the mid-fourteenth century. For most of the remainder of the thirteenth century in Tuscany, the principal Guelf communes (Florence and Lucca) were often in conflict with the Ghibelline regimes in Pisa and Arezzo for commercial, military, and political advantages in the region.

With the collapse of an effective imperial challenge to communal autonomy in Italy after the death of Frederick II (1250) and the defeat of Manfred at Benevento in 1266 and of Conradin in 1268, the Guelfs lost more and more of their original identity as an anti-imperial tradition advocating communal autonomy. After 1268, the Guelf cause became identified primarily with protecting and promoting the political and economic alliance uniting Florence, the Angevin regime in southern Italy, and the papacy. The papacy had petitioned Charles of Anjou, brother of King Louis IX of France, to oppose the imperial claimant Manfred in southern Italy in 1266. Charles ultimately became the ruler of Naples and principal protector of papal interests in Italy. Florentine bankers had strong economic ties with both parties. They helped finance the Angevin conquest of southern Italy, and they became the bankers of the popes. At the same time Florence became increasingly dependent on grain imported from southern Italy to feed its population; thus its fate was tied to preservation of the status quo in southern Italy and to protection of the interests of the papacy. Increasingly, in Tuscany, Ghibellinism therefore meant opposition to Florentine hegemony. Florentine Ghibelline exiles, whose confiscated property after 1266 helped stabilize the Guelf regime, made common cause with

the imperial vicar living in San Miniato al Tedesco and the Ghibelline communes of Pisa and Arezzo. Between 1288 and 1292, Florence fought a series of wars with Pisa and Arezzo, the two principal Ghibelline powers in Tuscany. The Florentines' defeat of Arezzo at the battle of Campaldino in 1289 put an end to a major Ghibelline challenge. Between 1295 and 1300, the Florentine Guelfs themselves split into rival factions, the Blacks and the Whites. The Blacks, supported by Pope Boniface VIII, took control of the city and managed to expel the Whites in 1302. Prominent among those expelled was Dante Alighieri. The Whites supported the Ghibelline exiles and called for a restoration of imperial authority in Italy. Guelf associations in Pistoia and Lucca also split into rival Black and White factions at the same time.

After 1268, Guelf organizations spread throughout Lombardy with the support of the papacy and Angevins. Many prominent cities in the north (Modena, Ferrara, Parma, and Bologna) were Guelf. In Lombardy, as in Tuscany, the conflicts between rival communes during the second half of the thirteenth century increasingly transcended the traditional allegiances—imperial versus papal. For example, when Obizzo II d'Este of Ferrara supported Ghibelline Verona against other Guelf communes in 1289, he effectively scrambled the old alignments of the Guelfs and Ghibellines. In the succeeding decades, the traditional allegiances with pope or emperor were less and less important to the conflicts between Lombard communes.

By the early decades of the fourteenth century, therefore, the Guelfs had lost most of the original ideological orientation that had characterized them in the thirteenth century. However, the presence of Henry VII (r. 1308–1313) in Italy revived the traditional concepts of Guelf and Ghibelline and reignited old conflicts. Henry's decision to come to Italy to be crowned emperor in 1310 forced political factions within the communes to choose sides again. Florence, alarmed at the threat posed by Henry's presence in Italy and by the favoritism he showed to Ghibelline exiles in the north, continued to be the chief defender of the Guelf network of alliances. Henry died in 1313, a year after he had been crowned emperor and had laid siege to Florence. Several years later, Ghibellines championed the cause of Lewis of Bavaria in Italy. However, this imperial revival was short-lived.

In the fourteenth century, intellectuals like Bartolus of Sassoferrato

and the Lombard Pietro Azarii came to acknowledge that the rivalry between pope and emperor was not at the heart of the conflict between the Guelfs and Ghibellines. Indeed, Italian writers increasingly recognized, during the second half of the fourteenth century, that the struggle was actually between groups contending for local political and economic advantages. "Guelf" had become synonymous with support for the alliance between the Angevin court in Naples (and its connections with the French royal house), the papacy, and the network of Guelf communes led by Florence.

The axis constituted by the papacy, the Angevins, and Florence came under increasingly severe strains during the remainder of the fourteenth century. In Lombardy' during the first third of the fourteenth century, the split between the papacy and the Estensi over Ferrara continued to divide the nominally Guelf communes of the region. Furthermore, the Florentines, beset by economic problems, a growing deficit, and other internal crises, no longer saw themselves as leaders of the Guelf alliance in Italy. In Naples, the death of Robert of Anjou in 1343 was followed by a century of political conflict and turmoil. Also, the papacy was in residence at Avignon for most of the century, far from its former Guelf allies. Its growing estrangement from Florence eventually led to war in 1378 (the "war of eight saints"). By the end of the fourteenth century, in several cities, "Guelf" had effectively become a convenient label that simply signified fidelity to a status quo rooted in a past political tradition.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Arezzo; Bartolus of Sassoferrato; Campaldino, Battle of; Charles I of Anjou; Donati Family; Florence; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Ghibelline; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Lewis of Bavaria; Lucca; Montaperti, Battle of; Papacy; Pazzi Family; Pisa; Pistoia; Popolo; Robert of Anjou; Siena; Urban Development

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Guglielmo Da Pisa, Fra

Fra Guglielmo (fl. 1260s-early 1300s) was a Pisan sculptor who, according to early sources, collaborated with Nicola Pisano and others on Saint Domenic's tomb for San Domenico in Bologna in 1267. Guglielmo, who was deeply influenced by the early classicizing style of Nicola Pisano, became a successful independent sculptor, active in Pistoia and Pisa. In the 1290s, he is recorded in connection with Pisa's principal Dominican convent, Santa Caterina, to which he was also attached as a lay brother. Today he is best remembered for an impressive pulpit in San Giovanni Fuorcivitas in Pistoia, which once bore the name Guglielmo and the date 1270. He may have been involved in the sculptural decoration of the facade of San Michele in Borgo in Pisa, since an inscription (now lost) referred to a Guig-lielmus and the carvings themselves show affinities with the pulpit in Pistoia. Other projects in Pisa with which he is associated are the design of the

facade of Santa Caterina and Cimabue's apse mosaic in the *duomo*, for which a certain Frater Guiglielmus delivered an amount of tesserae in 1301.

Given the paucity of securely identifiable surviving work by Fra Guglielmo, the pulpit in Pistoia provides valuable insights into his artistic career. It is rectangular in plan and has two tiers of reliefs depicting episodes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin. This design—perhaps in accordance with the patron's wishes—follows the general configuration of Guido da Como's earlier pulpit in the nearby Pistoiese church of San Bartolomeo in Pantano (1250). Another possible model, however, might have been Guido's pulpit for the *duomo* of Pistoia that was dismantled in the 1500s. Fra Guglielmo's carving is accomplished and assured in its degree of expressive undercutting, which endows the figures with a powerful plasticity that is in tune with the antique-inspired traditions of Tuscan Romanesque and Nicola Pisano's art. Allied to the animated effects of chiaroscuro brought about through the varied relief are rich effects of color and pattern, since the narrative backgrounds glisten with polychromatic glazes.

See also Pisano, Giovanni; Pisano, Nicola; Pistoia

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Guido D'arezzo

Guido d'Arezzo (Guido Aretinus; c. 991 — 1050) was an important Italian music theorist. The circumstances Guido describes in the prefaces to his treatises place his activity in Arezzo, Pomposa, and Rome c. 1025-1032. Four treatises can be attributed to him: *Micrologus* (between 1023 and 1032, perhaps 1025/1026); *Prologus in antiphonarium* (later than *Micrologus*); *Regule rhythmicæ* (later than *Micrologus*); and *Epistola de ignoto cantu* (later than *Prologus* and *Regulae rhythmicæ*).

In *Micrologus*, Guido surveyed, principally, the music theory that would be of use to a practicing musician. He described a scale extending from G at the bottom of the modern bass-clef staff to C in the third space of the treble, including all natural notes plus B-flat below middle C, and presented them in a tuning with all perfect fifths pure. With the addition of B-flat above middle C and of the high D and E, this scale and this tuning (the latter since called Pythagorean) became the standard of the Middle Ages. Guido enumerated and described the six intervals most typically used in plainchant and early medieval polyphony (major and minor seconds and thirds, perfect fourths and fifths). He presented the basics of the theory of melodic modes, first explaining the classification of four modal types on the basis of the location of a central tone within the context of a series of major and minor seconds above and below that central tone, and then describing the division of each into a pair differentiated by relatively high or low register. Similar classifications and differentiations persisted in theories of mode throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. He described a procedure for composing a melody by deriving its pitches from the

vowels of the text to be sung. He described the traditional practice of polyphonic composition with parallel fourths and fifths as "harsh" (*durus*) and appended a set of rudimentary counterpoint rules for using other intervals, particularly at the ends of phrases, which produce a result he characterized as "soft" (*mollis*). To all this he added a speculative chapter recounting how Pythagoras discovered the nature of musical harmony by studying the weights of hammers striking an anvil; this story, in one version or another, has since been recounted in dozens of music treatises. *Micrologus* became one of the most widely copied music treatises of the Middle Ages (almost eighty manuscript sources survive), and one of the most influential.

Two of Guido's innovations, however, must be reckoned even more influential than anything he described in *Micrologus*. He seems to have been the first (in *Prologus*) to describe the use of the staff in music notation: the placement, that is, of notes on or between any of a set of parallel lines, with the positions of C's and F's indicated first by the placement of these letters in the appropriate positions at the beginning of the staff (like modern clef signs); and second by the use of the colors yellow and red, respectively, to highlight the positions of the two letters (much as the C and F strings of a harp are colored today). He also seems to have been the first (in *Epistola*) to name the ascending degrees of the C scale *ut re mi fa sol la*, syllables derived from the openings of lines of the hymn *Ut queant laxis/Resonare fibris*...

In *Regulae rhythmicae* Guido reworked in poetic form material he had covered for the most part in *Micrologus*; he also included one example in staff notation.

Writers of a much later date transposed the series *ut re mi fa sol la* to pitches other than C and constructed an interlocking array of such series spanning the entire musical gamut. Although the "Guidonian hand"—a representation of the left hand with the notes of the musical gamut depicted on the various joints of the fingers—was during the Middle Ages and later often attributed to Guido of Arezzo, it is documented only from the twelfth century.

See also **Arezzo**

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Guido Da Como

The northern Italian sculptor Guido da Como (Guido di Bonagiunta Bigarelli; fl. c. 1238, d. 1257) was born in Aragno, near Lugano, into a family of stonemasons. His activity as a marble carver is recorded in northwestern Tuscany in the important towns of Pisa, Lucca, and Pistoia; but since Guido was a common name among the many marble cutters from Como based in Tuscany, the reference to a Guidus de Como in Barga in 1238 might be to another craftsman.

The earliest secure reference to Guido dates from November 1244, when he was in Lucca and was perhaps involved in work for the cathedral, where a number of other stoneworkers from Como are

recorded. In 1246, he signed the octagonal baptismal font that is still placed at the heart of the baptistry in Pisa. Its polygonal form, which is in harmony with the centralized plan of the building, probably determined Nicola Pisano's choice of a polygonal pulpit for this same space in 1260. Guido's font is characterised by crisply defined floral and figural motifs set within a field of polychromatic geometric intarsia designs. The vigorous relief and precise carving of the rich decorative details of this font were almost certainly influenced by late antique models, which abounded in Pisa.

In 1250, Guido signed and dated the pulpit in San Bartolomeo in Pantano, Pistoia; this is his only other securely identifiable surviving work. Following the tradition of Guglielmo's pulpit for the cathedral in Pisa (now in Cagliari cathedral; 1159— 1162), Guido's pulpit is rectangular and has two tiers of reliefs. Classicizing in style, the carved New Testament narratives manifest a compact solidity of form with sharply incised details that are especially evident in the carefully delineated drapery forms.

Other works in Pistoia, such as an *Angel* (in San Giuseppe) and a series of richly decorated marble panels (in Sant' Andrea), have been associated with Guido on the basis of stylistic affinities with the surviving signed works. He is last mentioned in 1257 in Lucca, where his half-brother Guidobono, a stonecutter, was also residing.

See also **Lucca; Pisa; Pisano, Nicola**

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Guido Da Montefeltro

Guido (c. 1220-September 1298) was a successful Ghibelline leader, known as the shrewdest and most talented mercenary captain of his time. He safeguarded Ghibelline interests in central Italy as Guelf power grew. After a lifetime of warfare and strategy, Guido joined the Franciscan order in 1296; he died two years later.

Nicknamed "the fox," Guido achieved a series of military victories through cunning and skill. In 1274, he was summoned to take control of the Ghibelline party of Romagna. In June 1275, his Ghibelline force defeated the Guelf army, killing, it is said, nearly 7,000 Guelfs. In September 1275, Guido again defeated the Guelfs, this time at Raversano, and took possession of nearby Cesena. For years he led Romagna in its resistance against papal power, and in 1282 he successfully warded off the troops of Pope Martin IV, under the command of Giovanni d'Appia, who had attacked Forlì. In 1283, however, Guido was driven out of Forlì by its inhabitants, who had submitted to the church. In 1286, Guido too submitted to papal authority, but he was banished to Piedmont. Two years later, he was elected commander of the Pisan Ghibellines. Defying his banishment, Guido returned from exile and was consequently excommunicated.

Under his leadership the Pisan Ghibellines won decisive victories against the Florentine Guelfs; but when the two cities made peace in 1293, Guido was dismissed. In 1292, Guido made himself master of Urbino and defended the city from the attacks of Malatestino di Rimini. Also in 1292, he began his attempt to be reconciled with the church; and in 1296 he entered a Franciscan order, in which he led an austere existence until his death. He died in a Franciscan monastery in Assisi or Ancona.

A debatable event in Guido's biography provided the basis for Dante's portrayal of him as a false counselor in *Inferno* 27. In Dante's narrative, after Guido became a Franciscan friar, Pope Boniface VIII solicited his advice regarding the pope's struggle against the Colonna family, promising him absolution from any sin he might commit. Dante recounts that Guido counseled the pope to make false promises to the Colonna, and this encouragement of double-dealing earned Guido a place among Dante's fraudulent counselors. The historical foundation for this account is unclear. It is true that Boniface promised amnesty to the Colonna and then razed their stronghold, Palestrina; and the story was repeated as fact in chronicles that followed the *Inferno*. However, it has proved difficult to find reports of Guido's involvement with Boniface that definitely predate the *Inferno* and thus would show that Dante did not invent the episode. The chronicle of Riccobaldo of Ferrara, which details the exchange between the strategist and the pope in language that strongly resembles Dante's, may predate the composition of the *Inferno*; moreover, Dante had called Guido "our most noble Latin knight" in an earlier work, the *Convivio* (4.28.8), and this may lend credence to the idea that Dante's exalted view of Guido was altered by the damning information in Riccobaldo's chronicle.

Guido's son, Buonconte da Montefeltro, was killed at the battle of Campaldino in 1289 and is mentioned by Dante in *Purgatorio* 5.

See also **Dante Alighieri; Ghibelline; Montefeltro Family**

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Guido Da Siena

Guido da Siena (fl. c. 1250-1280s) is the first Sienese artist for whom a specific name is known and is generally regarded as the founder of Siena's important school of late medieval painting. Guido is considered among the most important and prolific painters in the generation before Duccio di Buoninsegna; in fact, Duccio may have been an apprentice in Guido's workshop. Compared with Duccio, however, very little is known about Guido. What modern art historians do know comes from only two inscriptions and a body of work that is associated stylistically with Guido and, presumably, his pupils; no documents of commissions, payments, or tax declarations or other contemporary references have surfaced. Guido's name appears in the inscription at the base of a large Madonna and Child in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena. This inscription also carries the date 1221; thus for many years it led art historians to date Guido and his work, precociously, in the first half of the thirteenth century. That early placement was abandoned in favor of the second half of the thirteenth century once Guido's works were compared stylistically with those of painters such as Coppo di Marcovaldo and Cimabue from Florence and Guido's younger Sienese contemporary, Duccio. Guido is now regarded as a close contemporary of Cimabue,

with whom he seems to have exchanged artistic ideas.

With Guido's historic and art-historic context established, scholars have surmised that he was born c. 1240 and that, given the nature of his early works, he received his artistic training in Lucca in the 1250s. By the 1260s, Guido was probably an independent master; soon thereafter, he stood at the head of a large and productive shop working in an advanced Italo-Byzantine style. Guido's art is perhaps best-known from the Madonna and Child in the Palazzo Pubblico. This is a large altarpiece (more than 13 feet, or nearly 4 meters, high); throughout the sixteenth century, it was in the Capacci Chapel in the church of San Domenico. The Madonna is now dated to c. 1280 and should be considered roughly contemporaneous with Cimabue's Santa Trinita Madonna and only a few years earlier than Duccio's Rucellai Madonna (both in the Uffizi, Florence). But major parts of Guido's altarpiece (particularly the faces of the Madonna and child) were obviously repainted during the early fourteenth century in the later manner of Duccio, and it is therefore difficult to appreciate the fullness of Guido's art in this work. Only the jagged though decorative piping line on the Madonna's mantle, the drapery folds of Christ's robes, and the animated, brightly colored angels at the summit of the altarpiece are distinctly of the late thirteenth century and demonstrate the extent to which Guido laid the foundations for Duccio and his school in terms of decorative energy, chromatic richness, and narrative intensity. More characteristic of Guido's art is a small narrative panel of the Annunciation (now in the Princeton University art museum). Guido's last works seem to date from the 1280s, a decade during which Guido and the younger Duccio may have provided each other with artistic stimulation.

See also Cimabue; Coppo di Marcovaldo; Duccio di Buoninsegna; Siena

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Guido Delle Colonne

The thirteenth-century judge Guido de (or da) le Colonne di Messina is referred to by Dante in *De vulgari eloquentia* as *Iudex de Columpnis de Messana* or simply as *Iudex de Messana*. Guido's name appears in a total of fifteen documents, some of them bearing his signature, issued in Messina between 1243 and 1280. This documentary evidence testifies to his activity as a judge in that city. Since he was acting in a professional capacity as early as 1243, he must have been born c. 1210; this date makes it rather unlikely he could be identical with a Guido de Columna who was the author of a Latin version of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, begun in 1272 but not finished until 1287. Bertoni (1947) accepts this identity, however, thereby placing Guido's poetic activity during the Manfred era. Guido's birthplace is unknown; there is nothing to support Monaci's claim (1955) that Guido was descended from the Colonna family in Rome, nor do we have any firm proof that he was related to the other poet of the same name in Messina, Odo delle Colonne. Nothing is known about Guido's personal life. His poetic legacy consists of only five *canzoni*, of which one—*La mia vit' è sì fort' e dura e fera* ("My life is so harsh and fierce")—is of uncertain attribution; it is described as anonymous in the Vatican Codex (Vat. Lat. 3793) but is given to Guido in the Palatine Codex (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 217, formerly Palatino 418). Included in this count is the poem *Gioiosamente canto* ("Joyously I sing"), which scholars almost unanimously assign to Guido on the strength of the attributions proposed by the most reliable manuscripts (Vatican 3793 and Laurentian Redi-ano 9); but many other codices, among them the Palatine, Chigi-ano L.VIII.308, and Vatican 3214, concur in giving it to Mazzeo di Ricco, who may simply have been the recipient rather than the author of the poem.

Although Guido delle Colonne's lyrical production is thus very

modest in scope, his poems rank among the most technically elaborate of the Sicilian school. Guido treats the traditional amorous themes with exceptional rhetorical skill and has at his disposal an impressive fund of abstract imagery that enables him to bring variety to even the most conventional motifs. His rhetorical resources and his technical virtuosity drew high praise from Dante, who, in *De vulgari eloquentia*, cites two of Guido's poems as particularly elegant: *Amor che lungiamente m'hai me- nato* (Love who has driven me for a long time) and *Ancor che l'aigua per lo foco lassi* ("Although water, because of fire, loses"). The second of these *canzoni* is quoted as an example of *suprema constructio* because of its structural complexity and its difficult rhyme scheme. Whereas the Sicilians treat the motifs of atmospheric and other natural phenomena merely as part of a comprehensive repertoire designed to offer an illustration of the prevailing cultural-philosophical climate, Guido delle Colonne is able to move beyond loosely connected encyclopedic detail to express subtle analogies between a variety of natural phenomena, and he skillfully applies these images to the nature of love. A prime example of his virtuosity in dealing with these motifs is the poem *Ancor che l'aigua per lo foco lassi*, with its intricate associations of fire and snow. It is from this *canzone* that Guido Guinizzelli drew the inspiration for his poem *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore* ("Love always dwells in the noble heart").

See also Dante Alighieri; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Guido Faba

Guido Faba (before 1190-c. 1248) was born in Bologna and was a *magister* of the rhetorical *ars dictaminis* there by 1210. He then apparently studied law, and in 1215 and 1219-1220 we encounter him as a notary; he began to serve the bishop of Bologna in that capacity in 1221. Guido entered the clergy in 1224-1225 and became a priest and chaplain in the chapel of San Michele di Mercato di Mezzo. This chapel was associated with a hospice for students and a school of grammar and *dicta-men*, in which Guido also served as a professor. He possibly taught in Siena in 1242-1243. He died in Bologna soon after 1248.

Guido's major works mostly focus on various aspects of *ars dictaminis*. *Exordia* (his earliest work; second version c. 1229) and *Gemma purpurea* provide introductions for letters, carefully adapted to the subject matter of the missive and the social status of the addressee. In his *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus*, the model introductions take as their themes the vices and virtues, which have been discussed in brief preceding tracts and definitions. *Arengae* is a collection of introductory

phrases suitable for both letters and speeches, and a second edition (1240-1241) contains complete speeches. Complete sample letters are provided in *Dic-tamina rhetorica* (c. 1226-1227); and *Parlamenta et epistole* (c. 1242-1243) offers models usable for both speeches and letters. Guido's most sustained theoretical discussion of *ars dictaminis* is to be found in *Summa dictaminis* (c. 1228-1229). After a discussion of vices and virtues of style, he offers a broad definition of *dictamen* and proceeds to outline the three principal parts of the letter: introduction, narration, petition. This threefold division is similar to that provided by Buoncompagno in *Palma* (c. 1198); although Buoncampagno identified the salutation as the first principal part, he used the same metaphor that Guido invokes—foundation, walls, and roof. Guido goes on to detailed discussions of the various main and subsidiary parts of a letter; the precepts on the salutation are complemented by models, which include salutations suitable for various phases of a love affair. After an extended section on matters of style, Guido offers his readers a collection of biblical maxims and a series of exercises and sets of sample introductory phrases for letters to persons of different social status. He rounds things out with a short discussion, accompanied by examples, of the composition of ecclesiastical and secular privileges. Another brief excursion into *ars notaria* is provided in Guido's *Petitiones* (c. 1230), in which he offers models for documents related to canon law procedure, particularly appeals to the Holy See.

Judging from the number of surviving manuscripts of his works, Guido appears to have been the most influential of the three Bolognese *dictatores*—himself, Buoncompagno da Signa, and Bene da Firenze. In his writings, Guido emphasized practicality rather than playful literary elegance or creative originality. He favored varied examples over extensive theoretical discussions, and his model letters were straightforward rather than fanciful and thus could be used directly, with only minimal adaptation. Moreover, in *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus*, *Gemma purpurea*, and *Parlamenta et epistole*, he also offered models in the vernacular, responding to a contemporary need created by its increasing use in official communications, and incidentally providing us with early examples of literary Italian.

See also **Ars Dictaminis; Buoncompagno da Signa; Notaries**

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Guido Novello Da Polenta

Guido Novello da Polenta (d. 1330) was the nephew of Francesca da Rimini. Guido became lord of Ravenna in June 1316, succeeding his uncle Lamberto. According to Boccaccio, in *Trat-tatello in laude di Dante* (*Treatise in Praise of Dante*, 12), Guido was *ne'liberali studi ammaestrato, sommamente i valorosi uomini onorava e massimamente quelli che per iscienza gli altri avanza-vano*: "learned in the liberal arts; he greatly honored worthy men and especially those who surpassed their peers in knowledge." Indeed, Guido is best remembered as Dante's last patron, having offered hospitality to Dante from 1317 until the great poet's death in 1321.

Guido too was a poet, in the *stilnovo* tradition. His seventeen poems (sixteen *ballate* and one sonnet) deal exclusively with the theme of love and are contained in the Escorial manuscript {Escorialense Lat. e.III.23}. The prevalence of the *ballata* form is appropriate to his elegiac descriptions of love. Guido's poetic voice is not unique, but it is so graceful and clear that Guido can be considered one of the most eloquent followers of Dante. The *ballata* *Nov'entelletto move 'l meo desire* ("A new understanding moves my desire") is one example of Guido's eloquence. There is little drama in his poems; rather, his *ballate*—such as *Un penser ne la mente mia se chiude* ("A thought enclosed in my mind") and *Madonna per vertute* ("My lady through virtue")—are stylized representations that reflect a genuine concern for aesthetic measure. This concern results in subtle but noticeable shifts in his poetic voice. The gerund in the *incipit* of *Lacremando lassasti gli ochi mei* ("You left my eyes weeping") and the direct discourse in *Dixem'Amor: "Questa donna più vol te"* ("Love says to me: This lady prefers you")

underscore the poet's excitement, yet Guido remains in control of his subject matter. Verses such as *Sì remase del tutto abbandonato/lo meo entelietto e la mente smarrita,/che non ho più valore* ("My love is so completely abandoned and my mind lost that I no longer have any strength," verses 4-6 of *Lacremando*), which might be expected to suggest the poet's despair, are instead gracious entreaties to his mistress. Rather than labeling Guido a mannerist poet, it is more appropriate to consider him a faithful representative of traditional *stilnovo* themes and style. This interpretation accords with his reverence for Dante and with our understanding of the relationship between social nobility and poetry as the language of intellectual elites

See also Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody

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Guidotto Da Bologna

Guidotto (fl. late thirteenth century) was a friar in Bologna and probably also a teacher of grammar and rhetoric there; he may also

have taught in Siena after 1278. He is usually identified as the author of *Fiore di rettorica* (dedicated in one version, which thus appears to have been composed between 1254 and 1266, to King Manfred of Sicily); but possibly his is merely a redaction of someone else's work. *Fiore di rettorica* is one of the earliest compendiums of rhetoric in the Italian vernacular; it is primarily a somewhat condensed and modified translation of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. In its emphasis on oratory, it is part of the tradition of *ars arengandi*.

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Guilds

Medieval guilds—*arti*—were self-regulating associations of craft masters, merchants, or professionals organized within cities according to their trades or occupations. The guilds developed from the later twelfth century on, along with a revival of towns and trade and the emergence of urban institutions such as the commune and the noble tower societies. By joining together, members of guilds could regulate many aspects of a given occupation: training and entry, working conditions, competition from within and outside the community, and relations between those associated in the guild and higher feudal, civic, or ecclesiastical authorities.

By the thirteenth century, the guilds in a town played a very important role in its economic, political, and social life. Members of guilds often represented the dominant economic class of the town, and in the later 1200s guild membership was sometimes a prerequisite for participation in government. In an individual's life, too, membership in a guild constituted a primary relationship, which defined many aspects of one's position and role in society. Guilds were also an important source of church and civic patronage and of charity for the poor—charity was always extended to guild brethren and was sometimes provided to people outside the guild. Guilds remained a vital institution throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. By the later *Trecento*, however, many pressures—including economic depression, the rise of signorial government, innovations in business organization, and unrest among unrepresented workers—combined to reduce their effectiveness.

Origins

The Roman empire inherited the institution of the *collegium* from the republic. *Collegia* were associations of craftsmen or employers who practiced the same trade and met for social and religious conviviality. By all appearances, they did not seek to regulate either the occupation or the trade, but they could wield some political or social power through their patron, a wealthy and powerful person not involved in

the occupation. The *collegium* gained the legal status of a person in the mid-second century and increasingly came under control by the state. By the end of the third century, the edicts of Diocletian, and later those of Constantine, had tied artisans and workers (and their heirs) to their occupations and had laid down often strict rules governing the trades that were most important to the state. The *collegia* proved to be a useful instrument for policing regulations and enforcing demands on their members for additional public service.

In the late empire, as public authority, civic life, markets, and trade withered away, the *collegia* all but disappeared. Scanty references to a few apparently organized crafts appear up to the early seventh century, but little is known of their survival. Roman *collegia* were more likely to persist in the parts of Italy under Byzantine control than in the areas overrun by Germanic invaders. Unfortunately, Justinian's code is nearly silent on these associations, and the documentary record provides no more than slight evidence for Byzantine guilds (*somateion* or *schola*) outside Constantinople. Indeed, they may have faded away in southern Italy and the exarchate of Ravenna as well. There is thus little evidence to support the notion that Roman *collegia* were directly connected to later medieval developments.

Traditional Germanic societies had no need for urban craft guilds; but they did produce the *gilda*, a festive gathering of people connected by age or family; the English word "guild" is derived from this term. With Christianization, the *gilda* may have taken on religious elements and overtones. The development of the parish also focused people's attention on their relationship to a single church and congregation, an important non kin association. Oath-taking, typical as it was of German tribal life, was frowned on and was often condemned by both Charlemagne and the church. Associations bound by oath, even for almsgiving, were prohibited by the capitulary of Herstal. A century after Charlemagne, however, the kings in Pavia were organizing certain important occupations into *ministeria*, probably with an eye toward ensuring cooperation of the artisans with the demands of the regime. None of these developments, however, seems to have led directly to the emergence of guilds in Europe after 1000.

Medieval Italian Guilds

The specific origins of the voluntary, oath-bound, self-serving guilds in Italy are lost to history. Notarial evidence is fragmentary, notices in civic records are few, and guild statutory material is generally very late. One may conclude, however, that although some organization of specific occupations may have been imposed by feudal or civic authorities, most guilds evolved from meetings of masters in a particular craft who sought to protect and promote their collective and individual interests in an increasingly complicated world.

By the early twelfth century, towns had grown in area, in population, and in the variety of tasks allowed by an ever more sophisticated division of labor and trade network. Imperial officials, feudal lords, or bishops still had political authority in many places; but the independent commune was developing its challenge by harnessing the economic power of merchants, tradesmen, artisans, and landowners. In some places, the appearance of guilds predates the emergence of the commune; elsewhere, guilds may have formed to protect the specific interests of their members against any threats the communes themselves might have posed. Since landholding nobles often dominated the communes, there is no reason to assume that communal government provided for the needs of artisans and shopkeepers.

Guild organization was established in a set of statutes created and adopted by the association and binding on all members. These were updated periodically, and those that have survived are rarely original and are often quite late (later thirteenth century and early fourteenth). One or a few of the most prominent guildsmen served as executive officers (consuls, priors, rectors); they were usually elected for one-year terms. Often there was also a council that aided the executives and arbitrated or judged cases involving members. A guild might have a separate court or tribunal, and normally it also employed one or more notaries and messengers. In most respects guild organization directly paralleled that of the commune.

It was unusual for statutes to regulate the apprenticeship and employment practices of individual members very closely, but some rules did apply. Direct relatives of the members were always given the highest priority in apprenticeships, sometimes by statute. Children

could be apprenticed at a very young age (between seven and ten years was often a statutory minimum), and parents signed contracts, initially based on rental agreements, to place their children with masters. These agreements, not statutes, regulated the apprentice's life. The child was to be exposed to a valuable educational experience, and the master retained a bound shop servant and, after a few years, a valuable employee. The statutes could limit the number of apprentices a master might support, or the number of journeymen—trained workers who labored for a daily wage, hence the term (from *giorno*, "day")— he could hire. Occasionally, the statutes also controlled hiring practices by setting maximum wages and forbidding unfair luring of workers by masters from other masters.

Guilds fell into three categories: craft, merchant, and professional. Craft guilds normally included all the masters in a given field, and sometimes journeymen and even apprentices were enrolled. The masters, however, dominated guild affairs, and so the guilds represented the rights and interests of the employers and only incidentally those of the workers. Within a guild, a number of specific, and sometimes apparently unrelated, crafts were included. This may have resulted from an initial grouping for greater strength, or from later reorganizations, as when the twenty *arti minori* (lesser guilds) of Florence were fused into nine under the direction of Giano Della Bella in the 1290s. In 1330, Pistoia had eight guilds representing forty-six occupations; at about the same time, tiny Pescia in Tuscany had ten guilds encompassing twenty-one occupations. This variety could result in the domination of a guild by members of its most important or wealthiest component. In many cases, craftsmen broke away from more comprehensive merchant guilds in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and formed their own—thus increasing their freedom of action. In Milan in 1198 the Credenza of Saint Ambrose, which embodied the artisans and minor merchants, split off from the authority of the Motta, the organization of the greater merchants and knights. In any case, the masters who were wealthier or had larger operations carried greater weight within the guild and tended to control its actions and policies.

Each town or city had its own collection of craft guilds that reflected its particular resources, local economy, and history. Typically, however, a town would have guilds of bakers, smiths, cloth sellers, butchers,

victuallers, masons, carpenters, millers, painters, and shoemakers, among others. After the fusion of the twenty Florentine *arti minori* under Giano Delia Bella, the nine resulting guilds were headed by, respectively, the wine sellers; innkeepers; sellers of salt, oil, and cheese; tanners; armorers; ironworkers; girdle makers; woodworkers; and bakers. In the 1230s, San Gimignano had only four guilds: furriers, drapers, shoemakers, and victuallers. By 1258, it had added smiths, butchers, animal sellers, and carters. After 1258, the wool cloth producers, tailors, carpenters, masons, and barbers, along with merchants, judges, and notaries, organized themselves.

Craft guilds had several economic functions. By limiting apprenticeships and accepting (or rejecting) a masterpiece from a journeyman, or otherwise scrutinizing his skills or credentials, a guild effectively controlled access to the market. Through its statutes, it could regulate competition, quality, quantity, and working conditions. Masters were not to collude to fix prices, and unfair advantages were attacked by controlling fraud and sharp business practices. Cloth sellers in Rome, for example, were not to interfere with a customer who was examining a competitor's product. Quality and workplace standards were often found among a guild's statutes, but these had sometimes been preceded by a commune's standards or regulations. Practical considerations militated against locating tanneries, with their noxious smells, inside towns long before their own rules dictated a location away from the populace. Communal concerns for health and fairness also combined with business interests to control the use of false weights and measures, the sale of spoiled or adulterated food, or the practice of noisy occupations at night. Although guilds usually maintained a monopoly on a given occupation within a town, maintenance of fair competition among masters was a principal goal.

Professional guilds were limited to those whose members generally had academic qualifications or the equivalent in experience. The most common of these guilds were judges and notaries, physicians (often along with apothecaries), and, in cities with universities, members of faculties.

Merchant guilds were often the earliest urban guilds to develop. Piacenza formed one of the oldest, documented in 1154. The Milanese followed suit by 1159 and the Florentines by 1182. These large and

inclusive guilds began to split into smaller ones between 1190 and 1220 in Lombardy, and in the mid-thirteenth century the Roman guild of merchants spawned at least five lesser guilds. In virtually all cases, the merchant guild remained the local powerhouse, since it encompassed the wealthiest international merchants, who often also served as bankers and were large-scale landowners.

Guilds and Civic Politics

In thirteenth-century Siena, the merchants and bankers were organized into the Mercanzia, a guild that overshadowed all others. It was instrumental in reorganizing the civic government in 1287, and its consuls (four elected executive officers), along with the *podestà*, were responsible for choosing the first six members of the new *signoria* (governing body), known as the Nine. Until its fall in the mid- *Trecento*, the Nine routinely included several if not all of the Mercanzia consuls, and government policies consistently reflected the interests of the great merchants and bankers.

Guilds of all types proved from the beginning to be convenient and effective units around which to organize representation of the commune and later the *popolo*. The community of interests within the guild was transferred to the broader political field, and early militias often trained and were mustered according to guild. Since guild members could live anywhere in a town, however, they were hard to gather on the spur of the moment. Thus arose the broader popular movement of the *popolo* that pressed for greater representation of the merchant and artisanal classes against the entrenched power of the nobles in the communal government. In some ways the development of guilds paralleled and complemented that of the "tower societies," which focused the nobles' power around clan enclaves and their tall square towers that punctuated the skylines of many cities. At the same time that the lesser guilds were splitting off from the merchant guilds, both were struggling for power against the nobility, often in the streets. The 1190s saw many such clashes: in Brescia (1196), Piacenza (1198), Milan (1198-1201), and Assisi (1198-1202); and between 1200 and 1212 in Padua, Cremona, Lucca, and Siena. The rectors or consuls of guilds

gained seats on the ruling councils of Brescia, Milan, Piacenza, and Cremona in the early 1220s; in Bologna in 1228; and in Parma in 1244.

Florence: A "Guild-Republic"

The political history of medieval Florence from the mid-thirteenth century on is bound up with the history of its guilds. Its oldest documentation dates to 1182, with mention of the *societas mercatorum* (guild of merchants), later known as the Calimala and associated especially with the wool trade. The money changers (*cambiatori*) broke away from this guild in 1202. The earliest notice of craft guilds is from 1193. The wool guild (Arte della Lana) began in 1212, and the shopkeepers and silk guild of Por Santa Maria in 1218. The first record of the guild of judges and notaries is dated 1212. These five plus the guilds of the furriers and of the physicians and apothecaries constituted the *arti maggiori*, or major guilds.

The *primo popolo* of 1250 that overthrew the noble-dominated Ghibelline government of Florence was organized around the guilds; and except for a six-year hiatus of Ghibelline rule (1260-1266) the Florentine government was led, until and beyond the end of the Middle Ages, by the leaders of the *arti maggiori*. In 1282, the seven guilds elected six representatives to serve as priors to run the state for a two-month term; these priors then elected their own successors. The five *arti medie* (middle guilds)—blacksmiths, builders, butchers, shoemakers, and cloth retailers—later joined these seven in stocking the priorate. With the Ordinances of Justice of 1293, the lesser guilds were reorganized and gained a voice, if not ruling power. At the same time, guild membership and participation in a trade became a prerequisite for holding office in the state, a means of excluding the nobility and enhancing the role of the guilds. Nonetheless, this system was far closer to a corporate oligarchy than to a popular democracy, since it was led by the elite of the seven chief guilds. As Florence expanded territorially in Tuscany in the middle and late *Trecento*, most of the communes it absorbed were expected to have their guild members enroll in the equivalent Florentine associations. Although this was seen by some as coercive, it would have been the most effective way to introduce the

subjugated communes into the political life of Florence.

Venice: Tying the Guilds to the State

The Venetian experience with guilds was very different from that of most other places in medieval Italy and thus provides some interesting points of comparison. Like Genoa, another maritime power, Venice did not have a merchant guild. In both cases political history had precluded the need for a separate association for international shippers, since the state itself was from an early point directly controlled by the wealthy businessmen, and thus their interests were intimately tied to state policy. In Venice, the senate was essentially the board of directors for the maritime enterprise.

Arti, or craft guilds, emerged in the twelfth century; but from 1173 on, the state directly oversaw these through the operations of the *giustizia vecchia*, a board that registered guilds, sanctioned their statutes, and protected consumers. In 1261, a separate *gius-tizia nova* began regulating sales of foodstuffs. Between 1218 and 1330, the *giustizia vecchia* registered fifty-two craft guilds (compared with thirteen in Bologna and thirty in Florence). Many of these were involved with the greatest medieval industrial operation, the Arsenal. Since shipbuilding was a vital state interest, close supervision of those involved seemed natural. Those who inspected the work of the guildsmen had their own guilds.

In Venice, a guild's judicial decisions could be appealed to the *giustizia*; this unusual feature further demonstrates the close link between the state and its guilds. The annual chief elected officer of the guild was the *gastaldo*, who was responsible not to the membership but to the civic magistrates. Many of the guilds owed specific service to the state, especially during emergencies, and after 1270 the guildsmen took oaths of loyalty not to the brotherhood but to the state. And yet the guilds did not play a role in the direction of Venice: with the *serrata* of 1297, in the same decade that saw the incorporation of even the lesser guilds into Florentine politics, the Venetian state specifically excluded from political power any and all guildsmen.

Social and Religious Aspects of Italian Guilds

Like the ancient *collegium* and the Germanic *gilda*, the medieval guild embodied the idea of brotherhood (and occasionally sisterhood). In Christian Italy, however, drunken feasting gave way before organized religious rituals and participation, in a corporate way, in the acts of corporal mercy expected by the church of good Christians. The original guilds without doubt had as one of their functions the mutual support of members and their families, through monetary charity, prayers, and burial. Later guild statutes often contained very clear statements of these obligations. In many cases, the best-articulated of these statutes had to do with attendance at and participation in the burial of fellow guildsmen. Financial aid for a brother who had fallen on hard times, or for his widow or orphans, had to be treated case by case, but aid was expected: such aid constituted both a social and a religious act of charity. Support for mendicant religious and other poor folk was usually channeled through lay confraternities, which were often directly connected to the guild, and provided a specifically religious forum for the brotherhood.

Only the greatest guilds had their own halls; most guilds met in churches or chapels, for both prayer and business. Since Christianity pervaded civic life in Italy, it naturally played a large role in guild life. Guild statutes and oaths—like virtually all types of civic and even personal business documents—began with invocations of saints or of God's love or power. Jews, always a marginal element in medieval society, were universally excluded from guilds. Church feast days and Sundays were consistently observed in the statutes as days of no work. Guilds were expected to participate, often with great pomp, in the feast days of civic patron saints and the patron saint of the guild or confraternity.

A great deal of later medieval art owes its existence to guild patronage. Through the brotherhood, many small donations could amount to a sizeable sum; and paintings, stained-glass windows, and statues were commissioned to decorate the church in which the brotherhood met or its own chapel in a church. The decoration of the exterior of the Florentine church of Or San Michele, which consists of masterpieces of early *Quattrocento* statuary commissioned by each of

several guilds, is a unique memorial to, and a culmination of, the combined civic, religious, and fraternal impulses that the medieval Italian guilds engendered and embodied.

See also **Florence; Siena; Venice**

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Guinizzelli, Guido

The Bolognese poet and jurist Guido Guinizzelli (c. 1230— 1276) is the first great poetic figure associated with the *do Ice stil nuovo*. Although he was once thought to have been from the de' Principi family, his family was most likely the Magnani. His grandfather, Magnano, was a prosecutor for the Bolognese commune; his father, Guinizello di Magnano, was appointed to the council of the people and served as a judge and later as *podestà* at Narni. Guido Guinizzelli was evidently the eldest of six children. He married Beatrice della Fratta in 1272, and their son Guiduccio was born the following year. Guinizzelli led an active professional and political life. He was a member of the Ghibelline Lambertazzi party and was banished, with his brothers Giacomo and Uberto and his son Guiduccio, by the victorious Guelf Geremei party in 1274. He chose Monselice near Padua as his place of exile and died there.

Guinizzelli's poetry comprises five *canzoni* and fifteen sonnets confidently ascribed to him, two fragmentary poems, and four *canzoni* whose authenticity is disputed. Most of the authentic poems appear in one or more of three great early (late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century) manuscript anthologies of Italian lyric poetry. Two of these anthologies are in Florence: Rediano 9 (Laurentian Library) and Banco Ran 217 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale). The third is in the Vatican Library (Latino 3793) and in later collections—for example, Chigi L.VIII.305 (Vatican Library) and the Raccolta Bartoliniana (Accademia della Crusca, Florence). Each poem has a separate, often complex, textual history, and no reliable chronology can be established. Guinizzelli's verse techniques are generally conservative, and his language incorporates forms from Sicilian, Provençal, Tuscan, Latin, and French

sources. All the poems aim at musical effects, but they vary greatly in style. The opening *sententia* and moralizing tone of the *canzone Tegno di folle 'mpres', a lo ver dire* ("I think a man foolish, to tell the truth") echo contemporary Tuscan poets, especially Guittone d'Arezzo. The themes, diction, and syntactic complexity of *Madonna, il fino amor ched eo vo porto* ("My lady, the perfect love I offer you") recall the tradition of Sicilian-Provençal poetry. Sonnets like *Pur a pensar mi par gran meraviglia* ("It seems a great wonder to me merely to think") and *Fra l'altre pene maggio credo sia* ("Among all evils I believe the worst") are examples of didactic lyrics in the middle style, whose subject matter Dante (*De vulgari eloquentia*, 2.2.6-10) identifies as virtue. *Volvol te levi, vecchia rabbiosa* ("May a whirlwind strike you, you vicious old woman") is lively, satiric, and vituperative.

The poems associated with the *dolce stil nuovo* represent a quarter of Guinizzelli's extant verse, but on the strength of them Guinizzelli has been regarded variously as a founder or precursor of the changes that occurred in Florentine poetry between 1280 and 1310. His most influential piece is the *canzone Al cor gentil rempaira sempre amore* ("Love returns always to a noble heart"), which announces two important concepts—the coexistence of love and the noble heart and the figure of the *donna angelicata* (angelic beloved). The first concept associates love with nobility and nobility with character. It consequently addresses a question, much debated by classical and medieval writers—whether nobility is determined by one's lineage or one's innate qualities. Unlike his predecessors, who describe a process in which the soul is made noble by love, Guinizzelli argues for a simultaneous appearance: *né ft' amor anti che gentil core, / né gentil core anti ch'amor, natura* ("Nature did not make love before the noble heart, / Nor the noble heart before love"). The second concept redefines the rhetoric of praise. Earlier poets had spoken of the angelic beloved by approximation, addressing her as if she were an angel. Guinizzelli objectifies her as the embodiment of spiritual values who stands between human experience and the abstract truth of divine creation. In contrast to Dante's later formulation of Beatrice, however, Guinizzelli's beloved finally remains secular and earthbound; she has, he says, the likeness of an angel.

To express these concepts, Guinizzelli draws on medieval science and

philosophy, giving the poem a richly allusive texture; and he adopts a style of closely reasoned philosophical argumentation. Love's existence in the noble heart is explained through the Aristotelian-scholastic analysis of potency and act and through the imagery of astral influences imbuing a precious stone with its properties. Love, the poet says, is like fire on the tip of a candle or a diamond in a vein of ore, while the proud man's boast of his heritage is like mud unchanged by the sun's power. The lover's wish to serve his beautiful lady duplicates the movement of the Neoplatonic angelic intelligences who contemplate divine perfection directly and instantly understand its wishes. Guinizzelli also brings to the poem a Franciscan-Augustinian metaphysics of light, which also influences the stilnovist sonnets *Vedut' bo la lucente Stella diana* ("I have seen the bright morning star") and *Io vogl' del ver la mia donna laudare* ("I want to praise my lady truly").

Guinizzelli's innovations in theme and style drew criticism from conservative poets like Guittone and Bonagiunta of Lucca; but Dante admired these innovations, and Guinizzelli's poetic craftsmanship in general. Dante echoes *Al cor gentil* in *Vita nuova* (19 and 20) and cites it in his discussion of nobility in *Convivio* (4.20). Francesca's apology for her adulterous love in *Inferno* 5 ironically echoes it, too. But Guinizzelli's position in literary history was established by Dante's historical representation of him at several points in the *Comedy*. In *Purgatorio* 11 Oderisi proposes a literary succession from Guinizzelli to Cavalcanti to perhaps a greater poet, presumably Dante. In *Purgatorio* 24 Bonagiunta concedes that he and other Sicilian-Tuscan poets fell short of Dante's *dolce stil novo*. In *Purgatorio* 26 Dante greets Guinizzelli as "the father of me and of others my betters who ever used sweet and gracious rhymes of love." Dante's portrayal consciously makes Guinizzelli the originating figure in the thirteenth-century polemic over the Italian love lyric, and it amplifies the break from tradition that Guittone and Bonagiunta saw. Yet Guinizzelli's actual position is somewhat different from either view. A precursor of the new style, he was at once connected to traditional poetic practice and committed to experiment and innovation. Unlike the Florentine poets he influenced, Guinizzelli did sharply distinguish the stilnovist elements of his work from the influence of his Sicilian predecessors or his Tuscan contemporaries. Most scholars emphasize the shifting dimensions of his

work—sometimes prestilnovist, sometimes protostilnovist.

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Guittone d'Arezzo; Italian Poetry: Lyric

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Guittone D'arezzo

Guittone d'Arezzo (c. 1235-21 August 1294) was the master of thirteenth-century literary culture in Tuscany and Emilia. Guido Guinizzelli deferred to his command of style; and Dante, like other poets, experimented with Guittone's formal techniques and elevated tone, striving to surpass his poetic fame and expressivity. In spite of the anti-Guittonean polemic set in motion by the stilnovists, Guittone's corpus of fifty Italian epistles, fifty *canzoni*, and some 250 sonnets—evincing a vast range of formal experimentation, political-moral discourse, and public correspondence—profoundly influenced and altered the course of vernacular literature in Italy.

Guittone probably joined the order of the Knights of Saint Mary (the so-called Frati Gaudenti, "jovial friars") in 1265. This was a turning point in his life and writing; and it is impossible to ignore the other, albeit sparse, biographical data available to us, for in few poets of Guittone's era was the connection between life and literature more keenly developed. Before he took up his literary career in the 1250s,

Guittone had an inside view of municipal politics—perhaps beginning in 1249, when he helped his father in the Aretine treasury. By the late 1250s, Guittone's conservative Guelph values and his dissatisfaction with Arezzo's Ghibelline government led him to seek voluntary exile in places such as Pisa, Bologna, and Florence. Pisa is the provenance of the most authoritative manuscripts of his works: Rediano 9 (Lau-rentian Library, Florence) and its lateral Riccardiano 2533 (Ric-cardian Library, Florence). The wide circulation of Guittone's literary work during his lifetime probably contributed to his stature as the head of an entire poetic movement.

There is no doubt that Guittone was a powerful literary model for thirteenth-century Tuscan poets. He succeeded in converting the detached courtly traditions of the Sicilians and Occitans into a poetry that reflected the political and ethical concerns of the municipal citizen, the pivot of a new Tuscan power structure founded on the sometimes contradictory worlds of Christian morality and the new commercial order. In his writing, Guittone established a delicate balance between wisdom and wealth by emphasizing the ethics of their acquisition and use: *Saver. . . vale in ben condurb... . [N]on peccato in ricchezze è, ma in male aquistarle e male usarle* ("Wisdom is good in that it leads one to happiness. . . There is no sin in riches, but in acquiring and using them evilly," Letter 25). The two polysemous foundations of these ethics, often repeated in Guittone's poetry and letters as *onor e pro* ("honor and profit"), are in fact the classical concepts of *honor* and *utilitas* overlaid with the Christian ideals of goodness and service and adapted to contemporary mercantile notions of family honor and useful efficiency. To this groundwork of a poetics of moral virtue Guittone added a dimension of political philosophy, moving from a defense of collective culture in his early invectives against the Aretines (*Gente noiosa e villana*—"Bothersome and uncourtly people") and the Ghibelline Florentines after the rout of the Guelphs at Montaperti (*Ahi lasso, or è stagion de doler tanto*—"Alas, now is the time of great sorrow") to his later concentration on individual peace as an integral part of the Christian collective (*Magni baroni certo e regi quasi*—"Great barons certainly and kings almost"). Guittone's fusion of rhetorical skill and civil morality solidified, in Italian letters, the perspective of the involved civic poet writing in the vernacular.

Guittone's poetics was equally influential among his contemporaries. It was based on the highly elaborated rhetorical devices of *ars dictandi* and the complicated formalism of the Occitan *trobar clus* (hermetic style). In his poetry and letters, which had a common language and syntax, Guittone's style reflects more than studied and refurbished borrowings of these two earlier traditions. In both cases, Guittone not only reexamines these two sources of knowledge and self-reflection but also tailors them to the cultural needs of the vernacular of his day. Guittone's vernacular exploitation of conventionally Latin-bound rhetoric and his revision of *scuro parlare* (obscure speech) or *trobar clus*, taken in part from his extensive knowledge of Occitan poets (including Raimbaut d'Aurenga and Arnaut Daniel), represents a commitment to link the honored traditions of the past with the language and values of the new power base of the commune. Guittone's discursive investment in literary Tuscan inspired two generations of Tuscan and Emilian literary circles bent on imitating this new, even overextended, attention to the development of a highly articulated poetic language.

Guittone also led the way in challenging other aspects of literary convention. He helped transform the vernacular poem from something composed for performance by singers to a text of writers and correspondents. His refinement of the songbook, or song cycle (conjectured to have been five separate collections), and even its illustration (in *Trattato d'amore*, "Treatise on Love"), and his experimentation with expanded verse forms reveal his involvement in literature not simply as a vehicle for his formal talents but as a committed redefinition of the relationship of literature to its public. This new sense of a public, and of a public sphere, runs throughout Guittone's works, reshaping the narcissistic "I" of courtly lyrics into a self-reflective individual linked to his fellow citizens not through a political faction but through the *polis* or city itself (see Letter 14). In his *canzone Ora parrà s'eo saverò cantare* ("Now it will be evident if I know how to write poetry," written after his conversion), Guittone spells out the four essential elements of human existence: *Natura, Dio, ragion scritta, e comune* ("Nature, God, philosophy, and common sense"). The cohesion of civilization depends on trust and the application of reason. The most basic transgression of that trust, self-

deception, corrupts the entire fabric of civilization: *ché mal l'averebbe d'altrui/chi sé medesimo decede* ("for those who deceive themselves would certainly not have mercy from others," in *O dolce terra aretina*). Thus when Guittone addresses Finfo del Buono (Letter 20), or an infirm brother (Letter 21), or any of his numerous verse and epistolary correspondents (his *societas amicorum*), he also addresses the citizenry at large, embracing the universal within the individual.

However, Guittone was not exclusively a moralist. His early poems treat primarily the theme of love. Three of his five song cycles examine loyalty, joy, and unhappiness in love; the third cycle, partially, takes the form of a feigned debate between a woman and her lover. The sonnet sequence theorized to have been his fourth amounts to an *ars amandi*, dubbed by Avalie a manual of seduction, which is retracted in the fifth cycle (*Trattato d'amore*). Yet even Guittone's love lyrics have a rhetorical cast; their intellectual ardor overwhelms the conventional necessities of tolerance and torment with almost legalistic analyses of the process of love. Sentimental passion seems to be replaced by what Quaglio (1975) calls Guittone's "casuistry of love," in which system dominates the lyric's focus on the moment. Consequently, Guittone's theory of love sometimes reflects moralistic symmetry and a strong sense of reciprocity in a process that helps refine the lover's spirit and nobility. Nobility is no longer defined as a matter of aristocratic lineage; it is now the education of the heart: *Non ver lignaggio fa sangue, ma core*, "The heart, not the blood, makes for true lineage" (in *Comune perta fa comun dolore*, "A common loss makes for a common sorrow").

Perhaps the most significant feature of Guittone's production is its high level of contrast, Guittone startles his reader with unexpected technical and structural revelations to support his repeated messages of peace or—earlier in his career—conventional courtly themes, now adapted to the municipal reader. Guittone's strategy seems to be based on enigmas of faith, echoed in his advice that spiritual richness can be found in only poverty (Letter 3) and happiness only in strife: *solamente apresso travaglio è poso* ("tranquillity is achieved only after strife," Letter 25). Guittone's opus is itself divided between his early verses, described in a sonnet to Monte Andrea (*A te, Montuccio*—"To you, Montuccio") as "poisonous fruits," and his "conversion poems," which are assigned in the manuscripts to "Fra (Brother) Guittone." This

distinction reflects mostly Guittone's entry into the Gaudenti, a lay order known for its religious dedication to pacification and antifactionalism. Yet even Guittone's precon-version works declare the common humanity of all citizens, regardless of faction.

Guittone's poetic trademark is severe rhetorical artifice. In his early poems, this artifice is penetrable only by "those who love": *Scuro saccio che par lo/mio detto, ma'che parlo/a chi s'entend' ed ame*, "I know my writing may seem obscure, except that I speak to those who have understanding and love" (in *Tuttor, s'eo veglio o dormo*, "Always if I lie awake or sleep"). In his later poems it is penetrable by those who have forgone the constraints of love ("where . . . madness reigns," in *Ora parra*). This distinction seems to have been born naturally from a vital contrast in all his poetry between the past and the present. His remembrance of Arezzo's past glories (*O dolce terra aretina/ . . . membrando ch'eri. . . /arec d'onnid ivizia*—"O sweet city of Arezzo . . . when I recall that you contained all wealth") is bitterly countered, in a bold display of rhetorical antithesis, by the city's present "abundance of moral dearth" (in *Or è di caro piena l'arca*). Yet the symbolism of these temporal terms is not static. In the collective conscience, the past—the *benedetto tempo*—recognized the concepts of value and love as distinct from wealth and self-indulgent solitude. But in the progress of the soul, the individual's past represents a worse state of moral ignorance.

Guittone's poetics of formal obscurity is, by contrast, the vehicle for themes often linked by the absolute moral maxims of his political Christianity and the concrete pragmatism of his traditional Guef and mercantile ethos. However, his political-moral writing forges not so much municipal realism, more germane to Monte's poetry, as civic idealism. Nevertheless, he is prone to express these ideals with stormy sarcasm and subtle irony reinforced by a syntax designed to persuade by its brilliantly articulated complexity.

The artistic refutation of Guittone was first voiced by Guido Cavalcanti and Dante. Cavalcanti, in *Da più a uno face un solle-gismo* ("From the many to the one makes a syllogism"), condemned Guittone's literary language, excessively difficult rhymes, and lack of imagination. Dante (who was, like Guittone, an exile) undertook his own stylistic ventures—especially in his *rime petrose* and *tenzoni* with Dante da Maiano. Afterward, in his assessment of the new courtly-literary

language of Italy (*De vulgari eloquentia*, l.xiii.l), Dante dismissed the "municipal" elements in the poetic language of Guittone and Guittone's followers. Dante recognized Guittone's historical stature in *Purga torio* 24, while deriding his notoriety in *Purgatorio* 26. In spite of these early negative judgments, imprints of Guittone's harsh style, polemical and sarcastic logic, and moralistic themes appear throughout the *Commedia* and are ingrained in the poetry of rectitude of the Italian Middle Ages.

See also Ars Dictaminis; Bonagiunta Orbicciani; Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Frati Gaudenti; Guinizzelli, Guido; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Monte Andrea da Firenze

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H

Hadrian I, Pope

The pontificate of Hadrian I (Adrian I; d. 795, r. 772-795) was notable for the establishment of the long-hallowed contours of the papal patrimony, for the development of relations between the papacy and the Franks, and for the final emancipation of the papacy from Byzantine authority. Hadrian was born into a noble Roman family and was raised by an uncle who was influential in papal government. Before 767, at the behest of Pope Paul I, Hadrian entered an ecclesiastical career. He was an impressive figure, and his effective preaching, wide learning, and diligence as a papal notary made him popular in Rome. His election to the pontificate in February 772 began an anti-Lombard reaction in the city; exiles were recalled, and the pro-Lombard leader Afiarta was prosecuted for murder, though Hadrian was apparently disappointed when Afiarta was summarily executed in Ravenna.

Hadrian was involved in a dispute with the Lombard king Desiderius over the application of treaties of 754 and 756, by which the Lombards ceded much territory to the papacy; consequently, the pope appealed to Charlemagne (in the spring of 773). After that, Hadrian became embroiled in an extended, courteous debate with the Frankish king over the *promissio donationis*, an oath Charlemagne took at Rome, shortly after Easter 774, by which he granted most of Italy south of the Luni-Monselice line to Saint Peter. After Charlemagne became king of the Lombards (in June 774), he was disinclined to dissolve his kingdom, and in the end Hadrian obtained only a fraction of what had been promised. However, Charlemagne did lead an army south of Rome against Hadrian's hostile Lombard neighbors.

Hadrian's relations with Charlemagne were strained by their different understanding of the privileges and duties of bishops in important Italian sees and were further complicated by Hadrian's

involvement in Byzantine affairs. Although his papal documents were the first to abandon Byzantine dating systems, Hadrian did not neglect the Byzantine world. He participated vigorously in the dispute over icons in the Byzantine empire; he corresponded with the Byzantine emperor and empress; and papal envoys were prominent at the second Nicaean council, which discussed the worship of icons. This openness to Byzantium irritated Charlemagne, who was scandalized by the Nicaean canons; the Latin translation of these canons, prepared in Rome, was garbled (exchanging *proskinesis* for *adoratio*) and elicited a strong response from Charlemagne's court in the form of the *Libri Carolini*. Though Hadrian defended the second Nicaean Council in a letter to Charlemagne, he was unable to avert the condemnation of its decrees by the Council of Frankfurt (794).

Hadrian was a lover of churches, and he built extensively in Rome. His building program included not only churches but also refurbished aqueducts, restored walls, and a portico joining Saint Peter's to the Tiber. He also founded four new *domusculatae*, partly on his family's property north of Rome, to furnish the church with victuals and to nourish the poor. Hadrian was the first pope to mint coins and one of very few popes to put a portrait bust on his coinage.

Hadrian died on Christmas day, or the day after, in 795. Charlemagne, whose ascendancy had influenced Hadrian's pontificate deeply, is reported to have wept on learning of his death. The metrical epitaph the king sent to Rome for the tomb of his "father" can be seen today in the portico of Saint Peter's.

Some of Hadrian's letters (forty-eight) are in *Codex Carolinus*; two other letters are in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistularum*, 5; still others (some spurious) are in Migne. A poem by Hadrian is in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Poetarum Latinorum*, 1. For synods and councils held during Hadrian's pontificate, see Mansi, A translation of his epitaph is in Gregorovius (1903).

See also Charlemagne; Desiderius; Frankish Kingdom; Libri Carolini; Lombards

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Hadrian II, Pope

During his short pontificate, Hadrian II (Adrian II; c. 792-872, r. 868—872) attempted to continue the policies of his predecessor, Nicholas I, although he lacked Nicholas's forceful character. Hadrian was often called the "new Elijah," but under his leadership the papacy suffered reverses at the hands of Roman factions, Byzantium, and the Carolingian churches.

Hadrian's ascent to the papacy was rapid, and his election was unanimous. However, early in his tenure, factionalism erupted in Rome, which he quelled only after his daughter and wife (he had been before his ordination in 842) were murdered (in 869). Heartbroken and humiliated, he kept to a moderate course and reassured the devotees of Nicholas of his good intentions. Hadrian sought to alienate no one in Rome, while also maintaining good relations with Louis II, whose campaigns in the south might free the papacy from the threat posed by the Muslims.

Hadrian underestimated the Germans' and Byzantines' resistance to Rome's involvement in converting the Slavs. On learning (in June 868) that Patriarch Photius had been deposed, Hadrian denied King Boris's request for a Bulgarian archbishop; Hadrian hoped to subordinate the nascent Bulgarian church to Rome and thereby limit its autonomy. However, the Byzantine clergy, offended by tactless demands for recognition of papal primacy at the Council of Constantinople (869-870), consented to Boris's request and won the king over. Simultaneously, a papal mission to Moravia, led by Saint Methodius (870), floundered, owing to interference by the Germans; Methodius was imprisoned in Bavaria.

Neither did Hadrian have much success in Carolingian affairs. He vacillated when Lothar II pleaded for an uncanonical divorce. When Lothar died, Hadrian supported Louis II to succeed him, but the Gallic

clergy elevated Charles the Bald before papal directives could reach Metz. Hadrian then became embroiled in an epistolary debate with Hincmar of Reims and Charles on the prerogatives of the Gallic church and kings. In this affair, as in others, Hadrian was generally ineffectual and did not wield the power or the influence of his predecessor.

Part of Hadrian's epitaph survives (see DeRossi 1888; Mann 1906); for his surviving letters see Perels (1925).

See also Lothar II; Louis II, Emperor; Nicholas I, Pope

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Hadrian IV, Pope

Almost nothing is known about the birth, parentage, or childhood of Pope Hadrian IV (Adrian IV; Nicholas Breakspear or Brekespear; c. 1100-1159, r. 1154-1159). Most of our information derives from two sources: Cardinal Boso and John of Salisbury.

Boso wrote a *vita* (life) of Hadrian, which is in the collection of Nicolas Roselli, cardinal of Aragon, in 1356. According Boso, Hadrian was born in England near Saint Albans and went to Aries in France to study early in his boyhood. At the monastery of Saint Rufus near Avignon, it is recorded that he took the vows and habit of an Augustinian. After a short time, he was elected abbot of Saint Rufus. On a trip to Rome on business for the monastery, he endeared himself to Pope Eugenius III, who made him cardinal bishop of Albano in 1146.



Pope Hadrian IV. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 202v.

John of Salisbury adds to our knowledge of Hadrian's life at this point, and mentions that Hadrian's father was Robert Brekespear and that Hadrian's original name was Nicholas Brekespear. Another source corroborating this information is in Norway, where Hadrian established an independent archiepiscopal see at Trondheim and made Saint Olaf its patron saint. As a papal legate in 1152, Hadrian also tried to establish an archiepiscopal see in Sweden, but Gothland opposed Sweden regarding where it should be located. Hadrian did, however, reform abuses and establish Peter's pence in Sweden before returning to Rome. In Rome, Hadrian was apparently at the right place at the right time: he was hailed as the apostle of the north; and when Pope Anastasius IV died on 2 December 1154, Hadrian was elected pope on the very next day. He is the only English pope.

Hadrian IV's tenure as pope was fraught with political intrigue and conflict. King William of Sicily and Hadrian were openly hostile to each

other; Frederick Barbarossa merely professed friendship; the barons of Campania raided and robbed each other and also robbed pilgrims on their way to Rome; and the populace of Rome, under the leadership of Arnold of Brescia, was in open revolt against Hadrian. Hadrian, after determining his situation in Rome, placed the city under interdict and retired to Viterbo. The Roman populace, unable to observe any sacred services until after Lent, eventually made its submission to Hadrian and banished Arnold of Brescia, who was ultimately executed. As Hadrian returned to Rome, Frederick Barbarossa was advancing through Lombardy. Frederick, having received the Iron Crown in Pavia, was intent on receiving the imperial crown in Rome from the hands of Hadrian. A famous meeting between the two rulers, temporal and spiritual, took place north of Rome at Sutri on 9 June 1155. Frederick, omitting a part of the customary ceremony of homage, did not hold Hadrian's stirrup when the pope dismounted. Because of this insolence, Hadrian withheld his kiss of peace and refused to crown Frederick until full homage was performed. Frederick submitted, performing the necessary act of homage on 11 June 1155 at Nepi; he was subsequently crowned in Saint Peter's on 18 June. Immediately afterward, fighting broke out between the imperial army and the Roman army; during this fighting, more than 1,000 Romans were killed. Without so much as an acknowledgment of the deaths, Frederick left Rome and went northward; on his way, he proceeded to burn the city of Spoleto to the ground.

William I of Sicily and Hadrian IV never established cordial relations. Hadrian called William lord rather than king; William took offense, ravaging and ransacking southern Campania, whereupon Hadrian excommunicated him, John of Salisbury spent three months with Hadrian in Benevento during this period and obtained from him the famous Donation of Ireland. The authenticity of the *Laudabiliter*, the document containing this grant, is in doubt; but in any case the basic assumption that the pope was overlord of Ireland and could therefore grant the entire island itself to whomever he pleased—in this case King Henry II of England—was an interesting legal labyrinth. For more than four centuries the popes maintained their right as overlords of Ireland.

By 1154, William I had captured important Italian cities and had

even confiscated 5,000 pounds of gold meant for the pope from his ally Manuel I. Eventually, Hadrian IV sued for peace. Under the peace agreement, William was invested with the territories of Naples, Amalfi, Salerno, and the March of Ancona; for his part, he pledged to be the pope's liegeman and pay a yearly tribute. Soon after this, Hadrian made peace with the Romans and returned to Rome. However, continued tension between the emperor, William I, and the papacy challenged Hadrian until his death on 1 September 1159.

See also **Arnold of Brescia; Eugenius III, Pope; Frederick I Barbarossa; William I**

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Hadrian V, Pope

Hadrian V (Ottobono Fieschi, c. 1205-1276, r. 11 July-18 August 1276) was pope for only five weeks. Following the death of Innocent V in 1276, the cardinals met at the Lateran under the eye of Charles of Anjou and elected Ottobono Fieschi, a nephew of Innocent IV, to the papacy. Fieschi had been a successful legate to England during the minority of Henry III (1265-1268), promulgating influential legatine statutes. Thereafter he promoted Angevin interests in the curia. Perhaps because of the rigors of the conclave, the new pope proposed a revision of the rules for electing a pope—his only official act during his brief tenure. Hadrian V fell ill in August 1276 and died at Viterbo both unconsecrated and uncrowned. In Canto 19 of *Purgatorio*, Dante reserves a place for Hadrian among the penitent who are purifying

themselves of the sin of avarice.

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Hagiography

Hagiography is the branch of learning that studies saints; sainthood; and the lives, miracles, and veneration of saints throughout history. This discipline developed from the particular nature of the documents, narratives, and accounts of saints' lives created during the course of the Middle Ages. The acts of martyrs (*acta martyrum*) and biographies of saintly men and women form a genre of devotional literature intended to be instructive and edifying while paying homage to the life and works of one or more saints or saintly persons awaiting official canonization.

Hagiographic texts may be literary, liturgical, or historical. The liturgical calendar celebrates a different saint each day. In the Middle Ages, monks began the practice of reading aloud the lives of saints on their feast days during communal meals in the refectories. Some of the hagiographic texts were too long to fit into the time allotted for a monastic meal and had to be abridged. This was the origin of texts such as the *Golden Legend* (*Legenda aurea*) by Jacobus da Voragine. Although these writings are varied and diversified, they all share certain basic characteristics and constitute a single genre. Although hagiographies are unreliable in terms of factual accuracy and historical veracity, they provide unique and valuable information about medieval traditions and customs. In order to prove sanctity, hagiographic texts often detail identical patterns and analogous occurrences in the lives of saints who lived far apart chronologically and geographically.

Sometimes the texts appear to follow a single guideline or model, to which they accommodate specific facts about the lives of individual saints.

Hagiography is fundamental in the study of the Middle Ages because of the importance given to the veneration of saints and everything connected with saints, such as icons and relics, during this era. Many hagiographies are anonymous; others are attributable; still others were written by great church figures, such as popes. Some hagiographies concern individual saints; some concern a group of saints; and some concern an entire class of saints—gathered, for example, according to geographic provenance, such as Eusebius of Caesarea's history of the martyrs of Palestine, Theodoret of Cyr's history of the monks of Syria, and Gregory the Great's history of the Italian fathers.

See also Canonization; Italian Literature: Religious; Jacobus da Voragine; Saints' Lives: Italian Hagiography in the Vernacular

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Hawkwood, Sir John

Sir John Hawkwood (Sir John de Hawkwood, Giovanni Acuto; c. 1320-1394) was born in Sibie Hedingham, Essex, the second son of a landowner and tanner named Gilbert Hawkwood, and died in Florence. John Hawkwood, a soldier and leader of mercenary troops, started his military career in France at the beginning of the Hundred Years' War and then became chief of mercenary bands for more than thirty years in Italy, where he was known as Giovanni Acuto.

John Hawkwood served in the army of Edward III, in France, and is said to have fought in the famous battles of Crècy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), gaining a knighthood. After the peace of Bretigny (1360), a great number of the troops were dismissed and many soldiers formed companies of free lances. Hawkwood became the chief of one such band. In 1362, he crossed the Alps and went south, into the service of the republic of Pisa, which was then at war with Florence. In 1364, he was elected captain general of a company of Englishmen called the White Company because of their shining arms and their splendid armor. With other mercenaries at the service of Pisa, Hawkwood attacked Florence and came near enough to the city to burn some suburbs. But the gold of Florence produced its effect, and all the other mercenaries, as well as a number of soldiers of the White Company itself, deserted him. He retired to Pisa with only 800 men.

In 1368, Hawkwood went north to Milan, where he was hired by Barnabò Visconti to fight against the pope and Florence. Hawkwood was sent again to central Italy to support Perugia in its revolt against the pope; there, he was surprised near Arezzo by German mercenaries who had been hired by the pope, was defeated, and was taken prisoner. However, he was ransomed by the Visconti, and he enjoyed such fame and prestige that he was able, in a short time, to put together another

company, consisting of his formerly scattered forces and hundreds of other mercenaries willing to serve under him. His army was so strong that it menaced the pope in Montefiascone and in Viterbo. Then, at Cascina, Hawkwood intercepted and defeated a force of Florentines with more than 4,000 men. Back in northern Italy, he defeated the forces of the marquis of Montferrat at Rubiera, in 1372, and laid siege to Asti. But he then left the service of Barnabò Visconti when Barnabò decided to reduce his pay.



Paolo Uccello (1397-1475), *Condottiere John Hawkwood* (1320-1394). Equestrian portrait. Duomo, Florence. Photo: © Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.

Within a few weeks, Hawkwood entered the service of the most determined of the current enemies of the Visconti, Pope Gregorius XI, who also had other leaders of mercenary troops at his service. One of

the other leaders, the French mercenary de Coucy, used a strategy that was based on attacking enemies at any cost, whereas Hawkwood thought that intimidation and threats could be more efficient and immensely less costly than open attack. For this reason, Hawkwood's contemporaries called him *cautissimus*. De Coucy caused Hawkwood to suffer an unmerited defeat at Montechiaro; but a few days after this, Hawkwood was able to turn on the pursuing Milanese and rout them.

In 1375, Hawkwood had to move against the free cities of Tuscany as commander of the papal army, which was strong enough to devastate the country but not to conquer the city-states of the region. When the Florentines offered a large sum of money in exchange for a solemn promise not to damage Florence and the other allied cities, Hawkwood persuaded the papal representative to accept the offer.

The pope was a bad paymaster and habitually answered Hawkwood's requests with vague promises and apostolic blessings. However, as payment for his services Hawkwood obtained the papal territories of Bagnacavallo, Cotignola, and Conselice in Romagna in 1376. In Italy, most of the cities in the papal territories were in rebellion against tyrannical exploitation by the papal legates, and Hawkwood was often asked to fight not against other armies but against the rebels—and to slaughter civilians, as he did in Cesena early in 1377. Chronicles report that 4,000 people were killed at Cesena. To avoid being used for the punishment of innocent people, Hawkwood decided to abandon the service of the pope in 1377 and joined the antipapal league, where he found his earlier enemies Barnabo Visconti and the Florentines.

Hawkwood, who was apparently a widower, married an illegitimate daughter of Barnabò, Donnina, in 1377. He moved to Romagna in order to establish himself in his possessions there, but soon the small dimensions of his land and the unfriendliness of his neighbors led him to change his mind. He decided instead to accept an offer from the republic of Florence, thus beginning a period of almost permanent service to the Florentine *signoria*. During the following fifteen years he fought against the pope and then against Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Barnabò's nephew, who had risen to power in Milan after ousting Barnabò. Hawkwood guided an army against Gian Galeazzo Visconti in northern Italy, with some success, and was able to retreat without losses when a disagreement with the allied forces made the course of

the campaign unfavorable. Contemporary sources regarded this retreat as a victory. When Hawkwood went again to northern Italy to fight against Verona, which was allied with the Visconti, he achieved a significant victory over the Milanese and Veronese forces at Castagnaro on 11 March 1387. In 1391, he bravely and efficaciously defended Florentine positions in Tuscany against the army of the Visconti, which eventually retreated.

Hawkwood received honors and consideration from the Florentine *signoria* and had a palace near Florence. He lived at this palace until his death, which occurred during the night of 16–17 March 1394. Solemn funerals were provided by the *signoria*, and his widow received a life pension. In 1430, the republic commissioned the famous artist Paolo Uccello to paint an equestrian portrait of John Hawkwood in the cathedral of Florence. The large fresco is still there, as well as the inscription, which begins: *Ioannis Acutus Eques Britannicus, Dux Aetatis suae Cautissimus et Ret Militaris Peritissimus*.

John Hawkwood was a typical *condottiere* and one of the best-known leaders of mercenary troops of his time. He served the most important and mightiest states of Italy—Florence, Milan, and the pope. His military ability was universally recognized. He is said to have introduced into Italy a strategy of the English army that involved dismounted knights wielding long lances and mobile archery squads with longbows. As a *condottiere* employed by different states, he could rarely develop autonomous strategies, but whenever possible he avoided the risk of fighting for targets that could be obtained by other means.

See also **Condottieri; Florence; Visconti Family**

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Henoticon

The dyophysite doctrine—belief in the two natures of Christ— was promulgated as orthodox dogma at the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451; however, it was deemed unacceptable by large numbers of Monophysite Christians, especially in Syria-Palestine and Egypt. The Monophysites' resistance to this dogma created not only a theological problem but also regional and factional political dissension.

The eastern emperor, Zeno (474-491), whose stormy reign had been complicated by this problem, attempted to resolve it, on the advice of his patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius (r. 472–489), by issuing the *Henoticon*, or Decree of Unity, on 28 July 482. The *Henoticon* was addressed specifically to Egyptian church circles. Without officially condemning the Chalcedonian doctrine, Zeno effectively bypassed it, reaffirming a doctrinally neutral stance based only on the earlier decrees of the Council of Nicaea.

While this vague, flexible approach was astute and was welcomed by moderates, it did not satisfy the hard-core extremists on either side, and the Monophysite dissent continued. Meanwhile, the adamant Chalcedonians secured the support of the new pope, Felix of Rome (r. 483-492), who condemned Zeno's decree (July 484) and

excommunicated Acacius. This act initiated the so-called Acacian schism, which had as much to do with questions of jurisdiction as with questions of doctrine and constituted the first such breach between the churches of Rome and Constantinople. Such opposition was ignored by Constantinople, however, and the *Henoticon* remained official imperial policy until 518, when Emperor Justin I abrogated it and ended the Acacian schism.

See also **Monophysite Controversy; Zeno, Emperor**

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Henry of Settimello

See Arrigo da Settimello

Henry II, Saint and Emperor

Henry II (973-1024, r. 1002-1024) was the last of the Saxon line of

German emperors, succeeding to the throne after the death of Otto III. Henry had been destined in his early years for a career in the church and had therefore received an outstanding education; he had also developed sympathy for the church reform movement. He was very pious and believed that he was the head of Christendom.

Henry, who was much more concerned with Germany than with Italy, journeyed to Italy only three times during his reign. The first journey was undertaken in response to Arduin of Ivrea, who had proclaimed himself king of Italy. Arduin was forced into the Alps, although he did not renounce his claim until 1015; and Henry was crowned at Pavia as king of Italy. The next expedition to Italy was in 1013-1014 at the request of Pope Benedict VIII, whom Henry had to rescue from fighting among Roman families. It was at this point, in 1014, that Henry was officially crowned in Rome as Holy Roman emperor. Henry's final journey to Italy, once again at the pope's request, took place in 1021-1022, when Henry pushed back the Byzantines in southern Italy and reattached Capua and Spoleto to the Holy Roman empire.

Pope Eugenius III canonized Henry in 1146.

See also **Eugenius III, Pope; Holy Roman Empire**

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Henry IV, Emperor

Henry IV (11 November 1050-7 August 1106) was born (possibly at Goslar) the son of Emperor Henry III and Agnes of Poitou; was elected king at Tribur in November 1053; and was crowned on 17 July 1054 at Aachen. He nominally began his reign in 1056, after the early death of his father. His guardianship was in the hands of Empress Agnes until April 1062, when conspirators led by Archbishop Anno II of Cologne abducted the young king. Anno also changed imperial ecclesiastical policy, dropping imperial support of Bishop Cadalus of Parma, who had been elected by Italian opponents of the reform movement in Rome as antipope Honorius II. In collaboration with Peter Damian, the German court recognized Pope Alexander II (r. 1061-1073). Henry began to govern in his own name in March 1065. In July 1066, he married Bertha of Turin; he tried to divorce her in June 1069 but desisted in the face of remonstrations by Peter Damian,

Henry's relationship with the German nobles was tense from the beginning of his reign, and the tension increased c. 1067, when Henry resumed his father's policy of establishing a firm hold on Saxony by strengthening and expanding royal rights and properties. Fortifications were occupied by predominantly southern German ministerial functionaries. The Saxons were provoked to resist, playing into the hands of Otto of Northeim, who had been duke of Bavaria since 1061. The summer of 1073 brought an armed revolt, but Henry's victory in the battle of Homburg in September 1075 was decisive enough to achieve the election of his son Conrad by the nobles at Christmastime 1075.

The defeat of the Pataria faction in Milan in the spring of 1075 and his own victory over the Saxons encouraged Henry to believe that he could solve the investiture problem, which had arisen in Milan as well. However, his nomination of Tedald to the archbishopric of Milan

provoked the fierce opposition of Pope Gregory VII, who expressed his opposition in writing in a letter of 8 December 1075 and also in an oral statement, of unknown content, delivered by the messengers. The reply came from the Diet of Worms (24 January 1076). The German episcopate, which resented the pope's hierocratic claims (i.e., claims having to do with government by ecclesiastics) and the centralization of the papacy, renounced their obedience to Gregory, claiming that his election had been illegal. Henry IV, in a separate letter, asked Gregory to resign. The northern Italian bishops immediately supported these measures. Gregory responded from a Lenten synod that he was holding in Rome (14-20 February 1076). In a prayer to the apostle Peter, the pope, relying on his power to loose and to bind as Peter's successor, deposed and excommunicated Henry and absolved Henry's subjects from their oath of obedience to the king. In response, many of the bishops deserted Henry, joining forces with the Bavarian and Saxon opposition. By October 1076, at a meeting of princes in Tribur, the king had to accept the terms of the opposition and declare his submission to the pope. Moreover, unless Henry was absolved from his excommunication by February 1077, the princes would proceed to elect a new king. Last but not least, the princes invited Gregory to Germany as an arbitrator to a diet that would be held at Augsburg in February 1077. Since Gregory refused to receive Henry in Rome, Henry decided in mid-December 1076 to meet the pope on Italian soil. Henry, with his wife Bertha and his two-year-old son Conrad, set out via Burgundy and Turin, crossing Mount Cenis because other Alpine passes were in the hands of his German opponents. Gregory withdrew to the fortress of Canossa (which belonged to Countess Matilda of Tuscany) when he learned of the king's arrival. Thanks to the mediation of Henry's godfather, Abbot Hugh of Cluny, and of countesses Matilda and Adelheid of Turin (the latter was Bertha's mother), Gregory finally reconciled Henry with the church on 28 January 1077 in a pastoral act. Henry had appeared in the inner courtyard of the castle for three days in a row, barefoot and dressed in a penitent's hairshirt, requesting permission to enter. Gregory, in his correspondence with the German princes, tried to leave the question of the kingship open, but after the events of Canossa he, in fact, again recognized Henry as king. This recognition lasted until the Lenten synod of 1080, when Henry was

excommunicated a second time. Simultaneously, Gregory recognized Rudolf of Rheinfelden, duke of Swabia, as the German king. Rudolf had been elected by the German princes on 15 March 1077, Henry's absolution of 18 February 1077 notwithstanding. At the synod of Brixen (June 1080) Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna was nominated by Henry and the princes as the successor of Gregory VII, whom the synod deposed. The death of Rudolf, and military as well as political successes, enabled Wibert and Henry to enter Rome in March 1084. Wibert was formally elected to the papacy and enthroned as Clement III. On Easter Sunday 1077, Clement III gave Henry and Bertha the imperial crown. Gregory had fled into Castel Sant'Angelo. His vassals, the Normans (under Nicholas II), came to his aid, forcing Henry and Clement to leave the city temporarily. But Gregory was also obliged to leave the city; he found refuge with the Normans at Salerno, where he died in 1085.

Henry, after his return to Germany, was at first able to consolidate his position. Henry V was elected as his successor and was crowned on 6 January 1099 at Aachen. With the death of Clement III in 1100, the end of schism in the church seemed possible. However, all the negotiations between Henry IV and Pope Paschal II (1099-1118) ended in failure, since Henry refused to give up investiture of bishops with ring and staff—the one demand on which Paschal insisted. The collapse of these negotiations with the papacy lay behind the rebellion of Henry V against his father. Hoping to obtain concessions from the pope and thus bring about peace between the church and the empire, Henry V rose against his father in late 1104; he captured Henry IV through a ruse in late 1105. At Ingelheim on 31 December 1105, Henry IV was forced to abdicate. He managed to flee and attempted to regain power; but he died at Liege on 7 August 1106. Eventually, Henry IV was buried in the cathedral of Speyer.

See also Canossa; Damian, Peter; Gregory VII, Pope; Henry V, Emperor; Investiture Controversy; Matilda, Countess of Tuscany; Paschal II, Pope; Pataria

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Henry V, Emperor

Henry V (11 August 1086-23 May 1125, r. 1106-1125) was the son of Emperor Henry IV and Bertha of Turin; he married Matilda, daughter of King Henry I of England in January 1114.

Henry V was elected king at the Diet of Mainz in 1098, at age twelve, in place of his elder brother Conrad. Conrad had been crowned at Aachen in 1087 as successor to the throne but had joined forces with Matilda of Tuscany and Pope Urban II (r. 1088–1099), who recognized him in 1095 in the mistaken belief that Conrad could count on support in both Germany and Italy. At a meeting in Cremona, Conrad had acted as honorary squire to the pope, holding the pope's stirrup, leading the pope's horse by the bridle, and swearing the customary oath of security. Henry IV had learned a lesson from this. His son Henry had to swear an oath never to act against his father's interests so long as his father was alive. When Henry V nevertheless rebelled against his father, he secured a dispensation from that oath from Pope Paschal II (r.

1099-1118). Paschal was anxious to settle the investiture question for the empire, as he was to settle it successfully for France (1107) and England (1105), and did not hesitate in recognizing Henry V, who appeared to be a champion of the church in Germany and was allied with Henry IV's princely opponents.

However, when Henry IV died (on 7 August 1106), Henry V resumed his father's policies both in Saxony and with regard to the investiture question and the papacy. In negotiations at Sutri during the winter of 1111, Henry V obtained Paschal's recognition of royal claims to the "regalia," i.e., secular rights and properties, even when these had been granted as gifts to the church. Using semantic manipulations, Henry V could promise solemnly to renounce investiture with ring and staff if Paschal would require German ecclesiastics to return their regalia to the empire. Both agreements were embodied in charters to be read at the imperial coronation ceremony in April 1111 in Saint Peter's. Henry's purposeful use of propaganda—the first by a medieval ruler—has muddied the waters for historians; but in any event an uproar in the entourages of both king and pope during the ceremony prevented the public reading of either document. Paschal, who considered that Henry had failed to fulfill the agreement, refused to crown him and was then captured, along with his clergy, including many cardinals. To prevent the election of an antipope, Paschal eventually gave in, crowning Henry and allowing him to continue to invest bishops and abbots with ring and staff. This privilege was withdrawn in 1112. Henry's negotiations over this question with Pope Calixtus II in 1119 failed once again; but under pressure from the German princes and the church, Henry finally agreed to the compromise of Worms (later the concordat) of 1122. Under this agreement Henry would be satisfied with the right to use the scepter in investing canonically elected clergy with the temporal possessions of their sees; he would abandon the use of the ring and staff, which had become symbols of spiritual office. Henry thus implicitly abandoned claims to a theocratic kingship, accepting his position as layman with regard to the church.

Henry V died childless. His death ended the Salian (or Franconian) dynasty, but his efforts to maintain the rights of the crown were responsible for a renewal of the empire under the Hohenstaufen. He is buried with his ancestors in the cathedral at Speyer.

See also Calixtus II, Pope; Henry IV, Emperor; Investiture Controversy; Matilda, Countess of Tuscany; Paschal II, Pope; Urban II, Pope

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Henry VI Hohenstaufen

Henry VI (1165-28 September 1197) was born at Nijmegen in the Netherlands and died at Messina. His father was Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa and his mother Beatrix of Burgundy. Henry was elected king of Germany at Bamberg in June 1169 and was crowned at Aachen on 15 August 1169. He was invested with his German lands in 1179.

Henry played a key supporting role in Frederick's efforts to recover his authority in Italy after the peace of Venice (1177), which sealed his failure to assert imperial control over the cities of northern Italy. Pope Alexander III (r. 1159—1181) remained wary of imperial intentions in Italy even after making peace with the emperor. Alexander's successor, Lucius III (r. 1181 — 1185), shared this skepticism and refused Frederick's request to crown Henry coemperor. Frederick subsequently arranged with William II Hauteville, the king of Norman Sicily, for the marriage of Henry and Constance, who was William's aunt and the daughter of Roger II. Henry and Constance were betrothed in 1184 and were married at Milan on 27 January 1186. Henry was crowned king of

Italy and remained there to oversee the ever-shifting relationship between the empire and the Lombard cities. Henry ruled the entire empire after Frederick Barbarossa departed on a crusade in 1189; he became emperor when Frederick died en route to the Holy Land in 1190.

Henry inherited not only the empire but also an imperial agenda. The Hohenstaufen cultivated an ideology of world empire grounded in Roman law and worked to strengthen the monarchy in a Germany dominated by princes. They attempted to increase imperial power in Italy. They led the effort to secure the Holy Land. This ambitious program aroused a great deal of enmity; indeed, the ambitions of the Hohenstaufen clashed with those of the papacy in almost every particular. Henry brought a cold, ruthless intelligence to his struggles with popes, German princes, Lombard cities, and Norman barons; but his impatience and brutality often marred his otherwise adroit handling of the many crises that he encountered during his short reign.

Henry faced two problems immediately. William II died childless in 1189. The Norman barons feared German domination and attempted to prevent Henry from claiming Sicily by right of his wife, Constance. They elected as king Tancred of Lecce, the illegitimate grandson of Roger II. Before Henry could turn his attention to Sicily, trouble erupted in Germany. In 1190, the deposed Welf duke of Saxony, Henry the Lion, returned from exile in England to resume his struggle with the Hohenstaufen. Henry quickly suppressed that revolt and returned to Italy. Pope Celestine III (r. 1191-1198) reluctantly crowned Henry emperor on 15 April 1191, as a reward for making peace between the Roman barons and the papacy. However, the fear of imperial encirclement of the papal patrimony in central Italy induced Celestine to favor Tancred against the emperor. Henry laid siege to Naples, but disease forced him to lift the siege. By the end of 1191 he was back in Germany and facing a coalition of the Welfs and their allies.

In 1192, Henry was implicated in the murder of Albert of Brabant, an anti-imperialist whom Celestine III had confirmed as bishop of Liège. This murder further widened the breach that had opened between the pope and the emperor over the pope's support for Tancred and the emperor's acquisition of the Matildine lands in Tuscany and Umbria. Early in 1193, Duke Leopold V of Austria captured King Richard I of

England, who was returning from the Holy Land, and handed him over to the emperor. The imprisonment of the crusader king provoked widespread outrage in western Europe, but Henry turned it to advantage. Richard eventually paid the merciless emperor a ransom of 150,000 pounds and acknowledged him as overlord. The Welfs were then reconciled with Henry. Both Richard and the Welfs abandoned Tancred. These events estranged the French monarchy from Henry, and the influence of the papacy in the Netherlands increased after the murder of Albert; but soon after Richard's release in February 1194, Henry was again free to pursue his claim to the kingdom of Sicily.

Tancred died on 20 February 1194. He was succeeded by his young son, William III, but the boy king could not organize opposition to Henry. William was captured, blinded, and sent to Germany. All resistance collapsed. Henry was crowned king of Sicily at Palermo on 25 December 1194. The next day, the future Frederick II was born to Constance at Jesi. The prosperous and well-governed kingdom of Sicily financed Henry's expanding political ambitions. Henry clamped down on the Norman barons and installed loyal German followers throughout the kingdom. He applied economic pressure on the Barbary ports of North Africa. He bestowed crowns on the kings of Cyprus and Lesser Armenia. He arranged a marriage between his brother, Philip of Swabia, and Irene, the daughter of the late Byzantine emperor, Isaac II Angelus. He forced Isaac's successor, Alexius III, to pay tribute for lands that William II once held in the Balkans. He pressed the kings of France and Aragon to acknowledge his overlordship as Richard had done. Henry took the cross at Easter 1195 and began to prepare a major crusade to the Holy Land. By the end of 1195, Henry was well on his way to establishing the hegemony of the Hohenstaufen in the Mediterranean.

The crusade improved relations between Henry and Celestine III, despite the pope's discomfort over imperial control of the kingdom of Sicily, the Matildine lands, and the Adriatic portion of the patrimony. Henry felt secure enough in Italy to return to Germany. Henry the Lion died in August 1195; this was, therefore, a good time for Henry to pursue increased imperial authority in Germany. In 1196, Henry called a diet at Würzburg, at which he attempted to persuade the princes to make the imperial title hereditary. In exchange, he offered the secular

princes unrestricted inheritance of fiefs in the male and female lines and offered the ecclesiastical princes a repeal of *ius spolii*, which allowed the emperor to seize the personal property of deceased prelates. Henry did not sway the princes, however. The pope, fearing that a hereditary empire in Hohenstaufen hands would threaten the independence of the papacy, refused to intervene on behalf of the emperor. The archbishop of Cologne, who feared that his customary right to crown the elected kings of Germany would become an empty formality, led a successful opposition. As a consolation prize, the princes elected the young Frederick king of Germany in December 1196.

Henry's humiliation at Erfurt worsened existing conflicts in Germany, Lombardy, the papal states, and the kingdom of Sicily. Henry returned to Italy in 1197, disappointed and angry. He ruled the kingdom of Sicily with an iron hand. He enforced royal prerogatives pitilessly and revoked many of the privileges that Tancred had granted to the Norman barons. A plot against Henry's life escalated into a full-scale insurrection. Longstanding resentment among the Muslims in western Sicily exploded. Henry suppressed the barons' revolt quickly, effectively, and savagely; but the Muslims' revolt flared off and on until Frederick II finally extinguished it in the 1220s. Some German sources have implicated Constance in the plot against Henry, but they continued to live together and rule the kingdom jointly.

By mid-1197, Henry felt confident enough to concentrate on the crusade. He saw it as a chance to display his devotion to the faith, demonstrate his military prowess, and thus win support among prelates and princes. Henry sent a small force forward to the Holy Land in late summer, but he himself died of a fever, perhaps malaria, at Messina on 28 September 1197. The expedition that Henry had planned fizzled when he died. Constance ruled the kingdom of Sicily after his death, but she, too, died in 1198. Her four-year-old son, Frederick, succeeded her.

For a decade, turbulence gripped the kingdom of Sicily. Constance had relinquished Sicily to the papacy as a fief, but Pope Innocent III (r. 1198-1216), the guardian of young Frederick, put more effort into solidifying papal lordship than into protecting the interests of his ward. Innocent exploited the disputed imperial succession in Germany to enhance papal claims of universal lordship. He consolidated the

patrimony into a coherent state to impede future imperial threats to the popes' freedom of action in central Italy. He claimed papal leadership of the crusade at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

Henry's political program disintegrated at his premature death. His claims to a universal empire lapsed; Sicily and much of the rest of Italy were riven with strife; a disputed succession plunged Germany into civil war; and the papacy seized control of the crusading movement. Henry left as a legacy to his son a fierce commitment to imperial greatness, royal power, and the crusade; but enduring hostility and suspicion were also part of that legacy. The deep hatred that Henry VI aroused among his many enemies passed all but intact to Frederick II.

See also Constance; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Innocent III, Pope; Tancred of Lecce and Roger III, Kings of Sicily; William II

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Henry VII of Luxembourg

Henry of Luxembourg (c. 1275-1313) was the son and heir of Count Henry III of Luxembourg (d. 1288). Young Henry was raised at the French court and spoke French as his native tongue. In 1292, he married Margaret, daughter of the duke of Brabant. As count, Henry he was noted for his effective rule, especially as peacekeeper in local feudal disputes. After Albert, king of the Romans, was assassinated on 1 May 1308, Henry was elected unanimously in Frankfurt on 27 November 1308. He was crowned on 6 January 1309 in Aachen.

Within weeks of his coronation Henry began preparations for his *Romzug*, the journey to Rome for coronation as emperor. Although several of his predecessors had avoided it, Henry felt a need to gain the prestige that the Germans associated with the imperial title, given his own dynastic obscurity and the concessions he had made to be elected. He also wanted to reassert the imperial presence in Italy, which, although practically semiautonomous, was legally subject to the emperor.

In July 1309, Henry assured Pope Clement V, who was resident in Avignon, that he would observe and defend the rights and privileges of the cities of the papal states and would embark, as emperor, on a crusade. In return, the pope formally supported Henry's journey. During the spring of 1310, royal emissaries traveled through Lombardy and Tuscany to prepare the cities for Henry's arrival. In early

November 1310, Henry arrived in Turin accompanied by some 5,000 men, including 500 cavalry. Henry would never cross the Alps again.



Tino di Camaino (c. 1285-1337), monument to Henry VII (c. 1275-1313), Holy Roman emperor. Camposanto, Pisa. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Northern Italy was fragmented into nearly independent city-states that often suffered from deep social and political divisions. Guelfs and Ghibellines fought openly in cities, often making bitter, potent exiles of the losers. Urban nobles had long clashed with the non-noble classes over interests and political power bases, and in many cities strong leaders emerged as one-man rulers, or *signori*. For decades, cities had created and followed their own laws and policies, controlled their

hinterlands, and maintained delicate intercity relations by custom and compromise without reference to imperial interests. Although Henry had been a successful politician and lord north of the Alps, his ignorance of Italian institutions, politics, and recent history would prove fatal to him in Italy. With the best intentions—he wanted to be an impartial conciliator and peacemaker—he would upset these complicated relationships by consciously supporting Ghibellines and nobles, deposing old *signori* and imposing new ones, pressing imperial claims to what had become communal lands and rights, and replacing communal statutes with imperial laws.

As early as March 1310, Tuscan cities led by Florence and Bologna created a Guelf defensive league, nominally under the patronage of the pope and the Angevin King Robert of Naples. The league wanted guarantees against imperial interference in communal affairs; in return, the league would support Henry with cash and troops. Early in his campaign, Henry confirmed the Guelfs' fears. Between 11 November and 11 December he radically interfered in the affairs of the town of Asti—reorganizing political offices, releasing officials, and retrying criminals. As Henry marched toward Milan, the Guelf *signore* Guido della Torre refused to give up his palace or his personal mercenary guard. Guido's defiance remained peaceful, however, and on 23 December Henry entered Milan. He soon replaced Guido with the Ghibelline Matteo Visconti. On 6 January 1311, Henry was crowned king of the Lombards; the dismayed Tuscan Guelfs avoided attending the ceremony. The Milanese offered Henry a "gift" of 100,000 florins; and Henry, taking 100 young noblemen as a bodyguard (and hostages), left Milan on 14 February.

On 10 January, Henry had made his brother-in-law, Amadeus of Savoy, vicar-general of Lombardy, to act as fiscal, judicial, and military agent of the king. This arrangement would cost the cities some 300,000 florins per year. By February, Guelf forces reacted. On 12 February, the della Torre faction revolted in Milan and were put down with moderation. Later in the month Brescia, Crema, Cremona, and Reggio expelled both their Ghibellines and their imperial vicars. Again, Henry responded moderately, but the rebels resisted and holed up in Cremona. Many of them submitted to Henry on 26 April, but he took revenge by destroying the city gates and walls and the rebels' houses, imposing

fines, and withdrawing civic rights and privileges. Resistance stiffened, and by 19 May Henry's army was besieging Brescia. Despite plague and desertion, it remained in place for four months and broke the resistance. Harsh reprisals, but no death penalties, followed.

Henry moved on to Genoa, arriving on 21 October. Town leaders and the king carried out long negotiations over regalian rights in the countryside, most of which Henry retained or regained. Between October 1311 and mid-February 1312, when Henry left for Pisa, Guelfs in Lodi, Reggio, Cremona, Piacenza, Parma, Pavia, Padua, and Brescia rebelled against their imperial governments. Since Florence was the key supporter of the revolts, Henry declared all Florentines rebels and released their debtors of their debts. Revolts in Brescia, Lodi, and Piacenza were quelled, but in April both Asti and Treviso rebelled. Pisa welcomed Henry on 6 March, and while he waited for reinforcements he wisely refrained from interfering in Pisan affairs.

By 7 May, Henry's force was outside Rome, now controlled by Angevin Guelfs from Naples. Henry's long-delayed coronation was delayed further by military resistance in Rome. Despite a major victory on 26 May, Henry could not capture Saint Peter's, so the pope's reluctant representatives crowned Henry in Saint John Lateran (29 June 1312). The new emperor now turned against Tuscany to punish Florence. In mid-September Henry's siege began, with 15,000 men and 2,000 cavalry against the Florentines' 60,000 men and 4,000 knights. The operation was unsuccessful, though it lasted six weeks.

On 10 March 1313, Henry reentered faithful Pisa. His patience long since exhausted, the emperor condemned all inhabitants of rebellious cities to be captured, stripped, and hanged. Papal interests were also threatened as Henry condemned Bologna, for example, and declared the papal vassal Robert of Naples guilty of lese-majeste for having opposed the coronation and having interfered in Rome. Publicists revived papal and imperial claims to universal authority, and a lively scholarly debate—which involved Dante (in *Monarchia*)—ensued. Henry also prepared to invade Naples, and on 8 August 1313 he left: Pisa for Siena and points south. He died of malaria while besieging Guelf Siena on 24 August, and was buried in the baptistery of Pisa.

See also Brescia; Cremona; Dante Alighieri; Florence; Ghibelline;

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Heraldry

Heraldry—an interdisciplinary historical science whose objects are coats of arms—goes back to the beginning of the twelfth century in France. At that time, heralds, in the service of noblemen, especially in tournaments or in wars, could recognize knights from their coats of arms and praise the ones who distinguished themselves. (Old French *biraut* is a loanword from Old High German *hariowalt* "foreman of the army.") In the fourteenth century heralds were also in the service of the Italian communes. Their responsibility was often identical to that of trumpeters and town criers. Heralds were active in diplomatic service and as masters of ceremonies, and they occasionally composed political verses for the lords, as did the head of the office of heralds of the Florentine *signoria*, which came into existence in 1350. All heralds were representative, symbolic figures; they constituted a community in which reality melded with the ideal—whether courtly chivalry or "good" government. In their records we find descriptions of coats of arms; these follow definite rules and can be included in a broad definition of heraldry along with the activity of the heralds. Moreover, a broader concept of heraldry includes not only the coats of arms in their historical context but also the art of coats of arms. Besides the established specialized heraldic literature of the fourteenth century (letters on coats of arms, rolls of coats of arms, and treatises), the sources for the medieval Italian system of heraldry consist of allusions in written sources; preserved blazons and flags; and symbolic

representations on seals and coins and in architecture, art, and handicrafts.

The object of these descriptions is the full coat of arms, which consists of the blazon and the helmet with the helmet cover and crest. Other distinguishing characteristics include the holder of the shield, and pictorial and written devices. The meaning of the full coat of arms depends on the arrangement of elements according to a system of rules; another determining factor is its ability to be passed on from generation to generation. The shape of the shields reproduced in the sources conforms to those actually used, while emphasizing characteristic features. This was especially true of Italian heraldry. Together with the "classic" three-cornered shield of the thirteenth century, Italians in the fourteenth century also preferred a rounded almond-shaped shield and the *targe* that on the upper right side had a place for the spear. Coats of arms were described from the perspective of the man who puts on the shield (i.e., left and right are seen from his point of view). The colorful nature of a coat of arms is determined by various dyes: from metallic tones—gold (*or*) and silver (*argent*)—and red (*gules*), blue (*azur*), black (*sable*), green (*vert*, later also *simple*) and purple (*puorpre*). To aid the recognition of coats of arms, it was determined that no metallic tone should be close to another, and the same was true for individual colors. Moreover, fur was used in decorative combination with one metallic tone and one color: e.g., the silver-black ermine and the silver-blue vair.

In medieval Italian heraldry, popular decorative schemes included wave and cloud forms. Colors were used to organize and subdivide a coat of arms, either through divisions on the shield's surface or through use of various stylized heraldic elements such as chevrons or lances, or common figures such as a lion, star, or lily. Symbolic coats of arms were preferred by families (Malaspina: thorn bush; Colonna: column; Delia Scala: ladder) and cities (Aquilaia: eagle; Chiavenna: key; Rovereto: oak). The helmet cover generally repeated the colors of the shield, the crest those of the content of the shield. However, the crest often depicted another figure (e.g., the lion mask with the wings of the house of Savoy), which was passed on as was the blazon.

The system of coats of arms spread from the French-Anglo-Norman area to the rest of Europe c. mid-twelfth century as part of the knightly and courtly culture. Beginning in the thirteenth century, even non-

nobles had coats of arms. Above all, the spread of the use of seals, and the increased use of coats of arms on seals, made the system of seals a catalyst for the development of systems of coats of arms. The rules for these systems were governed by new social norms and the assignment of symbolic meanings to the elements found therein. Influenced by feudal and Roman laws, a legal system involving coats of arms developed. In the fourteenth century, this led to a practice whereby, since the time of Charles IV, emperors, popes, and some cities were given the right to grant or to make improvements on coats of arms for use in writing letters, as well as the right to reserve coats of arms for themselves and to name counts (*comites palatini Caesarei* or *papales*) who could also grant coats of arms. In this context, we find the famous treatise of Bartolo di Sassoferato (or Bartolus, c. 1314-1357), a judge from Perugia who formulated the principle that anyone may receive and bear a coat of arms, if he does not claim a particular title by means of this insignia and does not damage the reputation and property of others, either materially or symbolically. On this topic, Bartolo makes particular reference to the use of coats of arms as official stamps (*bollo*) and as trademarks (i.e., by notaries, craftsmen, and trading companies). We must also note that the bearing of coats of arms required a specific social status in order to be recognized.

In addition to the fact that individual soldiers could be identified by their coats of arms, these insignia functioned not only as a symbol of social status but also as a symbolic means of communication. Their symbolism derived primarily from the imagery of a secular military culture, which had already associated itself in an earlier time with ecclesiastical, animal, and color symbolism. In this way it is possible to see the broader connection between the characteristics of wild animals (which were popular from the very beginning as figures for shields) and the people who bore the coats of arms. This connection was later extended to include material present in the Bible and in bestiaries for spiritual and courtly allegories.

The invasions of Italy by German kings and the crusades brought many new heraldic influences to Italy. The noble coat of arms of the members of the house of Hohenstaufen (with the German eagle) played an important role as a symbol of sovereignty both in the kingdom of Italy and in the kingdom of Sicily. Two illuminated manuscripts

provide evidence of the use of heraldic material in Italy: one of the earliest pictorial testimonials, the book of Petrus of Eboli (c. 1195-1197), depicts Henry VI on a campaign in southern Italy; and the so-called Balduineum manuscript (1340) shows Henry VII's march to Rome, in which we see the flourishing late medieval use of coats of arms.

The pontificate of Boniface VIII marked a turn toward the uninterrupted use of coats of arms by the papacy. From 1300 on, the popes began to display family coats of arms, above which were placed the papal insignia such as Peter's keys, the shield (*conopeum*), and the tiara, whose importance as the papal crown was established in the first half of the fourteenth century. In addition to the personal coats of arms of the popes, a coat of arms for the church itself was established c. 1300—two crossed silver keys on a red field. This coat of arms went back to the emblems and representations on thirteenth-century banners and represented the church both in general terms and as a political power. To the noble representation of the pope belonged the creation of the "knights of the golden spurs" who bore Peter's keys as a symbol of their *militia aurata*.

In the second half of the twelfth century, the communes of northern Italy adopted their own coats of arms, which displayed their self-confidence. Preheraldic symbols of power, such as flags, preceded them and influenced their design. Retrospectively, at the end of the communal age almost all of the cities' *signa*— i.e., banners, bells, war chariots (*carroccio*), and seals—contained heraldic figures. The ideal of peace so fervently desired by the communes always found symbolic expression in their coats of arms. Many coats of arms featuring the cross resulted from this notion and developed under the influence of religious unification movements in the eleventh and twelfth century and of a society that waged war in the name of Christ. For this reason, the two colors of a civic coat of arms were interpreted as the unity of magnates and *popole* in a commune. In the second half of the fourteenth century, this idea found expression in the written motto *libertas* in additional coats of arms in Bologna and Siena, which were almost always gold on blue; and in Florence on the coat of arms of the *otto santi* ("eight saints"), which were silver on red. In the collective consciousness, coats of arms stood for the honor, unity, and continuity of the town. They legitimized power and political action and integrated

the various groups within the city. In civic rituals, the coat of arms was combined with other communal symbols. Furthermore, civic coats of arms were displayed as a sign of power at special public areas of the city (such as city gates and the gates of cities under its control, citadels, communal palaces, and churches). In addition to their coats of arms, many communes had symbolic animals, like the griffin of Genoa and the imperial eagle of Pisa, which also appear as figures on seals, as well as the Sienese she-wolf, the Florentine lion (*marzocco*), and the lion of Saint Mark of Venice. Beginning in the late fourteenth century, the latter two coats of arms were put into sculptural form by the republics as symbols of power in those cities over which they ruled. Towns in the areas controlled by these cities also displayed the coats of arms of the dominant communes as an indication of protection and dominion; these coats of arms were adorned with the figures and colors of their own insignia. The varied structure of society became visible through the many coats of arms displayed by different classes of people: the *popolo*, the guilds, the confraternities, the neighborhoods of the city (usually determined by the names of the city gates), political parties, communal officers, religious societies, canons (the chapter), and even the masons who constructed the cathedral: each group had its own coat of arms.

The dynamic quality of both communal and family coats of arms makes Italian heraldry special. While traditional and inherited family coats of arms expressed continuity and so remained virtually unchanged, communal coats of arms underwent changes in order to maintain their symbolic identity. When a changeover in power came from within the commune—and not from outside—a transformation in the coat of arms was very risky. The potential for change in heraldic standards made modifications in coats of arms necessary for their survival. A prominent example was the inversion of the colors on the Florentine coat of arms, which at one time presented a silver lily on a red field but was later altered, following the exile of the Ghibellines (see Dante, *Paradiso*, 16.151-154), to a red lily on a white field.

Members of both the magnate families and the *popolo* bore family coats of arms that often demonstrated their affiliation through the choice of a specific color or design. In addition, the cavalry who were responsible for their armament considered themselves part of the knighthood and bore a coat of arms. Family coats of arms inspired

artistic representation on objects and on family tombs in commemorative chapels in churches. Special attention must be given to the custom—especially popular in central Italy—according to which the ruler of a town, either the *podestà* or the curate, had a stone plaque with his coat of arms mounted on the communal palace in memory of his term in office. Here family and communal honors united and influenced each other. The leader thus established his noble status, which he needed to qualify for the office; and the coats of arms, which remained in constant view of the citizens, emphasized governmental continuity and honored the families for their civic service. Individuals announced their party affiliation—Ghibelline or Guelf—through shield heads on their family coats of arms, in which they inserted the crest of the ruling house or family, as, for example, the house of Anjou (see Dante, *Paradiso*, 6). In contrast to the honor associated with the bearing of coats of arms, we find much criticism of the arrogance that such practices engendered. However, this criticism was motivated by abuses and did not jeopardize the basic principles concerning the nature of coats of arms. Thus Bernardino of Siena attempted to stop the dispute between parties that made peace within the city impossible. He wanted his emblem—the monogram of Christ in the sun—to replace the coats of arms of those parties whose arrogance remained a constant source of trouble as long as their emblems were clearly visible.

With the advent of the *signorie*, the dynamics of the coats of arms borne by noble families invaded the civic symbolism of the commune. The old coats of arms of the town continued to exist but were replaced by those of the *signorie* on monuments, flags, seals, and coins in the public arena. The binding of these noble families into the dynastic and close-knit European aristocracy is also visible in their bearing of coats of arms. Dynastic and other legitimizing forces led to a reevaluation of coats of arms and to their increased importance relative to the coats of arms of aristocratic families, related either by marriage or by class, and the coats of arms purchased or claimed by rulers. In the same way, signorial heraldry was characterized by the use of devices (*imprese*) that consisted mostly of a combination of pictorial and written signs and could be ephemeral symbols of individual personality or could be inherited. With their motifs, in which courtly and religious symbolism and allegories of virtue were united, the *imprese* are, at the same time,

personal creations of Italian heraldry and witnesses to the international figurative language of courtly culture. Princely *imprese*, which could also be worn as symbols of affiliation and party, became symbols of courtly orders, e.g., the love knot and the motto *Fert* of Amadeus VI of Savoia for the Order of the Collar—the later order of Annunziati—established by him in 1364. The *imprese*, which were becoming more and more complicated, signaled the dissolution of Italian heraldry through the increasing infiltration of emblems in the early Renaissance, e.g., through archaizing of mythological figures—which were popular primarily in the numerous academies—or through the arrangement of coats of arms according to the varying artistic styles.

See also **Bartolus of Sassoferrato; Flags and Banners**

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Heresy and Religious Dissent

The Christian notion of heresy, or false teaching, emerged in the first years of the church's existence. Powerful differences of opinion about the meaning of Jesus and his words led to struggles that threatened to tear apart the tiny Christian communities. Purity of doctrine became a major concern of Christian leaders, who began to experiment with methods of controlling dissent. The Greek word *haeresis* (choice), originally a neutral term for a sect or a school of philosophy, began to be used to describe divisive teachings emanating from "those who have lost their grip on truth" (1 Timothy 6:5). Various Pauline and Petrine epistles (Galatians 5:20, Ephesians 1:10, 2 Timothy 2:17, Titus 3:9–11, 2 Peter 2:1–9) warn of the dangers of heresies and those who foster them. First Corinthians (11:18-19) provides the classic justification for the existence of such disturbances in the church: "There must be heresies, so that those who are sound may be manifest among you." Titus (3:10) offers a common solution: expulsion of heretics from the community.

Heresy soon came to serve an important function for early Christians: its perceived errors, along with those of paganism and Judaism, were used to help distinguish authentic from false teachings. The notion of heresy reinforced the church's reliance on the scriptures and apostles as sources of authentic doctrine, and on the bishops as authoritative teachers. It also led to the development of the "rule of faith," a uniform set of essential beliefs handed down from the apostolic church that were to be used to test suspicious doctrines. In the fourth century, the general council, a meeting of all the bishops in the church, became the ultimate authority in determining the apostolicity of a teaching.

Uniformity of belief remained a constant goal of late Roman Christianity, but it was never realized. From the third to sixth centuries, intense speculation about Christ's nature as God and man led to a series of widely held doctrines—Docetism, Sabellianism, Adoptionism, Arianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, Monophysitism,

Monothelitism—which were eventually condemned as heresies. At the same time, discussions of sin, divine grace, and ecclesiastical authority produced Pelagianism and Donatism, which were also condemned. As these doctrines were debated, each side accused the other of heresy. Decades and sometimes centuries passed before the debates were finally resolved.

The conversion of Emperor Constantine early in the fourth century presented Christians with a new method of dealing with heresy. By 392, Christianity was the only legal religion in the Roman empire. Christians came to control state authority and used it to coerce and punish heretics. Roman law now prescribed confiscation of property, branding, exile, and even execution for heresy. Roman police and soldiers were used against dissenters. By the time the Roman government of western Europe collapsed in the sixth century, the idea that heretics were a serious danger to the state as well as the church, and consequently liable to capital punishment, was well established in western Christian thought.

From the barbarian invasions of the fifth century to the economic revival of the eleventh, heresy lost much of its urgency for western Christians. Conversion of the largely heathen Germanic peoples became a greater concern than suppression of heterodoxy. These new converts were more likely to relapse into pagan ways or apostasize than to embrace heresy. Only a few heresies were noted during this period, mostly relics of the past like the Adoptionism of the Carolingian bishop Felix of Urgel.

This situation began to change in the early eleventh century. A growing interest in religious reform and the apostolic life brought with it a revival of heresy. Among the clerical elite, increased theological speculation produced much doctrinal controversy and occasional heterodoxy. This type of heresy, often called "learned" or "intellectual" by modern scholars, usually centered on some relatively recondite issue, as in the case of the eleventh-century scholastic Berengar of Tours. Berengar denied that the bread and wine in the eucharist changed substantially into Christ's body and blood. His denial was rooted in his interpretation of the newly developed scholastic notion of substance. Predictably enough, heresies like Berengar's attracted few followers. Authorities successfully dealt with those few by public

condemnation.

The other major type of heresy, often called "popular" by modern scholars, presented a greater problem for church leaders. Popular heresies emerged from the religious concerns of ordinary laymen and occasionally found wide support. They first appeared among isolated groups of peasants and townsmen in various parts of Europe during the eleventh century. Occasionally they were led by clerics. Though their specific doctrines varied, many seem to have been inspired by the contemporary monastic reform movement. The reformers identified monastic practice—poverty, chastity, and obedience—with the perfection taught by Christ and the apostles in the gospels. The leaders of popular heresies did the same, frequently demanding an austere life, poverty, and chastity of their lay adherents. Their certainty that they were following the commands of Christ led some to reject priestly authority when they were opposed by the clergy. Condemnation for heresy usually followed.

Popular heresy tapered off in the second half of the eleventh century, perhaps because the enthusiasm it represented was absorbed by the reform movement headed by the Gregorian papacy. But it quickly resurfaced in the early twelfth century as the papal reformers began to compromise with local churches. Continuing the fight against clerical corruption became a major concern of the popular religious movements of this era, which again identified poverty, and now preaching, with apostolicity. Their leaders were quick to reject clergy who failed to meet strict standards, just as Gregorian reformers had done a few decades earlier. Arnold of Brescia, for example, attacked even the papacy for failing to meet apostolic standards of poverty. Henry of Lausanne and Peter of Bruis denied the scriptural basis of both clerical authority and the sacraments that clerics dispensed.

Despite the persecution of these heterodox groups, the notion that the life of the apostle—poverty and preaching—was for all Christians, not just the clergy, was widespread by the late twelfth century. It became a significant strain of lay spirituality, reflecting a new desire on the part of laymen to have greater control of their religious lives. Urban laymen, especially, conceived of the poverty of the apostles in a novel way: not as the pooling of goods typical of the monastery, but as the precarious day-to-day existence of the contemporary urban beggar. This

image of the begging apostle became a source of intense friction between laity and clergy in the later Middle Ages, a rebuke to clerical wealth and power. Various groups imitating the begging apostles emerged in the late twelfth century. Two, the Franciscans and Dominicans, were approved by the papacy as mendicant religious orders and served it as important opponents of heresy in the thirteenth century. But many groups were condemned as heterodox. The most successful group was the Waldensians, founded by the merchant Valdes at Lyon in the 1170s. After being accused of heresy and driven from Lyon, the Waldensians spread through France, Italy, and Germany. Although some sought reconciliation with the church, others asserted that the Roman church had lost its authority when it took on wealth in the time of Constantine. They insisted on following all the commands and precepts of Christ, even those traditionally reserved to the clergy, and resisted the authority of the clergy who opposed them. The Waldensians saw themselves as a remnant of Christ's "true church" that had preserved its doctrines untainted from apostolic times. Loosely organized around their own lay ministers, Waldensian communities managed to survive throughout the Middle Ages, primarily in rural areas. They were the first medieval heterodox movement to find a wide following and to flourish despite clerical persecution. Several Waldensian doctrines became hallmarks of the late medieval heresies that focused on apostolic poverty: the mendicancy of the apostles, the apostleship of all believers, the rejection of clerical authority as unapostolic, and the identification of a small group of righteous believers as a faithful remnant living in a larger church that had succumbed to corruption and error.

Catharism, the other great popular heresy of the later Middle Ages, had origins very different from those of the Waldensians, but the Cathars—or "pure ones"—did share the Waldensians' disdain for ecclesiastical wealth. The Cathars were dualists who first appeared in France and the Rhineland during the mid-twelfth century. They became particularly strong in southern France. Cathars seem to have drawn their doctrines from the Bogomils of the Balkans. According to their Catholic opponents, whose testimony is the only record of their beliefs, they asserted the absolute incompatibility of spirit and matter, soul and body. God and Satan were the principles of good and evil, respectively:

one the creator of the spiritual world, the other of the material world. The souls of humans and other living things were angels trapped by Satan in matter; only extreme ascetic practices would render a soul pure enough to avoid transmigration to another body after death. Cathars also rejected Christ's divinity, the sacraments, the priesthood, and the authority of the church. They accepted the New Testament but interpreted it symbolically. Cathar communities apparently maintained a degree of order by imitating the Catholic hierarchy; they had "bishops" and "deacons" who administered a rite of initiation, supervised public confessions, and taught doctrine. As a result, the Cathars were perceived by Catholic authorities as an alternative church and were considered an enormous threat.

The Waldensians and Cathars presented a particularly serious challenge to clerical authority. Clergymen were at first divided on how to contend with them. Some emphasized Saint Augustine's comparison of heresy with contagion and sought drastic measures, but others counseled persuasion. Bishops, who had the traditional task of discerning and combating heresy, were often unwilling or unable to deal with well-established communities of Cathars and Waldensians. Exclusion from the diocese, the common episcopal penalty for heresy, had little effect other than to spread the heretics' doctrines. Until the pontificate of Innocent III (r. 1198-1216), the papacy merely encouraged bishops to do their duty. Innocent took a more direct approach. He sent many preachers against the heretics, not only clergy but moderate Waldensians and other groups recently reconciled to the church. Later the newly founded mendicant orders spearheaded this campaign. Innocent also dispatched papal legates to prod bishops to action. When a papal legate was murdered in southern France in 1209, Innocent called a crusade against the Cathars of the region. This was the first time a crusade was used against heretics rather than unbelievers. It was only partly successful: it killed some of the Cathars but drove the survivors underground. To find them, Pope Gregory IX instituted the papal Inquisition in 1231. Inquisitors were special judges appointed by local bishops or by the pope to enter specific areas where heresy was suspected and uncover it. Often members of the mendicant orders, inquisitors were given broad powers in interrogating suspects, including the use of torture after 1252. Penitent heretics were fined and

given penances; those who relapsed or refused to admit their error were turned over to the secular authorities for punishment. Many were executed. With the help of secular rulers, inquisitors managed to wipe out the Cathars by the mid-fourteenth century. The Waldensians survived but were driven into remote areas.

The Inquisition kept heresy in check but did not end it. A stereotype of the heretic developed, inspired by patristic sources. Heretics were supposedly victims of their own pride, and thus obdurate when corrected by church authorities. Their pride drew them into the clutches of Satan, who then directed their teaching. This accounted for the similarity in doctrine among heresies, as well as for heretics' cleverly feigned piety. Satan also drew heretics into various kinds of depravity, which explained their secretiveness. Armed with these presumptions, inquisitors often infused the teachings of heterodox groups.

After the turn of the fourteenth century, popular heresies and learned heresies became much more closely connected. By then, heresy among scholars had become a significant problem. The growing influence of Aristotle's philosophy, in particular, was creating severe tension within the essentially Neoplatonic framework of traditional patristic theology. Controversy dominated the universities. In 1277, conservative synods at Paris and Oxford condemned a long list of Aristotelian ideas, targeting not only radical Aristotelians like Siger of Brabant but also moderates like Thomas Aquinas. Aristotle's ideas were gradually accepted, but only with careful reservations. A reminder of their danger came in the 1320s, when the Parisian master Marsilius of Padua used Aristotelian political theory to fashion a radical attack on papal leadership of the church in his *Defensor pacts*.

At about the same time, apostolic poverty returned as an important doctrinal issue. The Spirituals, a rigorist faction within the Franciscan order, criticized the order's observance of Christ's poverty as lax and demanded the imposition of a stringent "poor use." When they were resisted by the majority of the order and the papacy, the Spirituals retreated into apocalyptic speculation that identified the Roman church as the "whore of Babylon" mentioned in the Book of Revelation, and depicted their own faction as Christ's faithful remnant. The Spirituals were officially suppressed in 1318, but their followers flourished in northern Italy as Fraticelli and in southern France as Beguins until the

1330s.

Meanwhile, there was a more theoretical dispute about Christ's poverty between Pope John XXII and the leadership of the Franciscan order. This led to the excommunication of the order and a long polemical struggle in the 1320s and 1330s, and it injected discussions of apostolic poverty into learned heresies. Marsilius of Padua used the dissident Franciscans' arguments in his attack on papal leadership in 1324. Later in the century, the English theologian John Wycliffe also drew on them when he launched a broad attack on clerical authority. Discussing the property of the church, Wycliffe asserted that no sinful person, even a priest, could exercise rightful ownership, and that consequently such a sinner could have no other authority or jurisdiction. Wycliffe also rejected the necessity of the clergy or their sacraments for salvation, and he sought true doctrine in the Bible alone rather than in the church's teachings. In the thought of the dissident Franciscans and Wycliffe especially, one can see a fusion of popular and learned heresies, a blending of passionate concern for apostolic poverty with complex scholastic analyses of possession and church order.

Wycliffe's views were condemned in 1377 and again in 1382, but his adherents, called Lollards, spread them throughout England and later into Bohemia. There they became part of an incipient Czech nationalist movement. When the most prominent Bohemian disciple of Wycliffe, John Hus, was burned for heresy at the Council of Constance in 1415, his followers rebelled against both the religious authority of the pope and the political control of the German emperor. They used the teachings of Wycliffe to justify their actions. The Hussites were not defeated until the late 1430s, after a long and difficult war.

Wycliffe, Hus, and other medieval heretics were later claimed as predecessors by Protestant reformers. Modern historians point to their dissenting tradition as the Forerunner of contemporary religious pluralism. Tolerance, however, was slow in coming. Protestants as well as Catholics continued to persecute dissenters well into the modern era.

***See also* Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Cathars; Franciscan Order; Innocent III, Pope; Inquisition in Italy; Waldensians**

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Hippocrates

See [Medicine](#)

Historiography

Since Italy did not become a unified state until the late nineteenth century, the study of its past has tended to be both more regional and more international than that of countries such as France and England, which were already separate kingdoms in the Middle Ages. Because of the inclusion of its territory north of the papal state in the Holy Roman empire, much of its medieval history has been considered in close relation with that of Germany. Also, the presence of the papal see in Rome and the impact of Byzantine and other Mediterranean influences on developments in southern Italy and in Sicily and Sardinia have led to a widening of the scope of historical inquiry well beyond its immediate frontiers. At the same time, the division of the country until recent times into distinct political units has encouraged the growth of strong local historical traditions, a tendency which has to some extent persisted to the present day because of the dispersion of archival records among the diverse centers in which they were originally kept, leading scholars to concentrate more on the study of particular places than has been the case in states which had centralized monarchies from an early period.

Despite the lack of a national focus for Italian history before the past 150 years, the recognition, from the Renaissance onward, of the cultural unity of the region to which it applied fostered the emergence of a historiography concerned generally with it. In the *Quattrocento*, the humanist Flavio Biondo of Forlì produced his *Decades*, completed c. 1453, a survey of developments in Italy since the fall of the Roman empire, of which the first twenty books dealt with the period up to 1402. Biondo's method, in accordance with Renaissance conventions of historical writing, was narrative; his sources were chronicles rather than archival records. A fuller, more scholarly treatment of the same

subject was provided more than a century later by Carlo Sigonio in *De regno Italiae* (*Of the Kingdom of Italy*, 1576). This work, which followed from a previous one concerned with the history of the late Roman empire, concentrated on the emergence of the distinctive institutions of medieval Italy up to 1286, considering the contribution both of the late imperial period and of the barbarian invasions. Whereas Flavio Biondo had intended to bridge the gap between the decline of Rome and his own day by tracing the collapse and then the recovery of ordered government and civilization, Sigonio was more interested in the Middle Ages as such and sought to chart the evolution of new forms of political organization through the periods of Ostrogothic, Lombard, and Frankish domination. Even so, his approach to history remained essentially descriptive, and he retained the narrative structure of his humanist models.

The transition from a concept of historical writing as a literary exercise aiming at elegance of style to one requiring erudition and the collation of original sources (which Sigonio had begun to effect) was carried to its fulfillment in the early eighteenth century by Ludovico Antonio Muratori. Muratori's position as librarian of the Este in Modena and his access to records in Milan and elsewhere convinced him of the need to bring to light the great wealth of documentary and other manuscript material scattered in various official, private, and monastic collections in Italy. To make the main narrative sources of its history in the Middle Ages generally available, he embarked on the ambitious project of publishing the most important of them in *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (of which the first volume appeared in 1723 and the last, under his editorship, in 1738). Inspired by Jean Mabillon's annals of the Benedictine order, which had set new standards of critical scholarship in the examination and evaluation of documents, Muratori also attempted, in his *Annali d'Italia* (of which the first nine volumes, written between 1738 and 1744, covered the period from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries), to establish an accurate chronological sequence of events for Italian history, grounded in chronicles and other sources. The most interesting and innovative of all his works, however, was *Antiquitates Italiae medii aevi* (published between 1738 and 1742), which, in a series of separate disquisitions on various aspects of constitutional and social history, gathered together documentary

material illustrating the institutions and everyday life of medieval Italy.

By 1750, when Muratori died, a sound scholarly basis had been laid for Italian historical writing on the Middle Ages, but the treatment accorded to it remained largely descriptive. As a result of the influence of the Enlightenment and the French revolution, more interpretative approaches came to be adopted, and historical works, previously often written in Latin, used the vernacular to reach a general, less narrowly academic audience. In Carlo Denina's *Delle rivoluzioni d'Italia* (1769-1770), the rationale for explanation remained somewhat crude and simplistic, being based on the idea that adversity made peoples robust, energetic, warlike, prolific, and self-reliant while prosperity brought self-indulgence, corruption, and decadence. Denina thus saw Italian history as passing through a cycle of progress after barbarism had reinvigorated the effete society of the Roman empire and of decline after this, in turn, produced degeneration and a loss of virtue. J. C. L. Sismonde dei Sismondi, a Genevan historian who wrote his sixteen-volume *History of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages* in French between 1796 and 1818, shared with Denina the view that Italian medieval society had displayed its greatest vitality in the twelfth century, but he attributed this not to primitive vigor but to a love of freedom. Sismondi saw the Italian communes of that time as originators of the civilization, commerce, and popular government which were to become characteristic features of western Europe. Deviating from the tradition of Muratori, who had admired the Lombard kingdom of Italy and princely rule and had criticized the turbulence of democratic regimes, Sismondi initiated what was to be a prominent motif in Italian medieval studies: a tendency to see the city-states (at least before the rise of the *signorie*) as nurseries of the values of the modern world.

Influential though Sismondi's work was later to become, its impact in the early nineteenth century came to be overshadowed, for professional historians, by that of German critical scholarship, which brought greater rigor into research in the considerable area of medieval history shared by Germany and Italy. From 1826 onward, Georg Heinrich Pertz and his successors provided, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, a more competently edited set of sources on this field than had hitherto been available. Between 1829 and 1832, Heinrich Leo published his

History of the Italian States; this was followed in 1847 by Karl von Hegel's history of state-formation (*Städtverfassung*) in Italy, in 1863-1873 by Julius Ficker's research into Italian political and legal history, and in 1897 by L. M. Hartmann's history of Italy in the Middle Ages. These authors concentrated on political history and the evolution of institutions in Italy up to the High Middle Ages and based their conclusions on the evidence not merely of chronicles but also of newly assembled and printed collections of documentary material.

The impulse given to archival research by these studies was reinforced by the stimulus to historical writing provided by the Risorgimento and the unification of Italy. Authors such as Cesare Balbo and Carlo Troya were inspired by the romantic patriotism characteristic of what has been described as the "liberal-Catholic" or "neo-Guelf school. But a far more enduring contribution to historical scholarship was made by the many periodicals and institutions founded in the decades immediately preceding and following the attainment of Italian nationhood: Archivio Storico Italiano in 1842, Deputazioni di Storia Patria for the country's different regions from 1859 onward, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo (whose *Bullettino* first appeared in 1883), *Rivista storica italiano*. in 1884, and such local historical journals as *Archivio veneto* and *Archivio storico lombardo* at various dates in the late nineteenth century. The opening up of opportunities for the publication of specialist studies and the issuing of new collections of sources, such as the revised edition of *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (the volumes of which began to appear in 1900), *Fontiper la storia d'Italia* of the Istituto Storico Italiano (from 1887), and *Regesta chartarum Italiae* (from 1907), enabled scholars to engage in a far more intense exploration of Italian medieval history than had previously been possible.

Indeed, a paradoxical effect of national unification was its encouragement of the specialized study of local history. Ever since the sixteenth century, rich traditions of historical scholarship had developed within the states making up Renaissance and baroque Italy, In Milan, Bernardino Corio had, in 1503, published his history of his city; between 1760 and 1771, Giorgio Giulini produced his *Memorie* regarding the history, government, and description of the city and countryside of Milan in the Middle Ages. Another late eighteenth-

century antiquarian, Gian-Battista Verci, had, not long afterward, compiled his twenty-volume history of the March of Treviso and Verona (1786-1791). Marino Sanuto, with his *Vite dei dogi* (written between 1493 and 1530), had initiated what was to become a distinguished historiography devoted to medieval Venice; in Florence, Scipione Ammirato laid a firm foundation for subsequent work on its early history with his account of it published in 1600. Two extensive histories of Naples, by Giovanni-Antonio Summonte in the late seventeenth century and by Pietro Giannone (a contemporary of Muratori) in the early eighteenth, provided the same kind of groundwork for southern Italy; the first half of each of these histories covered the medieval period. Indeed, the work by Giannone, *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli* (1723), had an importance transcending its local subject matter, becoming a model in its day for the composition of a "civic" history.

To this already considerable historiography of substantial studies on particular places were added, in the course of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth, a series of works enriched by archival research and a growing periodical literature. The histories of Venice by Samuele Romanin (1853) and Heinrich Kretschmayr (1905-1920) and those of Florence by Gino Capponi (1875), Francis Perrens (1877-1883), and, on a more monumental scale for the period up to 1328, Robert Davidsohn (1896-1927) established the detailed study of the evolution of a republican city-state and its culture as a significant genre in Italian historical writing. In the treatment of the larger field of southern Italy, Italian and French scholars focused more on particular periods, in works such as Michele Amari's *Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia* (1854-1872) and *Laguerra del vespro siciliano* (1842-1843); Roberto Caggese's *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi* (1922-1930); and three monographs by authors associated with the French academy in Rome: Jules Gay's study of southern Italy and the Byzantine empire (1904), Ferdinand Chalandon's study of the Norman domination in southern Italy and Sicily (1907), and Emile Jordan's study of the origins of the Angevin ascendancy in Naples (1909). Another French scholar, Charles Diehl, had earlier, in 1888, dealt with the Byzantine penetration into northern Italy. The history of Rome in the Middle Ages, previously studied more for its connections with the papacy than in its own right,

was addressed in an extensive work published in German between 1859 and 1872 by Ferdinand Gregorovius. The individual seignorial states of the Lombard plain attracted less scholarly attention at this time than might have been expected, perhaps because of the paucity of their archival records during the medieval period. But a general historiography relating to them did emerge with Carlo Cipolla's *Storia delle signorie italiane* (1881), Ernst Salzer's study on the origins of these regimes (1900), Francesco Ercole's *Dal comune al principato* (1929), and Luigi Simeoni's *Le signorie* (1950).

The production in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth of detailed and well-researched political histories of the various regions of Italy encouraged scholars to move away from a concern with the mere narrative of events into new fields, such as economic developments and the connections between social groups and civic conflicts. Alfred Doren, a German economic historian, in 1897 and 1901, brought out two pioneering studies of the guilds and the woolen industry of Florence (before issuing his survey of Italian economic history in the Middle Ages in 1934). Italians such as Gino Luzzatto, Armando Saporì, and Roberto Lopez followed his lead, exploiting the previously neglected account books and other business records of Florentine, Venetian, and Genoese merchants. They promoted a view of Italian history as animated by the dynamic energy of capitalist enterprises which had their heyday in the half-century before the black death and by that time had already evolved thoroughly modern financial and trading practices. The impact of the growth of this commercial economy on politics had been considered earlier, in a somewhat Marxist interpretation, by Gaetano Salvemini, whose *Magnati epopolani a Firenze dal 1280 al 1295* (1899) attempted to explain the conflict between the old aristocracy and the *popolo* in late thirteenth-century Florence as a clash between a landed nobility and a new "bourgeois" class. His analysis of these social groups was, however, rejected by Nicola Ottokar, who, in *Il Comune di Firenze alla fine del Duecento* (1926), chose instead to see the developments of this period as expressing tension within a single elite or *ceto dirigente* (as he described it) that included families with both landed and commercial wealth. The close examination of the links binding this social stratum together which Ottokar undertook to sustain his argument was to

become a feature of much work done in the twentieth century on late medieval Italian city-states. To some extent, detailed studies of small groups had been anticipated earlier by another historian who had begun to write c. 1900, Gioacchino Volpe. In his work on the communal institutions of Pisa (1902) and in his dissections of the social fabric of some smaller communities of Tuscany and Lunigiana, Volpe provided models for a historiography concerned with relating the exercise of political power to the texture of relationships underpinning it.

In the postwar period, concentration on this social substructure of a history formerly viewed as a sequence of significant events made for a preference for studies of particular places within limited time spans. Some of these, such as those by Enrico Fiumi on San Gimignano (1961) and Prato (1968) and those of David Herlihy on Pisa (1958) and Pistoia (1967), have had a strong economic and demographic emphasis. Others, such as Emilio Cristiani's *Nobiltà e popolo nel comune di Pisa* (1962), have focused more on connections between families, factions, and the political process. Still others, such as Gene Brucker's *Florentine Politics and Society 1343-1378* (1962), Marvin Becker's *Florence in Transition* (1967-1968), and Daniel Waley's monographs on Orvieto (1952) and the papal state in the thirteenth century (1961), have preserved a traditional chronological arrangement of subject matter but attempted to link the developments examined in this way to their social background. One notable feature of this postwar historiography has been the contribution of Anglo-American scholars, whose concern with detailed empirical studies has left its mark. The many works of Frederick Lane on Venice, Robert Brentano's *Rome before Avignon* (1974), John Larner's *Lords of Romagna* (1965), J. K. Hyde's *Padua in the Age of Dante* (1966), William Bowsky's study of Siena under "the Nine" (1981), and Christine Meek's study of Lucca between 1369 and 1400 (1978) have illuminated the distinctive character of particular Italian communities in the later Middle Ages. The commissioning of large-scale collective histories such as those of Milan (1954-1960), Naples (1967-1971), and Ferrara (1987-) from Italian specialists has accentuated this trend toward dividing the country into separate fields of historical inquiry. This tendency has, however, been balanced by the compilation of thematic histories of Italy as a whole, such as those published by Einaudi between 1972 and 1977 and by UTET since 1978.

A significant recent development in the study of medieval Italy has been the recognition accorded to its rural society, whose importance had previously been overlooked because the history of the north and the center was considered essentially that of their cities. Beginning with Johan Plesner, a Danish student of Ottokar, whose study of emigration to Florence from its *contado* in the thirteenth century (1934) showed that it was not serfs escaping from feudal bondage but the most prosperous peasants who moved to the city, a school of historians has grown up. The members of this school have argued that during the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the land around towns came increasingly into the hands of their citizens, who exploited it as a means of accumulating capital for trade and industry and of keeping down the cost of food for urban populations. Elio Conti in *La formazione della struttura agraria moderna nel contado fiorentino* (1965) and Giovanni Cherubini in his studies of the Sienese *contado* have produced strong evidence supporting this interpretation. The English historian Philip Jones has joined them in vindicating the general importance of developments in the rural economy for an understanding of urban history. Other scholars, such as Pietro Torelli in his studies of the Mantuan *contado* (published in 1930 and 1952) and L. A. Kotelnikova, have done valuable work on forms of land tenure and the relationship between town and country in the High Middle Ages. The tendency to revise a traditionally city-dominated view of Italian history has also been reinforced by the work of Giorgio Chittolini, who has shown that the growth of a regional state in the later Middle Ages was accompanied not by a weakening but by a consolidation of rural lordships, in a process he has described as 'refeudalization.' These studies have rectified previous distortions in emphasis in Italian medieval history and have demonstrated a continuity between the predominantly rural aristocratic society of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and that of the early modern period.

Since World War II, much scholarly interest has focused on northern and central Italy and on sociopolitical developments, but important contributions have continued to be made in other areas as well. New critical studies of the reign of Emperor Frederick II by T. C. van Cleve (1972) and David Abulafia (1988) have shed light on the south of the peninsula in the High Middle Ages. In economic history, the work done

on prices, wages, and living standards by scholars such as Charles de la Ronciere and Guglielmo Pinto has illuminated previously neglected facets of the lives of ordinary people; and the exhaustive examination of the Datini archive by Federigo Melis has provided a much clearer understanding of late medieval business practices. In these studies, as in other recent work, the mastery of detail deriving from research into new bodies of source material has tended to refocus attention in Italian medieval history from the large perspectives of the past to carefully observed, specific evidence of forms of activity once regarded as insufficiently significant to warrant close exploration.

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History

See Chronicles

Hohenstaufen Dynasty

The monarchs of the Hohenstaufen (Swabian, Waiblingen) house were

committed to a revival of German imperial power after a period of erosion. They first strove to reassert that power in German lands, where the great German princes were achieving something approaching independence. The Hohenstaufen sovereigns also revived the traditional efforts of German monarchs to manipulate the offices and wealth of the church to their advantage; these efforts set the Hohenstaufen once again at odds with the reforming programs of the papacy, as in the earlier investiture controversy, and augured a renewed German involvement in Italian affairs. Moreover, the Hohenstaufen also chose to reassert the territorial rights and ambitions in Italy that had been nurtured by the Ottonian and Salian emperors. Gradually, their involvement in Italy became a preoccupation and then an obsession, ending in nothing less than the total destruction of the dynasty.

The first Hohenstaufen sovereign, Conrad III (r. 1138— 1152), was continuously engaged in struggles against the restless German princes. He did form an alliance with the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I, which bound him to put pressure on the ambitious Norman king Roger II. But Conrad's rash involvement in the Second Crusade (1147—1149) instead freed Roger to attack Byzantine territories, while any further involvement in Italy by Conrad was precluded.

Conrad's nephew and chosen successor, Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1152-1190), brought new energy and a dramatic new scope to Hohenstaufen policies. Frederick, a charismatic figure with a profound consciousness of the history and glories of the Roman and German imperial tradition, boldly pursued policies that were unrealistic in the face of changing circumstances; but the very force of his pretensions gave him an awesome status.

Frederick was eager to recover control of territories previously under the sway of the German emperors beyond Germany itself, especially the wealthy regions of northern Italy. However, the new and lively Lombard towns that had emerged there resisted Frederick's efforts to impose his control on them; they coalesced into a series of leagues that offered formidable opposition. At the same time, tension, and then outright hostility, developed between Frederick and a series of popes, eventually prompting Pope Alexander III to ally the papacy with the stubborn Lombard towns. Frederick conducted a series of no fewer than six expeditions into Italy between 1154 (when he renewed the German

claim to an imperial coronation in Rome) and 1186. At his strongest, he was able to humble and devastate rebellious Milan in 1162, but the Lombard League revived to defeat him at the battle of Legnano in 1176. Through the intervention of Venice, Frederick was reconciled to the pope (1177); and by the Peace of Constance (1183) the Lombard towns accepted the emperor's token suzerainty in exchange for recognition of their effective independence. Still, Frederick did enhance his authority in northern Italy slightly in his last campaign there (1184-1186).

Frederick I achieved his most spectacular success in Italy by negotiating (1186) the marriage of his son and heir Henry (later Henry VI) to Constance, who was the daughter of Roger II and the heiress of the childless Norman king, William II. Henry asserted his claims to the Norman throne when William died (1189), although five years of struggle against the Normans' resistance delayed his coronation until 1194. Meanwhile, when Frederick I died on the Third Crusade, Henry succeeded to the dynasty's German titles and rights. A hardheaded and determined ruler, Henry VI (r. 1190-1197) opened the prospect of uniting German and Italian sovereignty under Hohenstaufen leadership that would be the most powerful force in western Christendom. The birth of his son, Frederick (later Frederick II), in 1194, gave Henry VI an heir through whom this fusion of sovereignties would be confirmed.

But amid plans for further extension into the eastern Mediterranean world, Henry VI died prematurely and unexpectedly. Chaos and conflict ensued in both Germany and Italy. Henry's son Frederick was eventually consigned to being a ward of the papacy, under Innocent III (d. 1216), and became a pawn of international politics as rival forces squabbled over his heritage. Only when Frederick was in his late teens did Innocent support the boy's rights, and even thereafter Innocent always presumed to dominate Frederick.

However, Frederick II (r. 1212-1250), precocious and willful, emerged as his own man. He was half Norman in blood and Sicilian in outlook, and he virtually ignored his German realms; instead, he nurtured the lands of his Norman kingdom, and it was on these that built his true power and lavished his patronage. Meanwhile, his relations with the successors of Innocent III deteriorated and then became violently hostile as Frederick sought domination over all of Italy. His efforts provoked renewed opposition to Hohenstaufen ambitions from a

revived Lombard League, led again by Milan. Frederick achieved a temporary advantage with his victory at Cortenuova (1237), but his ruthless ambition drew unrelenting opposition from the papacy, which recognized him as a threat to its political status in Italy. Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV used all their spiritual, diplomatic, and military resources to arouse local and international resistance to Frederick. Despite some setbacks, though, it was Frederick's own poor health that brought him down; he died suddenly in 1250.

Conrad IV (r. 1250-1254), the surviving legitimate son and designated heir of Frederick II, attempted to pick up the threads of the dynasty but was defeated and killed by forces that the implacable pope had marshaled. This failure led to a period of nearly twenty years called the "great interregnum" in Germany, but it did not end the hopes of the Hohenstaufen in Italy. Frederick's illegitimate son, the able and ambitious Manfred, was established as regent in Sicily and now assumed control of the old Norman realm; he achieved the coronation as king in 1258 and then attained powerful influence in northern Italy. Manfred inevitably faced determined opposition from the papacy, and Pope Urban IV brought the French prince Charles I of Anjou to Italy as a new champion against the Hohenstaufen. Manfred was defeated and killed at the battle of Benevento (1266); thus Charles was left to consolidate his power in Italy in his own right. The pro-imperial elements in Italy were desperate but played one last card: Conrad IV had died, and they persuaded his young son Conradin to assert the claims of the dynasty. The hapless Conradin was defeated at Tagliacozzo (1268) and was betrayed to Charles, who with high-handed brutality had him publicly beheaded in Naples. After that, hopes of a united kingdom of Italy in the Middle Ages were doomed, and the prospects for a future domination of the peninsula by a German (Holy Roman) emperor depended on the ephemeral successes of the Hapsburg Charles V.

The interests of the Hohenstaufen in Italy effectively came to an end in 1268, but the Hohenstaufen still carried credit in some quarters. King Peter (Pedro) III of Aragon had married Manfred's daughter Constance, and in her name professed to be the vindicator of the Hohenstaufen. Accordingly, during the episode known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282), Pedro snatched the crown of Sicily from Charles of Anjou for himself

and his descendants. By virtue of that connection, Hohenstaufen ghosts would haunt more than two centuries of conflict between the Angevins and the Aragonese over control of the old Norman kingdom in Italy.

See also Charles I of Anjou; Conrad IV; Conradin; Constance; Cortenuova, Battle of; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Ghibelline; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Innocent III, Pope; Legnano, Battle of; Lombard Leagues; Manfred; Normans; Roger II; Tagliacozzo, Battle of

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Holy Roman Empire

The origins of the medieval empire are to be found in the development of the Frankish monarchy and particularly in its expeditions in Italy in the late eighth century. The decision of the papacy to seek an alliance with the Frankish rulers in order to bolster its position vis-a-vis the Lombards and the Byzantine empire substantially altered relations between Italy and Gaul. Whereas Charles Martel, mayor of the palace, refused to send help to Pope Gregory III in 739, his son, Pepin, in pursuit of the Frankish throne, sought the aid of Pope Zachary. Shortly thereafter, Pope Stephen II found himself faced with a threat from the Lombards and asked Pepin to intervene. Stephen granted Pepin the title "patrician of the Romans," thus investing him with an imperial office and commencing a process which would culminate in the establishment of an empire in the west less than half a century later. Pepin, on his side, defeated the Lombard king and "donated" the lands he had conquered in central Italy to the papacy. Although the Byzantines demanded the return of these lands, Pepin persisted in granting them to the papacy, thereby reinforcing the ties between the Frankish monarchy and the popes.

The coronation of Pepin's son, Charles, known as Charlemagne, as emperor on Christmas day 800 in Saint Peter's basilica has aroused controversy almost from that day to the present. However, this coronation was more the culmination of a political process than the result of a sudden decision. In 773, Charlemagne had followed up on the policy of his father by laying siege to the Lombard capital of Pavia and taking the crown for himself. With the extinction of the Lombard monarchy, the kingdom of Italy was joined to that of the Franks. The actual circumstances surrounding the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor have tended to obscure any link to the earlier policies of the Carolingians and the papacy. Traditionally, emphasis has been placed on the situation of Pope Leo III, who found himself at the mercy of a rebellious faction in Rome and sought the aid of Charlemagne. After restoring the pope, Charlemagne himself came to Rome to settle the dispute between Leo and the rebels. The pope was allowed to take an oath clearing himself of all charges. According to the Frankish annals, the council that had deliberated the problems of the papacy also discussed the issue of the empire and persuaded Charlemagne to accept the imperial title. However, in the account given by Charlemagne's

secretary and biographer Einhard (c. 770-840), Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious, maintained that Charlemagne had been unaware of the pope's intention to crown him and had complained about it afterward. However, Einhard places this event in the context of a discussion of the manner in which Charlemagne bore the jealousy of the Byzantine rulers; this context suggests that Einhard's aim was to portray his subject in the very best light with respect to the eastern emperors. Perhaps the account in the Frankish annals lies closer to the truth. In any case, though, Charlemagne assiduously sought recognition of his imperial title by the Byzantines until he gained it from Emperor Michael in 812.

Much has been written about the impact of Charlemagne's coronation by the pope, with numerous historians suggesting that Charlemagne's supposed opposition may have stemmed from some premonition that it boded ill for the future of the empire. However, there is no evidence in contemporary accounts to support this view, and it seriously distorts the relationship between Charlemagne and the church and papacy. Charlemagne had taken up the policies of his father in promoting ecclesiastical reform, building on the foundation laid by Saint Boniface. He promoted education, the Roman liturgy, the Latin vulgate Bible, and monastic reform, although the triumph of the Benedictine rule did not come to fruition until later, under the direction of Benedict of Aniane during the reign of Louis the Pious. In all these endeavors, Charlemagne worked closely with the papacy. There was a partnership, though not without friction, as is evident in the *Libri Carolini*, which favored Charlemagne's view of the iconoclastic controversy. But Charlemagne usually steered clear of theological issues. For its part, the papacy found the support of the Carolingians important in maintaining its position in Rome. Not surprisingly, the position of the papacy became stronger during the course of the ninth century, even when the Carolingian empire entered a decline in the second half of the century. There is little in this period to fit the picture of a conflict between church and state that so strongly influenced historical writing well into the mid-twentieth century. Rather, imperial coronation corresponded to changes in political and religious relationships during the eighth century. Though it certainly owed much to earlier views of empire, it represented new circumstances that had

begun to emerge in Europe under the Frankish monarchy. Imperial ideology was thus conjoined to political reality.

Carolingian rule weakened following the division of the realm among the sons of Louis the Pious; this had a destructive effect on the unity that the empire had come to signify. Yet the imperial title endured, or claimed to rule, in northern Italy. The association of Italy with the empire suggests that there was at least some kernel of territorial identity in the notion of the medieval empire. Charlemagne had been lauded as "Augustus," and in the imagination of the elites the idea of Rome could not be separated from that of the empire. The revival of the empire under the Saxon kings, who had succeeded to the eastern Frankish monarchy in the tenth century, was identified closely with the notion of imperial Rome as well as that of the Carolingians. In fact, some of these monarchs evidently tended to stress the Roman over the Carolingian heritage.

However, it was as imperial successor to Charlemagne that Otto I was crowned in 962, after he had succeeded in extinguishing the imperial title, which had been held by Berengar of Ivrea. The parallels between Otto's path to empire and that of Charlemagne are striking. Like Charlemagne, Otto seized the Lombard crown; deposed the king of Italy, Berengar; and was crowned by the pope. And the fundamental continuities went even deeper. Building on the heritage of the eastern Frankish monarchy, Otto and his predecessors had brought Burgundy and Italy once more under royal control, while adding new territories in the east and southeast. Otto's own victory over the Magyars at the Lech in 955 and his establishment of the archbishopric of Magdeburg in 968 were key elements in the development of a strong German monarchy. The emergence of the eastern Frankish or German monarchy in the tenth century overshadowed the continued problems of the western Frankish monarchy under the later Carolingians and the failure of the Capetian house to make good its claim to the western Frankish throne until 987. Once again, imperial ideology went hand in hand with political change. The possession of Italy by the German monarchs served to confirm this reality.

Nineteenth-century German historians, influenced by the nationalist movements of their own day, tended to view Otto's incursion into Italy, and those of subsequent German kings, as a tragic diversion of German

resources into a foreign land. In the view of these historians, the failure of the German monarchy to create a strong national state was directly traceable to this distraction. They did not really appreciate the subordinate role of linguistic and ethnic identities in the making of modern states. They were prone to accept the notion that France, Britain, Spain, and other unified states had a stronger ethnic identity than the German empire, with its numerous ethnic minorities. That such might not be the case seldom entered their minds. In fact, however, both the successes and the failures of the German monarchy between the tenth century and the thirteenth require a radically different explanation. Such an explanation is based on the lack of a royal domain, the inability of the kings to subordinate the aristocracy consistently to royal control, and the failure to develop strong urban support for the monarchy—not on distractions in Italy or even on conflicts with the papacy. Actually, neither of these last two factors had a consistently negative effect on the development of royal or imperial power. Rather, their effect often paralleled that evident within the German territories.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the German monarchy continued to experiment with various forms of political control and administration. From the beginning, it was evident that the Carolingian heritage of strong ducal and comital rule on the eastern frontier created a problem for the monarchy. In the early tenth century, Conrad of Franconia (Conrad I), the first king not of the Carolingian line, had realized that only the most powerful dukes had any chance of effective royal rule and recommended that he be succeeded by Henry, duke of Saxony. The wisdom of this decision was amply demonstrated by Henry's son Otto I, but his successors ran into serious difficulties. The ambitious policies of Otto II, which brought Poland into closer relationship with the empire, foundered in his efforts to counter Muslim expansion in southern Italy. The long minority of Otto III, who was a child of three at his accession in 983, and his early death in 1002, served chiefly to demonstrate the strength of the work of Otto I. Although not lacking in ability, Otto III mainly had to pursue policies set forth by his clerical advisers, many of whom were deeply influenced by the ideology of Roman renewal. Among these, Gerbert of Aurillac, who became Pope Sylvester II in 999, stands out as one of the most learned

figures of the age. His choice of the name Sylvester—that of the pope who had reigned at the time of Constantine's conversion and who was the central figure in the medieval forgery called the Donation of Constantine—speaks volumes about the ideology current at the court of Otto III.

The premature death of Otto III had a particular impact on Italy, where he and his advisers had enforced tighter control over the central and northern regions. The successor of Otto III, Henry II, shifted attention away from Italy toward Germany and the Slavic lands, where he initiated a strong political recovery and promoted ecclesiastical reforms. Henry's reputation for personal holiness led to his canonization. His saintly wife, Cuna gunde, joined him in endowing monasteries and convents and promoting missionary activities. On Henry's recommendation, the duke of Franconia, Conrad, was chosen as his successor, becoming Conrad II. Conrad II, a direct descendant of Otto II through the female lineage, was the first of the Salian line. Like Henry II, he devoted more attention to his northern lands than to Italy, chiefly because he was attempting to increase royal authority at the expense of the dukes. Under Conrad II and his immediate successors, the monarchy also began to employ the upper class of the servile population, the later "ministerials," as administrators in an attempt to enlarge the royal domain without alienating lands to the great nobles and churchmen of the realm. In this effort, the kings found themselves in competition with the nobles, who had territorial ambitions of their own. Although the process in Germany had very distinctive features, its impact was similar to contemporary movements elsewhere in the west, where powerful lords were aggrandizing themselves at the expense of others. Whether we think in terms of kings, nobles, the clergy, or even incipient urban powers, the eleventh century was marked by an intensification of efforts to consolidate lands, rights, and jurisdictions. These conflicts contributed substantially to the violence of the age and called forth movements, such as the "peace of God" and the "truce of God," which opposed the forces of destruction. The monastic reform movement of the tenth and eleventh centuries had identified closely with great noble and royal patrons. Even Cluny, founded in 910, and subject directly to Saint Peter, found such support necessary and advantageous. The leading Italian monastic reformer of the eleventh

century, Saint Peter Darnian, was much influenced by these currents, enjoyed good relations with the court of Henry III, and identified with the reforms sponsored by the imperial court, including the reform of the papacy, which saw the election of a succession of German reformers as popes.

Increasingly, conflict over rights and jurisdictions involved the papacy. Papal reformers took a more active role in spreading ideas of reform through councils and synods. A major concern was the involvement of the laity in the administration of ecclesiastical property and in the selection of candidates for clerical office. The reformers demanded elections free of external influence. Under Pope Gregory VII, clerical rights were vigorously asserted in *Dictatus papae* (1075). During this same period, Gregory became embroiled in a conflict with the young Henry IV over the election of the archbishop of Milan. The resultant turmoil brought to the surface internal problems in the relationship between ecclesiastical and temporal authority—problems that had previously been submerged by the close cooperation which characterized these relations in most instances. Clerics feared the dominance of the laity and its threat to the freedom of the church; this fear became a central theme and found concrete expression in the dispute over lay investiture, that is, the investing of clerical officials, especially bishops, with the symbols of their office by the temporal authorities. Although this conflict was eventually settled by compromise in the so-called Concordat of Worms of 1122, it had exposed a fault line in medieval society and resulted in a serious fracture. Once aroused, the clergy's fear of lay dominance could not easily be assuaged, and the grievances of temporal rulers and their supporters against those whom they perceived as disturbers of the traditional order rankled deeply.

The internal divisions created by the investiture conflict persisted in imperial politics even after the settlement at Worms. The election of Lothair II brought to the throne an opponent of Emperor Henry V. Henry V had attempted to achieve the goals of his father but had eventually been forced to compromise. Those who were dissatisfied with Lothair's election included Frederick of Swabia and his brother, Conrad of Franconia, of the house of Hohenstaufen, who had been strong supporters and close relatives of Henry V. Following the death of

Lothair (1137), the nobility elected Conrad (as Conrad III), but he proved unable to heal the breach. Conrad's leadership of the German contingent in the Second Crusade reveals his policy of restoring harmony among the leading factions; however, his opponents—led by Henry the Proud, duke of Saxony and Bavaria—remained intransigent. The choice of Conrad's nephew Frederick of Swabia as his successor made it evident that the majority of the electors wanted to heal the rift, since Frederick had family ties to the supporters of Henry the Proud. Frederick, who thus became Frederick I and was known as Barbarossa (red-beard), directed his energies toward rebuilding the German monarchy. In Germany, he allowed Henry the Lion to succeed to both Saxony and Bavaria, in the hope of gaining Henry's support. On the other hand, Frederick asserted royal rights wherever there was legal justification. Munz (1969) viewed Frederick's reign as a series of plans for laying a solid foundation for the German monarchy. Though overly schematic, this view has merit. The perennial difficulties of the German kings resulting from their lack of a sufficient base for their power were especially serious for Frederick I and forced him to pursue aggressive policies to remedy this defect. Assertion of imperial rights in Italy was therefore a very practical objective, not the ideological chimera older historians made of it.

Perhaps too much has been made of such incidents as Frederick's refusal, at the time of his imperial coronation, to do homage to the pope (Frederick would not hold the bridle of the pope's horse and would not help the pope dismount), and the confusion over the use of the term *beneficia* by a papal legate at Besan[^]on, which seemed to imply that Frederick owed his kingdom to the papacy. These episodes show that Frederick was prickly with regard to his rights and that his officials shared his distrust, but they hardly augur the disputes that occurred in the 1160s. Those disputes resulted from Frederick's effort to secure recognition of his imperial rights and jurisdictions, with the attendant fiscal prerogatives, throughout the kingdom of Italy. The Diet of Roncaglia in 1158 had secured for Frederick virtually everything he sought, but it also provided a rallying point for his opponents in northern Italy. The disputed papal election of 1159, in which Frederick intervened, resulted in a schism. Frederick supported Victor IV and, following Victor's death, Pascal III, against Alexander III, who gained

support in France and elsewhere. Alexander's support of the Lombard League, formed in 1167 by Milan and its allies, forced Frederick to return to Italy in 1174. There he met a decisive defeat in the battle of Legnano in 1176. Despite this setback, Frederick was able to conclude a peace agreement with Alexander III in 1177 in Venice that enabled him to pursue more protracted negotiations with the Lombard League. He concluded a treaty with King William II of Sicily, which provided for a marriage between William's heiress Constance and Frederick's son Henry. The marriage took place in 1186. Before that, however, Frederick had reached an agreement with the Lombards (1183). He did not entirely abandon his Italian policy, but he tailored it to fit political realities. After Saladin conquered Jerusalem in 1187, the pope called for a crusade. Frederick responded, but he drowned while swimming in the Saleph River in Asia Minor.

Under Frederick, it had become usual to refer to the empire as *sacrum imperium*. This notion of a sacred or holy empire was politically juxtaposed to the papacy and emphasized the divine origin of royal and imperial power. Frederick also drew on a revived study of Roman law to reinforce his views of imperial authority. Ideas such as these also reflected the enhancement of Frederick's own position and the ambitions that impelled him. His dreams were shared by his son, Henry VI. The reign of Henry VI was especially significant for Italy, since he laid claim to the kingdom of Sicily on behalf of his wife after the death of William II in 1189. In 1194, he was successful in securing the Sicilian crown for himself and his heir, the infant Frederick Roger. After Henry VI died in 1197, the independent rule of Constance was aimed mostly at ensuring the succession of Frederick Roger; to that end, she entrusted the child's guardianship to Pope Innocent III before her death in 1198.

The death of Henry VI threw the empire into chaos. In a disputed election, one faction selected Henry's brother, Philip of Swabia, while the other elected Otto of Brunswick, the son of Frederick Barbarossa's old nemesis Henry the Lion. Innocent III attempted to protect the interests of Frederick Roger in Sicily against German forces led by the ministerial of Henry VI, Mark-ward of Anweiler. At the same time, Innocent pursued a somewhat ambivalent policy, preserving for a while a semblance of neutrality but tending to favor Otto of Brunswick. Philip of Swabia was assassinated in 1208, just as Innocent was about to

switch his support from Otto to Philip; and Otto invaded Italy and the kingdom of Sicily. These events drew Innocent into an alliance with Philip Augustus of France to put the young Frederick Roger on the German throne as Frederick II.

Under Frederick II the empire reached its zenith, but its internal weaknesses and the failure of Frederick's Italian policy to remedy these weaknesses finally led to disaster. Although the conflict between the empire and the papacy has long dominated writing about Frederick II, there is ample evidence that both sides worked hard to settle outstanding differences and to promote peaceful solutions. Under popes Innocent III and Honorius III, relations were usually good, though there was some friction over Frederick's delays in fulfilling his vow to go on a crusade. There was also friction over the situation of the church in Sicily, as Frederick attempted to reassert his royal authority in the kingdom after his return from Germany in 1220 and his repression of revolts by nobles on the mainland and Muslims in Sicily. Certainly, the accession of Pope Gregory IX and Frederick's decision to go on a crusade even though he was excommunicated contributed to an atmosphere of increasing mistrust; but not even the fiasco of the papal invasion of the kingdom in 1229 totally destroyed the cooperative relationship that had been forged under Honorius III. The treaty of Ceprano (1230) secured the cooperation of the papacy in Frederick's efforts to reassert imperial rights in northern Italy. Still, the atmosphere was scarcely favorable. Fear of Frederick's position in the kingdom of Sicily was a strong element in the opposition to his policies within the papal curia. In Germany, his own son, Henry, attempted to impose more effective royal control in a way that threatened Frederick's position in both Italy and Germany. By the end of the decade, all efforts at cooperation had given way to the revived Lombard League and to open warfare. Pope Innocent IV led a determined opposition to Frederick's Italian policies. Frederick, who had already been excommunicated by Gregory IX in 1239, was again condemned at the Council of Lyon in 1245. Frederick suffered a major defeat at Parma in 1248 and died in 1250. His son Henry had died in his father's prison. Frederick was succeeded by another son, Conrad IV. In the kingdom of Sicily, Frederick's illegitimate son Manfred supported Conrad's effort to maintain their father's Italian possessions. Opposition by the papacy led

to an invasion of the kingdom by Charles I of Anjou, the brother of King Louis IX of France; Charles assumed the crown of Sicily following the death of Manfred. Northern Italy now totally escaped imperial control. The northern communes were virtually unfettered to pursue their own expansionist policies or to form protective alliances against their predatory neighbors. Though the imperial presence had generally made only a small difference to these goals, that barrier was now removed. Some efforts were made to revive a measure of imperial jurisdiction in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but found no real success.

The most notable involvement of the empire in Italy was an invasion led by Henry VII of Luxembourg, to whom Dante directed appeals against the dominant Black Guelf Party in Florence. But Henry's expedition proved evanescent. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the German monarchy was seldom able to mount even a coronation expedition into Italy. This was the period of internal transformation of the empire, the emergence of the princely territorial states, and the beginnings of the Hapsburgs' dominance. Lewis IV and Charles IV began a process that ended any role of the papacy in the making of an emperor. Among those who sought refuge at the court of Lewis the Bavarian was Marsilius of Padua, an extreme critic of the papacy and an exponent of communal liberties. But Charles IV pursued more moderate positions, remaining largely on good terms with the papacy and promoting the interests of the Bohemian church. His promulgation of the "golden bull" (1356) provided constitutional recognition for the direction taken by the empire since the mid-thirteenth century. It vested control of imperial elections in the German princes. The late fifteenth century saw a continued emphasis on the development of princely states in Germany and a parallel development of princely and oligarchic government in northern Italy. The Hapsburgs not only gained control of the imperial title but set about building their own state in southern and southeastern Europe. When an emperor again came to Rome at the head of an army, it was not in quest of imperial coronation but in pursuit of the interests of the Hapsburg dynasty in Italy, a goal far removed from that of the medieval emperors but one that reflected the changing nature of the empire.

See also Charlemagne; Charles I of Anjou; Donation of Constantine; Frankish Kingdom; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Ghibelline; Gregory VII, Pope; Guelfs; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Investiture Controversy; Lewis of Bavaria; Otto I; Otto II; Otto III

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Homer

During antiquity, a number of archaic or otherwise early poems in Greek circulated under the name of Homer. These included the heroic epics *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the epic burlesque *Batrachomyomachia* (*Battle of Frogs and Mice*), hymns, epigrams, and the now lost comic narrative *Margites*. They were accepted as the work of a single person who had lived in Greek-speaking Asia Minor, were considered classics of Greek literature, and as such were read in Italy by educated Romans of the late republic and early empire. Both Greeks and Latin-speaking Romans considered Homer a master of high epic style and, as the poet Ovid put it (*Amores* 3.9, 25–26), a perennial spring for other bards to drink from. Enshrined in Greek culture and often referred to simply as "the poet," Homer was taught in schools at several levels. Brief, necessarily fictional biographies presented him as both a literary author and a sage; and his own claims of divine inspiration encouraged others, especially pagan philosophers, to treat his writings as a source of revealed wisdom allegorically expressed.

But Homer's image was not always positive. As the author of the dominant extended works of fiction dealing with the Trojan war and with some of its sequelae, he was denigrated by those who departed from convention in order to present "truer" versions of these legendary events. Two examples that were influential in the medieval period are Isidore of Seville's summary (*Etymologiae*, 8.8.4) of a prophecy of the Erythrean sibyl, seemingly different from later texts of this name, which has her predicting Homer's lies; and a prefatory letter to the rationalizing narrative of "Dares Phrygius" which calls Homer untruthful and says that the Athenians had judged him insane for

having written of gods fighting with mortals. Some Christian educators found Homer's polytheism troubling in general. By the end of antiquity, Homer was still in the Greek curriculum, but relatively few people were reading his works in full. To the non-Greek majority in Italy, he was now a closed book, although the very few who still learned Greek could encounter him in excerpts (as Boethius is thought to have done).

What little most medieval Latin- or Italian-speaking Italians knew of Homer (if they knew anything at all) came directly or indirectly from scattered references, usually no more than brief mentions, in earlier texts representing one or more aspects of the ancient tradition outlined above. Those who did not read poets may not always have known that Homer had been one. The chief sources for factual information about the content of Homer's poems were isolated remarks by philosophers and theologians of the late antique period and ancient commentaries on a few classical Latin poets, especially Vergil, whose use of Homeric material had called for or at least prompted explanation. Additionally, there was a brief condensation (less than 1,100 lines) of the *Iliad* in Latin verse, dating from the first century after Christ; this was locally available in some parts of Italy from probably the late ninth century onward. It is now known as the *Ilias Latina*, but for most of the Middle Ages it was called the "book of Homer the poet" or just "Homer." This very inadequate substitute is thought to have influenced the wording of tenth- and twelfth-century epic poems in Latin from northern Italy and from Pisa and to have informed an eleventh-century lament for Hector (also in Latin), seemingly from Rome. The *Ilias Latina* was copied in Campania perhaps as early as the tenth century; and in the eleventh century it was certainly at Monte Cassino and was also copied in central Italy, possibly at Farfa. In the fourteenth century, it was known to the northern Italian encyclopedic writer Benzo of Alessandria and to the Tuscans Petrarch and Salutati,

Homer survived in the medieval Arab world in much the same shadowy way as in the post-antique Latin west. Educated Italians of Arabic culture would have known extremely little of him. But among Greek-speaking Italians there was continued direct contact with his writings, though for a long time no complete texts seem to have been available. Our deposit of Homeric manuscripts from medieval Italy begins in the tenth century and so is silent on the Greek cities of pre-

Arab Sicily. Until the thirteenth century it consists of selections, summaries, collections of grammatical and explanatory notes (including the so called D scholia to the *Iliad*), glossaries, and similar educational aids. Material of this sort, along with quotations transmitted in the works of patristic or other ancient authors or in *florilegia* (collections of extracts) drawing on these, furnished the limited Homeric reading of even such literary craftsmen as Philagathus of Cerami and Eugenius of Palermo. Advanced offerings could include sizable amounts of continuous text: two selections from the Norman period or the very early Swabian period include several whole books of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* (each of which has twenty-four of these internal units); and a tenth-century manuscript (now in Paris, *Par. Suppl. Gr.* 388) contains Colluthus's late antique Homeric "prequel" *The Theft of Helen* (a brief epic whose medieval manuscript tradition is entirely Italo-Greek) and a 1,943-line amalgam of Homeric centones (poems made up of lines from Homer).

During the twelfth century, though, the work of John Tzetzes and other scholars of the eastern Roman (Byzantine) empire promoted a broader study of ancient Greek literature, including the Homeric epics in full. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, these had begun to reach the Salentine peninsula in Italy. The *Odyssey* and the *Batrachomyomachia* were transcribed in 1201 by students of the first well-known Nicholas of Otranto, the future Nectarius of Casole (their manuscript is now at Heidelberg, *Palat. Gr.* 45). The imperial notary John of Otranto (Johannes Grassus), some of whose poems reveal familiarity with minutiae of Homeric style, possessed an *Odyssey* that he lent in 1230-1231 to George Bardanes, the metropolitan of Corfu. Grammatical notes by Nicholas of Otranto (it is unclear which one) preserved in the southern Italian portion of a composite thirteenth-century manuscript (now at Oxford, New College, MS 298) show that the entire *Iliad* was available as well. Paleographers now assign to the Salento several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts of this poem. A well-known thirteenth-century *Odyssey* with scholia (London, *Harl.* 5674) is also considered Italo-Greek but could be Siculo-Calabrian rather than Salentine in origin. Another manuscript of the *Odyssey* (now in Vienna, *Vindob. Phil. Gr.* 56) was copied by a Salentine scribe in 1300 and is thought to have been in Greek-speaking Calabria in the

mid-fourteenth century.

Ancient Greek poems that took Homer's narratives of Troy as a point of departure were also part of this expanded canon. Lycophron's *Alexandra*—which was (like the *Prophecy of the Erythrean Sibyl*) a prophetic text with a Trojan setting and (like the *Odyssey*) a poem of mythological content including southern Italy in its purview—circulated widely in the Salento. At least four of its surviving thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts were written there; and a contemporary library inventory from Aradeo or its vicinity records a copy in a volume, now lost, that also contained the *Works and Days* of the early poet Hesiod. Supplementary narratives in the Homeric mold were available to extend the story of the *Iliad* backward or forward in time to cover important parts of the received tradition: Colluthus again; the lengthy *Posthomerica* of Quintus of Smyrna; and brief epic poem, *The Taking of Troy*, by Triphiodorus (or Tryphiodorus). Indeed, it is to the Greek libraries of the Salentine peninsula that we owe Quintus's survival, as well as one branch each of the textual traditions of both Colluthus and Triphiodorus. From the Salento, too, may come our only complete separate witnesses for the shorter form of the late antique Christian *Homerocentones* (Homeric centos) transmitted under the names of Patricius and the empress Eudocia.

In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, few other Italians would have had access to such riches. Though Dante enrolls himself in a society of poets under Homer's rule (*Inferno*, 4.70–102), his ignorance of the Homeric poems is palpable. A concise distillation of what little was known about them occurs in the anonymous *De vita et moribus philosophorum* (*Lives of the Philosophers*), formerly ascribed to the Englishman Walter Burley and now believed to have been written in northern Italy during the years 1317–1320. A similar but more fulsome treatment may be found in the closely contemporary Book 24 (*De moribus et vita philosophorum*) of the *Chronicle* of Benzo of Alessandria. These scholarly works offer biographical details that were traditional but false as well as some account of Homer's reported preeminence as a poet and as a philosopher. Drawing on the commentary on Jerome's prologues by Guillelmus Brito, a thirteenth-century Parisian master famous for his study of Greek words (and learned enough to have been aware of the Christian Homeric centones),

Benzo and the pseudo-Burley each give the meter and the number of books of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and also capsule descriptions of their subject matter. The account of the *Odyssey*—"the wanderings of Ulysses"—is reasonably accurate; but that for the *Iliad*—"the taking of Troy"—is less so, as the narrative of the *Iliad* ends well before this event. These meager data recur in *De viris illustribus* (*On Famous Men*, mid-fourteenth century) by Petrarch's friend and correspondent William of Pastrengo.

The recovery of the Homeric poems for the Latin west was an undertaking of the early humanists Petrarch and Boccaccio and of their Italo-Greek collaborator Leontius Pilatus, a wandering scholar from Calabria active in northern Italy. Petrarch, who was eager to inform himself about ancient Greek literature, received in 1354-1355 as a gift from the eastern Roman diplomat Nicholas Sigerus a Greek-language manuscript of the *Iliad* (now in Milan, *Ambros. Gr.* I 98 inf.), which to his sorrow he could not read. In 1359, Leontius translated part of the poem into Latin prose for Petrarch. Boccaccio got Leontius a position at the university of Florence, and in the early 1360s Leontius produced complete interlinear translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, also in Latin prose (his revised autographs are Venice, *Marc. Gr.* IX 2 and IX 29, respectively). Petrarch's letter to a Active Homer (*Familiarum rerum libri epistole*, 24.12), written after receipt of the initial partial translation, and Boccaccio's somewhat later account of the bard in his commentary on Dante's *Commedia* are heavily indebted to ancient biographical fiction and to other schoolbook information furnished by Leontius. Although Boccaccio could name and describe the *Batrachomyomachia*, and although the *Iliad* is now more correctly summarized, both his richly detailed portrait and that emerging from Petrarch's letter say little of substance about the poems themselves. Significant critical engagement with these would be the work of others.



Homer with the other ancient poets in Limbo. Dante's *Inferno*. *Opere del diuino poeta Danthe con suoi commenti*. Venice: Bernardino Stagnino, 1512.
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See also Benzo d'Alessandria; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri; Eugenius of Palermo; Greek Language and Literature; Petrarca, Francesco; Philagathus of Cerami

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Homilies

See Preachers and Preaching

Honorio

The strong-willed Justa Grata Honorio (c. 416 or 417-c. 455) was the daughter of the future emperor Constantius III (r. 421) and Galla Placidia, and the elder sister of the emperor Valentinian III (r. 425-455). Honorio held the title *augusta* ("empress"). At the orders of her brother, she was devoted to virginity, a situation she did not find to her liking. Around 449, she was apprehended in a love affair with the overseer of her estates; both were also supposedly engaged in a plot to seize power for Honorio. As a result, her lover was executed and she was exiled to Constantinople. She then appealed for help to Attila the Hun, whereupon the eastern emperor Theodosius II, who already had enough problems with the Huns, immediately dispatched her back to Italy—with the recommendation that Valentinian turn her over to Attila. Valentinian was enraged, and he spared her life only because of the earnest entreaties of their mother. Honorio was then compelled to marry a reliable senator named Flavius Bassus Herculanus, and subsequently she was kept under close guard. Attila, meanwhile, chose to interpret Honorio's missive as a marriage proposal and demanded half of the western Roman empire as her dowry. Attila's ultimatum was refused, and he responded by invading the western empire in 451 and 452. Honorio's ultimate fate is unknown; she may have been dead by 455.

See also Attila the Hun; Galla Placidia; Huns; Valentinian III

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Honorius, Emperor

Flavius Honorius (384-423, r. 395-423) was born in the east, the younger son of the emperor Theodosius I (r. 379—395) and Aelia Flavia Flaccilla. In his youth, Honorius was called *nobilissimus puer* ("most noble child"), and in 386 he held the consulate. He was summoned by his father to Rome when he was five, but in 391 they both returned to Constantinople; there, in 393, Honorius was proclaimed emperor. In 394, he was called to Milan, and in 395, when Theodosius died, Honorius and his brother Arcadius jointly succeeded to the throne, with Arcadius ruling the east and Honorius the west. This year marked the beginning of the true de facto division of the empire into eastern and western halves, each under the rule of its own emperor, even though, in theory, the empire remained a single entity. Both boys spent their reigns under the influence of powerful advisers. The first such power behind the throne in the west was the Vandal general Stilicho, both of whose daughters Honorius married—Maria c. 398 and Thermantia in 408.

After the Visigoths invaded Italy in 402, Honorius and the imperial court retired from Milan to Ravenna, which was less accessible and was heavily defended. Only rarely did later emperors reside for any length of time elsewhere. Meanwhile, palace intrigues resulted in Stilicho's assassination in 408, and Honorius was left to deal with Alaric and the Visigoths. The indecisive emperor, influenced first by one adviser and then by another, vacillated between resistance and conciliation. The end result was the sack of Rome in 410.

The Visigoths were not the only barbarian invaders of the western

empire during Honorius's reign. In 405, the barbarian adventurer Radagaisus assembled a huge army in the Danubian region, invaded Italy, and ruined many Italian cities. Not until August 406 were he and his army destroyed by Stilicho. On the last day of 406, hordes of Burgundians, Alans, Suevi, and Vandals crossed the frozen Rhine into Gaul and began slowly making their way south. In 409, all but the Burgundians crossed into Spain. In northeastern Gaul, the Franks extended their influence, and in 418, the Visigoths were granted a treaty that assigned to them much of southwestern Gaul. Gradually, therefore, more and more of the western empire was slipping from Roman hands.

Honorius's reign was also afflicted by several revolts and usurpations. In 397, the master of soldiers Gildo revolted in North Africa, though he was suppressed in 398. In Britain, a succession of rebellions by the discontented and isolated soldiery included those of Marcus (406-407), Gratian (407), and Constantine III (407-411). In 407, Constantine crossed to Gaul and successfully advanced all the way to Aries. Meanwhile, in 409, the senator Priscus Attalus was proclaimed emperor, although he was deposed when Alaric and Honorius made a short-lived peace in the next year. At the same time, Constantine's general Gerontius rebelled in Spain, and in 409, he elevated a certain Maximus to the purple. Honorius, for his part, sent his general Constantius to deal with the situation in Gaul in 411. The resultant falls of Constantine and Maximus, however, were followed by a revolt in northern Gaul by Jovinus, which was not suppressed until 413. The powerful general Constantius then married Honorius's sister Galla Placidia in 417 and was promoted to coemperor with Honorius in 421, only to die of illness later in the year. In 420, the "tyrant" Maximus—perhaps the same man as the Maximus mentioned above—seized power in Spain; he was not subdued until 422.

The feckless, timid Honorius generally took little part in public affairs. He was passive by nature, except when he was motivated to act out of fear. He left military operations to his generals, but he did become involved in a controversy over the choice of a bishop of Rome in 418. He eventually died of "dropsy"—perhaps edema of the lungs—in 423. He left no issue; this situation resulted in the proclamation of Johannes, the chief secretary, after his death. Not until 425 did his nephew Valentinian III, the son of Galla Placidia and Constantius,

restore the legitimate dynasty.

The unity of the western empire was shakily maintained during Honorius's reign—only Britain was lost for good (Honorius wrote to the Britons advising them to defend themselves). But he left a legacy of fragmentation and feeble, lackluster leadership which eventually would result in the dissolution of the western empire.

For legislation issued by Honorius, see the relevant entries in *Codex Theodosianus* and *Codex Justinianus*-, for Honorius's extant correspondence, see Guenther (1895).

See also Alaric the Visigoth; Galla Placidia; Radagaisus; Ravenna; Stilicho; Valentinian III; Visigoths

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Honorius II, Pope

Pope Honorius II (Lambert Scannabecchi; d. 1130, r. 1124-1130) had entered the papal service in the late eleventh century and had risen to become the cardinal bishop of Ostia in 1117. He had been an outstanding diplomat and was one of three papal representatives who negotiated the Concordat of Worms (1122). When Pope Calixtus II died in 1124, the rivalry between two Roman families, the Frangipani and Pierleoni, intruded in the election of a new pope because factions within the College of Cardinals supported each family. After several tumultuous days in Rome, during which there was fighting between the two families and their cardinals, the Frangipani candidate, Lambert Scannabecchi, finally emerged as Pope Honorius II.

During his tenure, Honorius tried to defend the interests of the church in Italy. He pacified the restless nobility in the papal lands of central Italy and compelled other nobles, south of Rome, to become vassals of Saint Peter. The major challenge to the papacy in Italy, however, was from Roger II, the Norman ruler of Sicily. In 1127, Roger seized the duchy of Apulia, on the basis of a hereditary right; but Honorius claimed the conflicting right to name a new duke, on the basis of his own feudal right as overlord of Apulia. Honorius nevertheless had to invest Roger with Apulia, in the treaty of Benevento (22 August 1128), because the papacy could not dislodge him militarily; and the situation stayed this way until Honorius's death.

See also **Frangipani Family; Papal States; Pierleone Family; Roger II**

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Honorius III, Pope

Pope Honorius III (Cencio Savelli; d. 1227, r. 18 June 1216— 18 March 1227) was born in Rome before the mid-twelfth century, was educated in the Lateran, became canon of Saint Mary Major, and was appointed chamberlain of the Holy See under popes Clement III and Celestine III. Honorius became cardinal deacon of Saint Lucy in Selci and later cardinal priest of Saints John and Paul. While serving as treasurer, he used his impressive administrative skills to publish *Liber censuum*, a complete and orderly list of the citizenry's pecuniary obligations to the Holy See. In the same manuscript he added a copy of *Marvels of the City of Rome* (*Mirabilia urbis Romae*) and a chronicle of Roman popes going back to Saint Peter. This book remained in use until the sixteenth century.

Probably as a consequence of his long stay at the papal court before being elected to the papacy, Honorius followed faithfully in the steps of his predecessor, Pope Innocent III. He continued most of Innocent's policies, dedicating himself to the recovery of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the elimination of heresy, and the support of the new mendicant orders—the Dominicans and Franciscans.

Honorius's pontificate was marked by the struggle between pope and emperor. Frederick II was determined to transform the empire into a hereditary institution and to combine the imperial crown with the

Sicilian kingdom; these goals clashed with the papal view of the empire as elective and of Sicily as a papal fief. Frederick had vowed to lead a new crusade that would be a truly religious endeavor, without the political and mercantile elements of the previous crusades; and after the failure of the Fifth Crusade the pope insistently reminded him of this vow. However, Frederick failed to honor his commitment during Honorius's pontificate. Honorius also used his diplomatic skills in an attempt to establish peace between England and France.

Honorius took a tolerant attitude toward Muslims but strongly fought and repressed Christian heresies. He was particularly belligerent against the Albigensians. He continued the crusade against them begun by his predecessor and entrusted the Dominican order, which had recently been founded and approved, with the task of preaching against Albigensian doctrines.

Honorius was responsible for the establishment of the two mendicant orders—a crucial step in the history of the church—and he fostered their spread in every possible way. He solemnly confirmed the rule of Saint Francis, thanks to the intercession of Cardinal L'Jgolino (Hugolino) of Ostia, the future Pope Gregory IX; Honorius also gave formal confirmation to the rule of Saint Dominic in 1216,

Honorius had become pope at an advanced age, and it was a struggle for him to follow in the footsteps of his energetic predecessor. Although Honorius was not a pope memorable for originality or genius, he was deservedly renowned for his generosity and holiness.

See also Cathars; Dominican Order; Franciscan Order; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gregory IX, Pope; Innocent III, Pope

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Honorius IV, Pope

Pope Honorius IV (Giacomo or Jacobus Savelli; c. 1210-1287, r. 1285-1287) Had been cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin and papal prefect in Tuscany. He was among the cardinals deputed by Pope Urban IV to invest Charles of Anjou with the kingdom of Sicily (1265). Both of Honorius's brothers fought for Charles at Tagliacozzo and one, Pandolfo, was joint senator of Rome when Honorius became pope. Honorius was so crippled that he could not walk and perhaps could not even lift his hands.



Pope Honorius IV. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 217v.

As overlord of the Regno, Honorius IV in 1285 promulgated the

"constitution of Sicily" in two bulls. One bull dealt with relations between the royal officers and the church; the other proclaimed a return to the laws of the last effective Norman king, William, particularly in reducing the general subvention to an annual maximum of 50,000 *uncie* and defining more precisely when it might be raised. Further reforms included reducing obligatory services from the communes, and levies in kind; and new measures to deal with official corruption. The nobles acquired some new rights—these included the freedom to marry without reference to the king, permission for women and collaterals to inherit, and restrictions on military service. The constitution was never fully enforced, but some of its clauses were temporarily effective.

Honorius remained unyieldingly opposed to the Aragonese in Sicily, refusing to recognize the pretensions of James, second son of Peter III, who succeeded in Sicily in 1283 and was crowned in defiance of Honorius in 1286. Despite James's offer of homage, Honorius excommunicated him and his supporters and laid an interdict on Sicily. Honorius also continued—even after the French failed in 1285 to set Charles of Valois on the throne of Aragon—to insist on the validity of a so-called crusade to oust Alfonso II in Aragon and James in Sicily, conceding substantial sums to the regents of Angevin Sicily to support it. Honorius prolonged both the war and Charles's captivity by rejecting the first treaty made by Charles II with Alfonso, which recognized not only Alfonso's claim to Aragon but that of James to Sicily and southern Calabria, thereby ultimately saving Calabria for the Angevins.

Elsewhere in Italy, Honorius made little impact, though he secured the submission of Guido da Montefeltro in the Romagna and ended a quarrel with Venice over its failure to support the Angevin cause.

See also Charles I of Anjou; Charles II of Anjou; Charles of Valois; Guido da Montefeltro; Tagliacozzo, Battle of

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Horace

Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65-8 B.C.) was born in Venosa, a Roman military colony. Despite a modest background, Horace received an excellent education in Rome. During the civil war, Horace fought with Brutus, but the republicans' defeat at Philippi in 42 interrupted his military career. In 38, the influential Maecenas became Horace's patron; and in 33, with Maecenas's gift of a farm in Sabine country, Horace retired from city life and devoted himself to literary pursuits.

Horace's works consist of four collections. The *Epodes* (30 B.C.) seventeen short poems, primarily in iambic couplets, address a variety of topics. The *Satires*, or *Sermones* (35-30 B.C.), eighteen poems in hexameters, also cover a range of subjects. The *Odes*, or *Carmina* (23 B.C.), consist of eighty-eight lyric poems. Finally, the *Epistles*, twenty-three poems in hexameters, were published in two books, the first (containing twenty letters) in 20 B.C. and the second (containing three letters) perhaps posthumously. The best-known letter is *The Epistle to the Pisos*, which is often included in the second book. Known as *Ars poetica*, it sets forth theories on poetry and drama.

In the Middle Ages, Horace was an important school author whose work was excerpted frequently and widely disseminated. Until the fourteenth century, however, he was better known for his *Satires* and *Epistles* than for his lyrics. The morality found in the *Satires* and *Epistles* could be molded to suit the needs of a Christian readership, but the *Odes* and *Epodes* were more difficult metrically and less adaptable to religious and ethical uses.

Dante includes Horace in the *bella scola* of eminent poets in *Inferno* (4.89), where he is called *Orazio satiro* ("Horace the satirist"). In all

likelihood, Dante did not know Horace's *Odes*, but throughout his works he demonstrates familiarity with several of the epistles, most prominently *Ars poetica*. For example, the analogy Adam makes in *Paradiso* (26.137-138) between the transience of human speech and the natural life cycle of leaves is evidently modeled on a similar discussion in *Ars poetica* (60-63), which finds its way into Dante's *Convivio* as well (2.13.10).

The *Odes* gained popularity during the *Trecento*: the proto-humanist Lovato Lovati and Petrarch both refer to Horace's lyrics. In fact, Petrarch cites Horace's lyric and hexametric poems in equal measure, and in his letter to Horace (*Familiars*, 24.10), Petrarch addresses Horace as the king of lyric poetry.

See also Dante Alighieri; Lovato dei Lovati; Petrarca, Francesco

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Hospitallers in Italy

See **Military Orders in Italy**

Hospitals and Hospices

See **Charitable Institutions**

Hostiensis

Hostiensis was the nickname of Henricus de Segusia, or Henry of Susa (c. 1200-1271), cardinal bishop of Ostia (Hostia), a canon lawyer famous for his commentaries on the *Decretals of Gregory IX*. Hostiensis was born near Turin, studied Roman and canon law at Bologna, and then taught briefly at Paris c. 1239. Most of his career, however, was spent in the practice of law, in which he received lucrative appointments, beginning with the headship of the cathedral chapter of Antibes-Grasse near Nice in 1235. In 1236, he went to England with the new queen, Eleanor of Provence; he remained there until 1242, employed sometimes by the papacy and sometimes by King Henry III, whom he continued to represent as late as 1258. In 1243, Hostiensis returned to Provence to become bishop of Sisteron (and was attached to the papal household as a chaplain). The pope made him archbishop of nearby Embrun in 1250 and often sent him on diplomatic missions. Hostiensis's service to the papacy was amply rewarded in 1262 with the bishopric of Ostia, which made him head of the college of cardinals. The rest of his life was spent working at the papal court, where he died in 1271. He was probably buried at Perugia.

During his thirty-five-year career, Hostiensis wrote two great legal works for which he is famous. The first is his *Summa*, later called the "golden summa" or—because it was completed in 1253, while he was archbishop—the "archbishop's summa." The *Summa* was a new type of commentary on the official collection of papal decisions, or decretals, that gave an overview of each subject division, or title: e.g., all decretals concerning heretics were treated together in a single essay. Though

voluminous (777 folio pages in one printed edition), it was frequently copied; more than 100 manuscripts survive. When this work was done, Hostiensis began another type of commentary on the same text, this time with an essay on each component decretal; he called it *Commentum super decretales*, but it is now better known as *Lectura*. By 1265, he had completed a first version, which he finished revising shortly before his death. *Lectura* (1,472 printed folio pages) is roughly twice as long as *Summa* and hence was reproduced less often, in about fifty manuscripts. Both works were considered indispensable by lawyers for the next 300 years, to the disgust of Dante (*Paradiso*, 12.82-84).

Hostiensis's nonacademic career made him sensitive to the practical everyday needs of the church. Unlike many canonists, he looked to the gospels for his principles, chief of which was to avoid *periculum animae*—anything that might endanger the salvation of the soul. Similarly, he stressed that both the application and the interpretation of canon law should be guided by equity (*aequitas canonica*). Consequently, arguments from Roman law, which were favored by his principal rival, Innocent IV, did not appeal to Henry.

Like other decretalists, Hostiensis was committed to the concept of papal "plenitude of power," which he was the first to describe as a *potestas absoluta*. But he tempered this concept with a characteristic stress on collegiality, arguing that the pope should consult his cardinals and the bishops their chapters. He held that the power of secular government (*imperium*) was derived from the church and was subject to papal interference when sin was involved (*ratione peccati*).

Other canonists also influenced ecclesiastical jurisprudence, but none of them had Hostiensis's distinctive, cultured, and often sympathetic personality. He towered over later generations as the "monarch of legal studies" (*utriusque iuris monarca*). His career exemplifies how Italian-trained jurists dominated European learned law in the thirteenth century.

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Hugh of Arles

Hugh of Arles (Hugh of Provence, d. 947 or 948) was king of Provence (928-c. 948) and king of Italy (926-945). He was descended from Charlemagne through his mother. Hugh administered Provence for his cousin, Louis III, becoming king on Louis's death.

Invited into Italy by treacherous nobles in 926, Hugh wrested the Lombard throne from Rudolf II of Burgundy, perhaps also trading Provence for Rudolf's promise never to return to Italy. Hugh's attempted takeover of Rome in 932 angered Alberic, another warlord. Hugh isolated Alberic and regained Provence when Rudolf died in 937, but his power declined thereafter. In 945 Hugh and his son, Lothar, yielded de facto rule to Berengar of Ivrea, grandson of the "emperor" Berengar. Hugh died in Provence.

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Hugo, Marquis of Tuscany

Hugo (Ugo, c. 953 or 954–21 December 1001) was the son of Uberto and Willa, daughter of Boniface, duke of Spoleto. At an early age Hugo became involved in the administration of Spoleto and Camerino. He was caught in a conflict among members of diverse dynasties, both local and intrusive: Hugh of Aries, the emperor Conrad II, the Venetian doge Pietro IV Candiano, and the Lombard pretender Berengar II (to the first three of whom he had family connections). In this situation he chose to support the German emperors, perhaps above all Otto III, as the best hope for bringing stability to northern Italy. In this regard he was a firm believer in the superior authority of the office of emperor over the papacy and a staunch supporter of church reform. He is remembered by Dante (*Paradiso*, 16,127–129) as the *gran barone* ("great baron"). Hugo was buried in the Florentine Badia, a church founded by his mother in 978. His prominent tomb was carved by Mino of Fiesole.

See also **Berengar II; Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany; Conrad II; Otto III**

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Hugo Falcandus

Usually printed under the name of Hugo Falcandus are two important and highly readable Latin prose works having to do with the Sicilian monarchy in the second half of the twelfth century. *Historia* (or *Liber*) *de regno Sicilie* (*History, or Book, of the Kingdom of Sicily*) is a formal historical narration of power struggles and other events during the reign of William I and, with some intervening years not covered,

during the minority of William II. A masterpiece of judgmental incisiveness, it is widely viewed as the preeminent specimen of a rather notable body of Latin-language histories from southern Italy in the medieval period. The briefer *Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium de calamitate Sicilie* (*Letter to Peter, Treasurer of the Church at Palermo, about the Sicilian Calamity*) deals with the succession crisis of late 1189 and early 1190 from an antiimperial point of view. Although the two works are transmitted together in our manuscripts, the order in which they appear varies. Scholars differ on whether they are by one author or two, on the precise dating of each work (though they are apparently by an informed contemporary or contemporaries), and on whether *Epistola ad Petrum* was written from within the kingdom of Sicily or outside it.

Equally controversial is the identification of the author— at least of the *Historia* if not of both works. In the surviving manuscripts the author or authors are anonymous; but in 1550 the first editor of the works, using a manuscript that is now lost (or perhaps a lost portion of one we do have), called the author Hugo Falcandus. This designation is now conventional. However, it was possibly derived from a misinterpreted ownership inscription and was thus not an author's name at all, and in any case it is generally thought to be erroneous in some way: the "Falcandus" part is certainly peculiar. Some scholars have taken it to be a pseudonym. The Frenchman Hugues Foucaud or Hugo Fulcaudus, abbot of Saint Denis from 1186 to 1197, has been proposed as an author (and repropounded relatively recently), but this attribution will not satisfy those who believe that there was a single author located in the kingdom of Sicily in early 1190; nor is it established that Hugues actually had substantial experience in Sicily. Other suggestions (e.g., Robert of San Giovanni and Eugenius of Palermo) have not won much support. Arguments based on points of style recur in these debates and underscore the need for a new critical edition: the earliest known evidence (dated to c. 1230) was discovered only after the present edition of reference had been published. One branch of the tradition shows deliberate rewriting in *Historia*.

Both texts are consciously literary; both also manifest very significant emphases and omissions. *Historia* is famous for its brief character sketches as well as for longer portraits of Roger II (favorable)

and of the admiral Maio of Bari, William I's chief minister in the early years of his reign (unfavorable). It provides details of court politics that we would otherwise not possess but that must be read with care in light both of its author's personal biases and of his adherence to patterns established by his ancient stylistic model, the historian Sallust, *Epistola ad Petrum* is a polished and seemingly propagandistic piece of deliberative oratory, noteworthy for its Sicilian patriotism and for its expressions of ethnic and regional prejudice (similar expressions occur in *Historia*). Its concluding praise of Palermo focuses on the city's wealth and splendor and furnishes valuable information on the layout of Palermo in the twelfth century, on the silk weaving practiced there, and on the agriculture of the surrounding plain (now called the Conca d'Oro).

Early humanists were influential in the survival of these works: of the four manuscripts that remain today, one was annotated by the papal secretary Zanobi da Strada and another by Petrarch (extensively) and by Boccaccio.

See also **Latin Literature; Normans; William I; William II**

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Huguccio

See Uguccione da Pisa

Humanism and Protohumanism

Humanism encompasses a period of history and civilization lasting roughly three centuries (1300-1600). The opinions of scholars concerning humanism are somewhat varied.

According to one theory—which is considered the oldest and the best-known—humanism was a historical period during which all the values that had been stressed during the Middle Ages were abandoned, and new values came under consideration. During the Middle Ages, ecclesiastical and feudal powers strongly affirmed and defended their authority; during the period of Renaissance humanism, by contrast, the individual would, supposedly, affirm himself and his right to self-determination. Moreover, during the Middle Ages all manifestations of culture (science, art, literature, etc.) had in common a religious interest; but in the period of Renaissance humanism an attempt was made to explore and follow natural principles in ethics, politics, literature, and so on without taking transcendental values into consideration. This theory was supported by J. Michelet, G. Voigt, and J. Burckhardt.

An opposing theory has been proposed by others (K. Burdach, E. Gebhardt, V. Zabughin), who see no separation between the two periods. According to these scholars, a religious interest was also present in Renaissance humanism; and humanistic religious ideals were strongly felt before Renaissance humanism, especially in the twelfth century. Not a few scholars are inclined to see the beginning of humanism in the twelfth century.

Still other scholars tend to be conciliatory. They do not take into consideration what the humanists thought of themselves and who they claimed to be; instead, these scholars derive the humanists' manifold objectives from their works and from the many political transformations occurring during this period. Such an examination has

revealed that in some cases, in some fields, and in the works of some humanists there may be an antithesis between certain ideals and values of the Middle Ages and those of the Renaissance; but it also reveals a continuity between many aspects of medieval civilization and Renaissance civilization.

Some scholars have also considered the economic and social aspects of this subject and have concluded that certain of the most important concepts of the humanists—such as *humanitas*, *dignitas hominis*, and *studia humanitatis*—must have developed in a cultural movement generated by a gradual change in the economic structure which produced a new ideological orientation. The humanists, however, were not aware that a new economic structure in their society was relevant to their new cultural interests and achievements.

Paul O. Kristeller, who has contributed greatly to the historical study of humanism, has proposed defining it according to the way the humanists defined themselves and their work. They considered themselves teachers of the *studia humanitatis*—grammar, rhetoric, poetics, history, and moral philosophy. Their main interest was in acquiring a knowledge of the Latin language and a good style. Their efforts to achieve a good style through the study of classical works had as a consequence an acquaintance with classical culture, which then also influenced their creative works.

Some scholars (H. Baron, E. Garin) have emphasized "civic humanism"—a term indicating the historical situation that arose in the early *Quattrocento* in Florence. In the opinion of these scholars, the humanists would have stressed the importance of civic virtues in public administration and in any activity they had to perform as citizens. Florence was the city where "civic humanism" found its highest expression.

Humanism did not begin abruptly. In the second part of the thirteenth century, in northern Italy, some learned people in Padua had access to the library of Pomposa, which seems to have had a number of texts by classical authors; at about the same time, notaries and jurists in Verona appreciated the importance of the capitular library there. Private libraries came into being in the thirteenth century, and private possession of books might explain the interest of the owners in works and authors present in their libraries. The first humanists improved

their knowledge of the Latin language and were able to revive the works of poets, such as Catullus, who had previously been ignored. Jurists and notaries played a leading role in early humanism, probably because they had to be familiar with Roman laws and institutions. Lovato Lovati (1240-1309), Geremia da Montagnone, and Rolando da Piazzola were judges, and Albertino Mussato was a notary; all were active in Padua. Benzo d'Alessandria (a notary) and Guglielmo da Pastrengo (a jurist) lived in Verona; other jurists and canonists were active in Bologna, Florence, and Naples. Lovato dei Lovati studied the metrical structure of Seneca's tragedies. Giovanni da Matociis (Mansionario, Iohannes de Matociis) proved, in the first years of the fourteenth century, that the Pliny who wrote *Historia naturalis* could not have been same Pliny who wrote the letters; in two manuscripts of Giovanni's *Historia imperialis* a note was discovered (relatively recently) revealing the titles of some of Ausonius's works that had previously been unknown. Giovanni was also interested in Roman coins. Albertino Mussato (1261-1329) wrote a tragedy (*Ecerinis*) modeled on Seneca, even in its metrical structure; evidently, Albertino's intention was to revive classical theater. Because of the activity of these humanists, we must admit that humanism existed in Italy before Petrarch and Boccaccio.

See also Albertino Mussato; Benzo d'Alessandria; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Giovanni de Matociis; Liberal Arts; Lovato dei Lovati; Petrarca, Francesco

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Humbert of Silva Candida

Humbert (d. 5 May 1061) was probably born in Burgundy. He was given by his parents as an oblate to the reformed Lotharingian monastery of

Moyenmoutier, in the diocese of Toul. As a young monk he devoted himself particularly to study (c. 1015-1029), acquiring an astonishing range of knowledge. He attracted the attention of his diocesan bishop, Bruno of Toul, who became Pope Leo IX (r. 1049-1054) and included Humbert in his entourage when he took up his pontificate in Rome. Humbert became a leading adviser not only of Leo IX but also of popes Victor II, Stephen IX, and Nicholas II. Humbert was named archbishop of Sicily as early as 1050, and he became one of the first non-Roman members of the evolving College of Cardinals as cardinal bishop of Silva Candida. Pope Stephen IX (r. 1057-1058) named Humbert chancellor and librarian of the Roman church. Humbert participated in important embassies: the embassy to Emperor Henry III in 1056; and, earlier, the ill-fated embassy to Constantinople in 1054, when he deposited a bull of excommunication of the patriarch Michael Cerullarios on the altar of Hagia Sophia and thus contributed to the growing schism between the Roman and the Greek churches. The main issue separating the churches at this time was that the Roman church insisted on the primacy of the pope. Humbert may have been one of the authors of a retrospective statement (JL 4302) of Leo IX, in which the Roman curia first cited the Donation of Constantine in a specific Italian transmission containing unique variants and placing greater emphasis on the primacy of Rome.

Only one major work can be attributed definitely to Humbert, *The Three Books against the Simoniacs* (*Libri tres adversus simoniacos*). The radicalism of this work assures Humbert a prominent place among the reformers of the eleventh century, although it found only a faint echo among his contemporaries.

See also Byzantine Empire; Leo IX, Pope

UTA-RENATE BLUMENTHAL

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Humiliati

See Heresy and Religious Dissent

Humility of Faenza

Humility of Faenza (Umiltà, Humilitas de Faventia, Rosanese; c. 1226-1310) was an abbess and mystic and was said to be a miracle worker. She is perhaps unique in medieval Italy as a known woman author of a substantial body of Latin texts that are unlikely to have been ghostwritten or significantly redacted by a male secretary or confessor. These are her fifteen so-called *Sermons*, of which some are sermons in the general medieval and modern sense and the remainder—for which she accurately uses the term *oratio* ("prayer")—are formal addresses of devotion to Christ, the Virgin Mary, and others. The writing is forceful, expressive, prone to grammatical errors of case and gender, and replete with resonances of biblical and other widely known Latin Christian texts. Rhetorical artifice is present but not overwhelming. A linear syntax reminiscent of ordinary speech patterns and the occasional inappropriate substitution of one similarly-sounding word for another suggest the oral environment in which these pieces were delivered and taken down by dictation. The present Sermon 9 (the division and arrangement of Humility's work has varied according to the judgment of her editors) consists largely of rhythmic poems of the sort called *laude* ("songs of praise"). Much matter in the higher-numbered *Sermons* can be analyzed somewhat similarly, even if it is not printed similarly; and there is evidence from the early modern period that several passages were sung in Vallombrosian monasteries and transcribed as separate *laude* in Latin or in Italian translations, or both.

Apart from the testimony of the *Sermons* themselves, almost all that we know of Humility comes from two early fourteenth-century lives, one in Latin and one in Italian. She was a talented and determined individual, with little if any formal education, who had been born into a noble family at Faenza. Humility was her name in religion; Rosanese was her original name. She went from married life to the life of a conventual, then became an ascetic solitary, and subsequently founded a community of Vallombrosian nuns. In 1282, together with a few companions, she traveled to Florence, where she established the Vallombrosian convent of Saint John the Evangelist and spent the

remaining years of her life. Humilty was recognized as a living saint both in Faenza and in Florence; shortly after her death she was the subject of a statue by Andrea di Cione (Orcagna) and of a polyptych altarpiece whose paintings have often been attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti. Her cult was authorized by the papacy in 1720 for the Vallombrosians and in 1721 for the dioceses of Florence and Faenza. She was canonized in 1948.

See also Latin Literature

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Huns

The Huns seem to have been related to the Hsiung-Nu, a Turkish-Mongolian people who appear in Chinese records of the early centuries C.E. They eventually made their way across central Asia and acquired a fearsome reputation as savage warriors who lived out their lives on horseback. They defeated and absorbed one barbarian group after another, including peoples such as the Gepids, Rugians, Heruls, Alans, and Ostrogoths. In the process, they created a nomad horde. Some their adversaries chose to avoid conflict with them at any cost. The Visigoths, for example, sought refuge in the Roman empire in 376. Pressure from the Huns forced other barbarian groups into the empire as well, and this pressure has even has been blamed for the so-called barbarian invasions.

The Huns themselves, meanwhile, momentarily halted their advance north of the Danube River. For a time, their relations with the Romans were like those of any barbarians, and they often served as auxiliaries in the Roman army. In the early fifth century, however, they grew more restless. A raid across the Danube by their chief Uldin in 408 was beaten back; but in the early 420s the Hun king Rua had to be bought off with a subsidy of 350 pounds of gold per year. This set an unfortunate precedent, for the barbarians' taste for gold obtained in this manner could never be satiated.

In 434, Attila succeeded to the throne. He imposed increasingly severe terms on the Romans, raising the yearly subsidy first to 700 pounds of gold and then to 2,100 pounds. In 447, the Romans agreed to evacuate a strip south of the Danube; its width was that of a five-day march. Around 450, however, Attila seems to have lost interest in the east. The western princess Honoria had written to him, sending her ring and asking his aid. Attila therefore claimed her as his betrothed and

demanded half of the western empire as her dowry. In 451, he led the Huns and their subject peoples across the Rhine into Gaul. After sacking a number of Gallic cities, the Huns were halted at Orleans and then challenged by the western generalissimo Aetius, who had assembled a coalition of Romans, Visigoths, Franks, and Alans. The Huns were defeated on the Catalaunian plain and were forced to withdraw.

In the next year, however, Attila returned and passed through the undefended Alps into Italy. Aquileia was destroyed. Then, according to a pious legend, the Huns were induced to withdraw by an embassy of Pope Leo I, who was assisted in his efforts by apparitions of saints Peter and Paul. Disease, starvation, and the rumored arrival of reinforcements from the east would also have influenced the decision. In 453, Attila died, and in 454, the subject peoples of the Huns revolted, inflicting a disastrous defeat on their erstwhile masters at the battle of the Nedao River. The Huns never again posed a serious threat to the empire.

See also Aëtius, Flavius; Attila the Hun; Honoria; Visigoths

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I

Iconoclasm

In theology, Iconoclasm is the belief that religious art is idolatrous. The term (frequently capitalized, as here, to distinguish it from iconoclasm in general) is usually applied to a movement that troubled eastern Christianity from 726 to 842. Emperor Leo III (r. 717-741) banned religious art in the Byzantine (eastern Roman) empire sometime between 726 and 730. His son, Constantine V (r. 741-775), was even more rigorously Iconoclastic. Iconoclasm waned after Constantine's death, was revived briefly under emperors Leo V ("the Armenian," r. 813-820) and Theophilus (r. 829-842), and then vanished from the eastern Christian tradition.

Contemporaries of Emperor Leo III ascribed his Iconoclasm to Jewish or Muslim influences. Prohibitions against religious art—though often disregarded—exist in both Judaism and Islam, and Islam also prohibits much secular art. The idea that Leo was influenced by Islam is plausible, because he had grown up in Muslim Syria before moving to the empire. Some modern scholars, however, have sought economic explanations, suggesting that Leo and his successors struck at the power and wealth of the Byzantine church, especially the monastic clergy. Other modern scholars believe that Leo was a reformer who genuinely disliked idolatry. In this regard, it is worth noting that the stylized paintings and mosaics which we call "icons" have a more central position in the eastern Christian tradition than statues, paintings, and other forms of religious art have in the west; icons, for example, were used as godparents for infants. A relatively recent theory is that the Iconoclasts saw icons as "windows into heaven," an alternative to the state-controlled Byzantine church. Unsupervised avenues to sanctity could not be permitted to exist—hence the legislation against icons.

Iconoclasm seems never to have been strictly enforced in the areas of Italy that were still under imperial control. As a result, these areas

became valuable repositories of pre-Iconoclastic Byzantine art, much of which was destroyed elsewhere in the empire. In addition, thousands of Iconophiles (called *Iconodoules* in older works), especially monks, emigrated to Italy as refugees from Iconoclastic persecution, augmenting the Italo-Greek population. Iconoclasm heightened preexisting tensions between the Italians and Byzantium and helped pave the way for the papacy's break with the empire in the mid-eighth century.

The *Liber pontificalis*—a series of short official biographies, which vary in quality, of the popes from Saint Peter through the early Middle Ages—includes reasonably good lives of the popes of the Iconoclastic period; Duchesne's edition (1955), while not new, incorporates his corrections, deletions, and emendations up to his death and thus supersedes earlier printings. There is (as of the present writing) no English translation of these parts of *Liber pontificalis*. Goulland (1968) provides a Greek text and French translation of two letters of Pope Gregory II to Emperor Leo III (the first Iconoclastic emperor), protesting Leo's policies. The chronicle of George the Monk is an important source for the second phase of Iconoclasm under emperors Leo V and Theophilus in the first half of the ninth century. Theophanes is the principal Greek source for most of the Iconoclastic era but is badly informed and often confused on Italian affairs. Three English translations of Theophanes are those by Mango and Scott (1997), Santoro (1982), and Turtledove (1982). Of the three, Mango and Scott's version is the most recent (again, as of the present writing) and the best, though it has some weaknesses; Santoro translates the notices from 717 to 803 (a span that encompasses most of the Iconoclastic period) and provides good maps. The chronicle by Nicephorus, an Iconophile patriarch of Constantinople who was dismissed by Leo V, covers some of the same time as that of Theophanes; De Boor's edition of Nicephorus (1880) was superseded by Mango's (1990). Alexander (1958) is the standard biography of Nicephorus.

See also Byzantine Empire; Leo III, Pope

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IESI

The military camp of Aesis, which became the urban center of Jesi, or Iesi, was founded by the Romans on a prominence overlooking the Esino River in the third century B.C. The Esino valley offered rich agricultural lands, and the river offered the possibility of transporting food efficiently. The Via Flaminia (Flaminian Way), one of the major Roman roads, passed by Iesi. In the centuries that followed the decline of the Roman empire, Iesi did not prosper. The urban population fled, the formerly cultivated fields returned to swampland and forest, and the river became impassable. The region was devastated by successive invasions of Goths in the fifth century and Byzantines in the sixth century, and by the predations of Lombards in the eighth century. In 847,

a horrific earthquake was recorded in the March of Ancona, where Iesi is located.

Jurisdiction over the region passed to the papacy with the Donation of Pepin in 756. In the course of the preceding century—the seventh century—Benedictine monks had begun the process of restoring agriculture to the region: draining swamps, irrigating the land of the river valley, and clearing the forests. The land was given over to the production of grain; and to process and distribute the grain, mills were built and the navigability of the river was restored. Agricultural production expanded to include olives, grapes, fruit, and animal husbandry.

Although the precise history of the reconstruction of Iesi during this period is difficult to establish, it is clear that the agricultural wealth of the area renewed the urban center, and ecclesiastical institutions as well as some residences were constructed on the Roman site. Iesi had two patron saints: Settimo and Floriano. The church of Saint Settimo became the episcopal seat in 1119; and the church of Saint Floriano, begun before 1000, is regarded as the heart of the city.

The commune of Iesi dates from the second half of the twelfth century, when the population of the city had not yet surpassed 3,000. The thirteenth century witnessed a systematic expansion of both the population and the area enclosed by protective walls. The commune also maintained and improved the waterways that were vital to its survival.

The jurisdiction of much of central Italy was vigorously disputed by the papacy and the empire during the late twelfth century and the thirteenth century, and Iesi did not escape the conflict. By the thirteenth century, Iesi was firmly entrenched in the imperial camp—in part, one may assume, because the neighboring city of Ancona favored the papacy. Civic strife raged throughout the century as powerful Guelf and Ghibelline families sought to establish dominance. Quite incidentally, the Holy Roman emperor Frederick II was born in Iesi in 1194, when his mother, Constance of Hauteville, interrupted her journey to Sicily there in order to give birth. Legend has it that Constance, who was then forty years old, was compelled to deliver Frederick in a tent in a public plaza in order to prove that he was really her child.

See also Ancona; Frederick II Hohenstaufen

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Immanuel Romano

Immanuel Roman (Immanuele Giudeo; in Hebrew Immanu el ha-Romî; c. 1265 to 1331) was a Jewish philosopher and comic poet. He was the son of Rabbi Salomone of the Sifronide (Zifroni) family and was raised in the Jewish community of Rome. Immanuel lived in Ancona, Gubbio, and Verona; worked as a tutor for wealthy Jewish families in Fabriano and Fermo; and was a member of a group of Jewish philosophers centered in Rome and headed by Jehudà Romano (Lionello).

Immanuel's philosophical writings take the form of biblical commentaries in Hebrew. He also wrote, again in Hebrew, a treatise on hermeneutics and a collection of poetry, *Mekhabbêrôth*, inspired by Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In *Mekhabbêrôth*, Immanuel narrates a journey to the inferno and to paradise under the guidance of the prophet Daniel. Immanuel also wrote, in the Italian vernacular, three sonnets, a *tenzone*, and a *frottola* he called *Bisbidis*. In his first sonnet, *Amor non lesse mai l'avemaria* ("Love never read the Ave Maria"), he declares that love observes no particular faith or religion; he thus takes issue with poets such as the stilnovists who depict love in Christian terms. The other two sonnets reiterate Immanuel's pragmatic view of life: he vows to support whatever political faction or religion happens to be in power. In the *tenzone*, Bosone da Gubbio invites Immanuel to mourn the deaths of Dante and of his lady: *Duo lumi son di novo spenti al mondo*

("Two lights are again extinguished on earth"). Immanuel responds *per le rime* (with matching rhymes) in *Io, che trassi le lagrime del fondo* ("I who draw up tears from the depths"). *Bisbidis*, in a kinetic, onomatopoeic style, depicts life at the court of Cangrande della Scala of Verona.

See also Dante Alighieri; Italian-Hebrew Literature; Jews in Italy

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Imola

Imola, an ancient city situated on Via Emilia in the Po River valley, traces its origins to the Etruscans; but came into its own as a Roman municipality in 82 B.C., when it was founded by L. Cornelius Sulla as Forum Corneli. The name Imola was first used by Peter the Deacon and perhaps was the name of the *castrum* (garrison) on the Santerno River.

Imola was badly damaged by attacks of the Ostrogoths and Lombards in the sixth century. It was part of the exarchate of Ravenna until 754, when it passed to papal rule exercised through the archbishopric of Ravenna. The development of local civil government reduced the power of the bishop and created a commune by the late eleventh century. The commune itself yielded to the signorial regimes of Maghinardo Pagano, the Manfredi family, and finally the Alidosi, who ruled the city from 1341 to 1424; there followed a period of intermittent rule by the Milanese. In the late fourteenth century a citizen of Imola, Benvenuto Rambaldi, wrote a well-known commentary on Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

Among the few surviving medieval monuments in Imola are the Rocca (fortress), begun in 1259 and enlarged by Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto in 1332; and the round bell tower of the church of Santa Maria in Regola, which dates from 1181.

See also **Bologna; Dante Commentaries; Faenza; Forlì**

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Indovinello Veronese

The *Inaovinello Veronese* ("Veronese riddle") is a short conundrum that can now be found at the beginning of any anthology of early Italian literature. Its language—partly the vernacular but partly still Latin—remains a matter of debate.

The history of the manuscript (a liturgical text) containing the *indovinello* was brilliantly traced by the great paleographer Luigi Schiaparelli. Written in Spain at the very beginning of the eighth century, the codex must have left the Iberian peninsula shortly after the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo fell to the Arabs (711). Through Cagliari and Pisa (where, on the evidence of a signature, it is to be located in the years 731–732), it reached Verona before the close of the century. In Verona, at that time or in the first years of the ninth century, two notes were written in the upper margin of the recto of the third leaf (f. 3r). These two notes were traced by two different hands, but they both show the cursive minuscule of central-northern Italy and are to be considered *prove di penna*—i.e., a few words jotted down by scribes to determine whether their quills had been properly sharpened. The second note is a religious formula of thanksgiving in perfect Latin, all on one line: + *gratias tibi agimus omnip(oten)s sempiternae d(eu)s*. The first note (i.e., the one written on top) is our text, in two lines of sharply contrasting length: + *se pareba boves alba pratalia araba & albo versorio teneba & negro semen/seminaba*. Reading the two notes in Castellani's transcription (1976, the one quoted above), we must keep in mind that, in the original, the words are not separated but written in a continuum interrupted only by the two ampersands and the beginning

of the new line. Once the text had been discovered and published by Schiaparelli (1924), it raised several thorny questions: (1) What was its meaning, and its genre? (2) What was its meter, if any? (3) In what sort of Latin or Italian had it been written? We will consider these questions in turn.

1. The text was at first mistaken for a fragment of a "georgic song." It was recognized as a riddle by Vincenzo De Bartholomaeis, pursuing the idea of a student: the act of writing is indeed suggested through the simile of a field (i.e., the page) being plowed and sowed. This puzzle was not new to the Latin literature of that period; two interesting parallels in the works of Saint Aldelm and Paul the Deacon have been pointed out by Roncaglia (1965). Moreover, Latin verbs of plowing (*arare*, *exarare*, *sulcare*, etc.) had always taken on metaphoric connotations to express the act of writing; and poets from Petrarch (*Rime*, 228.5) to Pascoli (*Myricae: Il piccolo aratore*) kept playing with this analogy. As for the structure of the riddle, however, the precise terms of the comparison are still under discussion. What is the subject of the four verbs? What is, consequently, the "thing" to be guessed? And, in this connection, what verb are we supposed to recognize in the initial clause (*boves se pareba*)? The safest assumption is to take the "scribe" or the "writing person" as the solution of the riddle and to understand the plowman, his figurative counterpart, as the subject of the four clauses. *Pareba* is to be identified not with the Latin and Italian *parere* ("to appear" or "to seem"), but with the Latin *parare* and Veronese *parar(se)*. The translation would thus be: "He (i.e., the scribe-plowman) drove the oxen, plowed a white field, held a white plow, and sowed black seeds"—the oxen being the fingers, the white field {*pratalia*, understood as a collective plural} the page, the white plow the goose feather, and the black seed the ink.

2. Before Monteverdi's decisive intervention (1937), scholars had tried to arrange the text into a quatrain of strangely uneven verses, proposing, one after the other, different rhyme patterns. To this purpose, they started by changing the word order in the first clause (from *se pareba boves* to *boves se pareba*), but the alternating rhyme (abab) so obtained was not credible for such an early period. Then, through an inversion of the order of the two middle clauses (*albo versorio teneba* was placed before *alba pratalia araba*), two couplets (aabb) were

obtained. Next came Rajna's Italianizing remodeling (1928): all the verbs were now made to end in *-eba*, and the quatrain became—more plausibly, it was thought—monorhymed (aaaa). Monteverdi, putting an end to all this arbitrary tampering, showed that the text consisted of two rhythmic (and tailed) hexameters, a well-known medieval imitation of the classical hexameter based on syllabic quantity.

3. As for the language, several vernacular features can certainly be pointed out: initial *se* for *sibi*; verb endings in *-a* instead of *-at*; noun endings in *-o* instead of *-um*; the tonic vowel in *negro* (Latin *nigrum*). Some lexical vulgarisms are even regionally characterized: *pratalia*, as "field," still surviving in the toponymy of the Veneto; *versorio* (compare the Veronese *versòr* versus the Italian *aratro*); *parare* (compare the Veronese *parar i bò* with other examples from northern Italy), in the specialized meaning "to drive" (i.e., to drive oxen yoked to a plow), showing in addition an occasional yielding of *-ava* (first conjugation) to *eva* of the second and third conjugations, a dialectal change now withdrawn to more peripheral areas. (The intervocalic *b* of these imperfect forms is simply to be taken as the historical spelling of Italian /v/.) In this region and at this time, not even a form like *boves* (sigmatic plural) or the adjective *albo*, as a lexical item, can be safely claimed to be a Latinism. On the other hand, Latin is unquestionably responsible for *semen*; for the initial position of the clitic pronoun (*se pareba*—instead of *parebase*, as required by the Tobler-Mussafia law); for the unvoiced dental in *pratalia*; and for the retention of the palatal glide (and final vowel) in *versorio*, when the vernacular must have already had *versòr*.

Considering that we are dealing with a learned circle (the *scriptorium*) and with a literary genre (enigmistics) well represented in medieval Latin, it is not advisable, in the face of such linguistic swings, to introduce the *Indovinello Veronese* as the first document of the Italian language. It is better to view the riddle as a text jotted down in medieval Latin (not "vulgar" or "rustic" Latin, as the text was previously called) by a local scribe, who, having lowered his linguistic guard, could not part from his daily usage but at the same time had no clear consciousness that his *parlar materno* (mother tongue) had ceased to be a mere low register of the Latin in which he had been schooled.

Castellani-Pollidori (1997) has revisited and revived a textual

conjecture by Di Virgilio (1984). According to Di Virgilio, the initial segment (*separebaboves*) should be restored as *separe(s) boves (h)abebe* (or *ageba*), not simply read as *se pareba boves*. In his opinion, in fact, we should acknowledge the presence of the Latin adjective *separ* (normally "severed," "distinct"), whose meaning here would be "unmatched" (*spaiato*) or "uneven," "odd" (*dispart*), with reference to the three or five fingers engaged in the act of writing. Unlike the plowing oxen of the enigmatic metaphor, these fingers do not come in pairs. Castellani-Pollidori settles for *separe(s) boves pareba-*. "He (the plowman-scribe) drove *buoi disuguali*, with the adjective *separ* hinting at the different sizes or lengths of the first three fingers holding the quill—since, on closer inspection, three oxen pulling a single plow proved to be a well-known practice and therefore could not provide the expected "adynaton." Even granting that *separe(s)* could be more than a mere guess, i.e., an appreciable conjecture, Castellani-Pollidori's analysis has more to do with the products of the Latin enigmistics of that period than with the *indovinello* as an early document (no matter how erratic) of Italian Romance. Nothing, in fact, allows us to believe that the sequence *separebaboves*, whatever its literary hinterland may have been, did not have a clear meaning by itself for the scribe who penned it, and for his Veronese fellows.

See also Italian Folklore; Language, Italian: History and Development

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Inghilfredi

The poet Inghilfredi (Fredi da Lucca, probably fl. mid-thirteenth century) is grouped with the "Sicilians" in MS Florence B.N. Banco Rati 217. Inghilfredi's seven *canzoni* reflect a lyric transition between the Sicilians and later Tuscan poets for whom these verses might have served as models (including Panuccio, Monte, and Chiaro). His *Audite* was probably well known among the lyricists of the later *Duecento*.

Four of Inghilfredi's *canzoni* have amorous themes that demonstrate courtly treatments adapted from Sicilian and Occitan verse. Yet many of these conventional motifs tend to be reconsidered through the influence of the Occitan *trobar clus* ("hermetic style," specifically as practiced by Arnaut Daniel) and of Guittone's formalist poetics (as in *Del meo voler*). While Inghilfredi retains some of the linking structures, such as *capfinidas*, of Sicilian verse, he consistently uses a wide range of rhetorical figures and difficult syntactic constructions which will become the trademark of Tuscans such as Guittone and Monte. His love poetry also subtly incorporates a Guittonean ideology in the reconciliation between divine and human love. Three of his *canzoni*

(*Caunoscenza penosa*, *Dogliosamente*, and *Greve puot'on*) explore political and ethical topics—the decline of traditional values, the pervasiveness of ignorance—markedly evincing the inspiration of Guittone's interpretation of literary culture.

See also **Chiaro Davanzati**; **Guittone d'Arezzo**; **Italian Poetry: Lyric**; **Italian Prosody**; **Monte Andrea da Firenze**; **Panuccio del Bagno**; **Scuola Poetica Siciliana**

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Inheritance

See **Family Structure**

Innocent III, Pope

Innocent III (Lothario dei Conti di Segni, Lothar of Segni; 1160 or 1161-16 July 1216) is often described as the most powerful of the medieval popes; he was certainly one of the most ambitious of all the Roman popes in his assertion of papal authority. He was born into the noble house of the counts of Segni; his parents were Count Trasimund and Clarissa, the daughter of a powerful Roman family. From an early age, the boy was destined for a clerical career. He began his formal education at Rome, where he studied under Abbot Peter Ismael in the monastery of Saint Andrew in Celio. He continued his studies in the liberal arts and theology at Paris, where he was a pupil of Peter of Corbeil and perhaps also of Peter the Chanter. Later, for a time, he was

a student at Bologna, although it is unclear what he studied there. Innocent has often been called a lawyer-pope. There is little in his known writing to support this description; but if he was trained in law, as tradition has it, he almost certainly received that training at Bologna, perhaps from the great decretalist Huguccio (Uguccone da Pisa), whom he treated with deference even after becoming pope.

Innocent (then Lothario) completed his formal education when he was in his mid-twenties and soon thereafter appeared at Rome, where he became a member of the papal curia. He was ordained a subdeacon by Pope Gregory VIII in 1187; and in 1190, at about age thirty, he was named cardinal deacon of Saints Sergius and Bacchus by Pope Clement III.

During his years in the curia he wrote three treatises on moral questions. The best-known of these is *On the Misery of the Human Condition* (*De miseria humanae conditionis*), an extended reflection on the sinfulness of humankind, our utter unworthiness of salvation, and our dependence on the undeserved mercy that God bestows on us. This became a medieval best-seller; it was by far the most widely read of Innocent's writings and survives in some 600 manuscripts. In addition, before his pontificate he completed two other spiritual treatises: *On the Mysteries of the Mass* and *On the Four Kinds of Marriage*.

Pope Celestine III died on 8 January 1198; before that day was over Cardinal Lothario dei Segni had been elected to succeed him. At his coronation six weeks later the new pope took the name Innocent III. During the weeks between his election and his coronation, he had been busy reorganizing the curia and dealing with the political opportunities that the death of Emperor Henry VI had created in the papal states.

During the nineteen years of his pontificate Innocent III was to remain deeply involved in political affairs in Europe and throughout the Mediterranean world. His active pursuit of political goals was consistent with his exalted view of the papacy as the supreme representative of divine authority in the world and of himself as God's principal agent in human affairs. The pope, he declared, was God's chief minister, "set between God and man, lower than God but higher than man, who judges all and is judged by no one." Innocent believed that as pope he had not merely a right but an obligation to intervene wherever God's interests were violated or God's plans, as the pope saw them,

were in danger of being thwarted.

It was entirely consistent with these beliefs that Innocent should pursue active political goals in every part of the world he knew. As the guardian of Frederick of Hohenstaufen, the son and putative successor of Henry VI, Innocent intervened repeatedly and actively in the political maelstrom that swept through the empire in the early thirteenth century. When the German electors failed to agree on the successor to Henry VI, Innocent at first supported the Guelf candidate, Otto IV; then, when Otto failed to observe the commitments he had made about the management of the empire's Italian territories, Innocent switched allegiance and actively promoted the claims of his ward, young Frederick II, who ultimately secured the imperial title, in part as a consequence of Innocent's support. The new emperor's gratitude was deeply (and understandably) tinged with suspicion, however, and his relations with the pope deteriorated perceptibly during the latter years of Innocent's life.



Pope Innocent III, *Liber de vilitate conditionis humane*. Paris: Denis Roce, 1502. Reproduced by courtesy of Department of Special Collections, General Library System, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Innocent III was also intensely involved in French and English politics. In France Innocent had to deal with the intricate problems raised by the desire of King Philip Augustus to annul his marriage with his second wife, Ingeborg of Denmark, and marry Agnes of Meran. The case not only raised complex questions of canon law but was also fraught with touchy diplomatic issues. Ultimately Innocent prevented Philip from divorcing Ingeborg, but he compromised with the king on

the essential question of the succession to the throne by legitimizing Philip and Agnes's two children. Innocent was simultaneously engaged in a struggle with King John of England over royal control of English bishoprics and, in particular, the succession of Stephen Langton to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The pope placed England under an interdict and forced John to back down, surrender his crown to Innocent, and then receive it back as a papal fief.

Innocent's concept of papal power led him to sponsor military campaigns on many fronts against the foes of Christendom. He strongly encouraged German colonization and the forcible conversion of pagans in the eastern Baltic, and he endowed these colonizing expeditions with the privileges of a crusade. He proclaimed other crusades in the Middle East. One of these, called the Fourth Crusade, made war on the Byzantine Empire—instead of attacking Egypt as Innocent had expected—and, to Innocent's dismay, captured and looted Constantinople, the capital of the largest Christian power of the eastern Mediterranean. Undeterred by this, the pope set in motion a further crusade against Egypt, often called the Fifth Crusade; it achieved a short-lived success when the crusaders briefly captured Damietta, although Innocent himself did not live to see this. Innocent also used the mechanism of the crusade in Europe when he launched the first of a series of attacks that came to be known as the Albigensian Crusade against Cathar heretics in the south of France.

Innocent was also busy with the internal affairs of the church establishment. He spent many hours each day sitting as judge in disputes that had been referred to the papal court from every part of the Christian world. He actively promoted and encouraged new orders of religious men and women, most notably the Dominican and Franciscan friars, as well as numerous smaller groups.

The climax of Innocent's pontificate, in many ways, was the the Fourth Lateran Council, a great meeting of bishops, abbots, and other prelates from throughout the Christian world. This council met in Rome from 11 to 30 November 1215, after more than two years of energetic preparations. Its agenda included a wide array of measures designed to reform the church and to meet the challenges that the pope and his advisers saw facing it. Among these were repressing heresy (the council authorized vigorous new measures against heretics), reforming the

clergy and enforcing clerical discipline more strictly, establishing a minimum wage for the clergy, restructuring judicial procedure by abolishing ordeals as a means of proof, improving the morals of the laity by requiring every Christian to make an annual confession of sins and receive communion, instituting a sweeping reform of the church's marriage law, and numerous other measures, seventy in all, that the council formally adopted at its solemn closing session. The Fourth Lateran Council was thus a major effort to reshape the Christian west, the culmination of Innocent III's grand design to place a newly reinvigorated church at the center of European life and power.

See also Cathars; Councils, Ecclesiastical; Crusades; Dominican Order; Franciscan Order; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Heresy and Religious Dissent

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Innocent IV, Pope

Pope Innocent IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi; c. 1190-1254, r. 25 June 1243-7 December 1254) was born in Genoa. He was a descendant of the counts of Lavagna, who had traditionally supported the emperor rather than the pope, even though they themselves produced two popes (Innocent IV and later Adrian V) and several cardinals. After studying canon law at Bologna, he became a notable canonist. He joined the Roman curia under Pope Honorius III in 1226; and under Pope Gregory IX he was appointed vice-chancellor of the Roman church, cardinal priest of Saint Lawrence in Lucina, and rector of the March of Ancona. He succeeded Celestine IV (whose papacy had lasted less than a month) following a two-year vacancy during which Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen had prevented the election of a new pope. Innocent IV's choice of his papal name reflected a desire to continue in the wake of his great predecessor, Innocent III.

The struggle between the papacy and the empire reached a climax during the pontificate of Innocent IV. In order to escape imperial domination, the pope was forced in 1244 to flee to Lyon, where he came under the protection of the French king Louis IX and where he remained until 1251. Innocent called the first general council of Lyon (the thirteenth general council of the church) in 1245, to consider and solve several pressing problems. The sentence of excommunication

against Frederick II was renewed: the charges against Frederick included perjury, suspicion of heresy, and failure to heed his excommunication. Innocent pressed the princes of the empire to elect a new king and emperor. Henry Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, was elected to replace the deposed Frederick in May 1246. After Henry Raspe died in 1247, William, count of Holland, was elected. Frederick then threatened to capture the pope. Evidence to implicate Innocent in an attempted assassination of Frederick in 1246 is inconclusive; but since Frederick was deemed a tyrant and a heretic, medieval law and thought would have justified his elimination. His excommunication was renewed again in 1248. This struggle continued after Frederick died (of natural causes) in 1250 and his illegitimate son Manfred became regent of Sicily.

Innocent IV took an unwavering stand concerning the temporal political power of the papacy. He affirmed that secular power was not ordained by God and was therefore tyrannical. Pontifical power, on the other hand, represented a culmination not only of religious sacerdotal government but also of secular imperial government. These claims did not, in their full extent, become a generally accepted part of the teaching of the Catholic church.

Innocent IV was a patron of legal studies and was himself a canonist. He added several decretals to those of Gregory IX, and his legal reputation rests for the most part on his *Commentaria in quinque libros decretalium*, a subtle and sophisticated, although sometimes obscure, commentary on the *Decretales*. The unique feature of this work is that Innocent included some of his own decretal letters, accompanied by his commentary as a canonist. Because of its intrinsic worth and its authoritativeness, Innocent was called "father of law" by later generations of canonists. Innocent strove to promote learning by protecting students in every way. He also helped establish schools and universities, such as the University of Valencia; instituted schools of theology and of canon and civil law at Lyon and at Naples; founded the University of Piacenza; and granted special privileges to the University of Toulouse.

During his pontificate Innocent had to resolve important issues between factions concerning the internal life of the church. He favored the secular clergy at the University of Paris during their struggle with

the mendicants. In a divisive conflict between Conventuals and Spirituals in the Franciscan order, he sided with the Conventuals; in 1254 he issued the papal bull *Ordinem veterem*, according to which Franciscans were allowed to use money and possessions because the pope himself assumed ownership of such property.

Contemporary evidence makes it certain that it was Innocent IV who bestowed on the cardinals their distinctive red hat, a symbol they have maintained for centuries. Innocent sent missionaries to the far east to convert the Mongols, and the Franciscan John of Pian dei Carpine paid a visit to the court of the great khan in 1246. Innocent's favors to his family, and particularly to his nephews, made him famous (or notorious) for introducing nepotism into church matters. The eventual victory of the papacy over the empire ended the ambitions of the Hohenstaufen to create a centralized state by uniting Sicily and northern Italy.

See also Canon Law Collections and Ordinary Glosses; Franciscan Order; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gregory IX, Pope; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Innocent III, Pope

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Inquisition in Italy

The Inquisition was established in Italy during the years 1233 and 1252-1254. In 1233 the first inquisitors were appointed, from among the Dominican order, by Pope Gregory IX, who granted them some authority. Franciscans were first evident as independent inquisitors in 1246. It was the duty of the inquisitors, who were delegated as judges, to track down persons suspected of heresy and submit them to legal proceedings—the inquisition process. In 1252 the antiheretical jurisdiction that had been undertaken since the twelfth century came to a conclusion with the bull *Ad extirpanda*. Two years later an institutional manifestation of the Inquisition was established whereby Innocent IV formed districts in which the Dominicans or Franciscans would be active. The Inquisition in northern and central Italy was structured according to the provinces of the orders of Mendicants. The Dominicans were responsible for all of northern Italy (Lombardy with Bologna, Ferrara, and Parma as well as the March of Genoa); the Franciscans were active in central Italy (the March of Ancona, Romagna, the duchy of Spoleto, and the Roman church province) and in the northeast (the March of Treviso) as well as in Tuscany, to which Sardinia was added in 1285. Only Venice succeeded in establishing its own municipal persecution of heretics, after lengthy disputes with the papal inquisitors. In the south, in 1233, Frederick II established secular inquisitors, who, however, had no widespread success; the ecclesiastical inquisition was introduced by Charles of Anjou in 1268. In 1252 the inquisitor of Lombardy, Peter of Verona, was murdered; he was canonized a year later and became a role model and a source of identity for the Inquisition. Peter's cult became very popular: he was chosen as a patron by many pious lay brotherhoods, which often joined the ecclesiastical authorities in the struggle against heresy.

There was a strong connection between the Inquisition and the mendicant orders: by papal command the heads of these orders chose inquisitors; those inquisitors usually lived in monasteries of the orders; and the proceedings were also held in these monasteries if the inquisitors were not traveling around as judges.

The punishments imposed by the inquisitors as penance mainly

involved undertaking pilgrimages; wearing a yellow cross or some other symbol, depending on the nature of the crime; and imprisonment. Heretics who were unwilling to recant or were recidivists might be transferred to a secular court and executed, but this step was rarely taken.

The Italian inquisitors persecuted various heretical groups. The Cathars, who included many refugees from Languedoc, were probably the largest such group. There were also a few Waldensians in Italy, although most of them were able to take refuge in the deserted Alpine valleys. The Guglielmites in Milan and the Apostles, followers of Gerard Segarelli and Dolcino of Novara, were heresies that existed only in Italy or had roots there. The Franciscan Spirituals were persecuted as well. The Inquisition took part in some military undertakings against the heretics—for instance, in the fights against the Cathars of Sirmi-one near Verona (1277) and against the Apostles (1307). It was also involved in some primarily political disputes, such as the fight against Frederick II and his followers.

In Italy, which was politically divided, the effectiveness of the Inquisition depended considerably on its acceptance by the various cities and regions—much more so than in southern France, the main area where heretics were active. The Italian Inquisition was established at a time when the emperor and his Italian allies were in conflict with the pope, as were certain communes; and the papacy used the persecution of heresy as a political weapon. Thus the inquisitors were not always accepted in the cities, and there were uprisings against them, especially when their verdicts were unpopular.

The inquistors used written documents to an extent that almost reminds us of modern dictatorships. In general, though, historians have not been able to trace the activities of the Inquisition in Italy to the same extent as in France, since the records from Italy are less ample: extensive files exist only in Orvieto, Milan, Ferrara, and Bologna. However, the Italian inquisitors produced some polemic and didactic literature. Some of these inquistors, such as Rainer Sacconi and Anselm of Alessandria, were themselves former heretics, and their writings provide interesting insights, particularly into Italian Catharism.

It is difficult to say how far the Inquisition was responsible for the disappearance of the large heretical movements in the fourteenth

century; evidently, these movements had lost much of their religious appeal among the people. In any case, as the heretical movements decreased, the importance of the Inquisition also diminished, though it continued to exist and even became active in new areas, such as profiteering. Not until the Counter-Reformation was the Roman Inquisition revived.

See also Cathars; Charles I of Anjou; Dolcino, Fra; Franciscan Order; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gregory IX, Pope; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Innocent IV, Pope; Pataria; Waldensians

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Intelligenza

Intelligenza is an anonymous didactic poem with an allegorical frame, written in Florence c. 1300. It is preserved in two fourteenth-century manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence: Magliabechiano VII 1035 and Laurenziano Gaddiano 71 (in the latter codex the first forty-six stanzas are missing). The poem was discovered by Francesco Trucchi (1846) and was first published by the French scholar Anton Francesco Ozanam in 1850. Other editions followed—by Carlo Teoli (i.e., Eugenio Camerini) in 1863, Domenico Carbone in 1868, Paul Gellrich in 1883, and R. Piccoli in 1911—partly because of a connection with the chronicler Dino Compagni, to whom the poem was persistently, though more or less hesitantly, attributed. The first critical edition, which is still also considered a basic reference for a study of the sources, was provided by Vittorio Mistruzzi (1928). Later editions by Luigi Di Benedetto (1941) and Giuseppe Petronio (1951, 1967) are also valuable. The attribution to Compagni, now completely discredited, went back to a note penned at the foot of the poem as a colophon in the Magliabechiano manuscript. That note, by a different and more recent hand, was only partially legible: *Questo si chiama La intelligentia...* Colombo De Batines, in collaboration with Ozanam, applied chemical reagents to the page and was able to discern some other words (which have since been irretrievably lost): *la qual fece ser Dino Chompagni*. Other possible authors have been proposed from time to time; some of these proposals were ingenious, but they were not supported by cogent reasons.

The 2,781 hendecasyllables of the poem are grouped into 309 stanzas, whose structure (abababccb) is rather peculiar. In fact, were it not for the last line, this *nona rima* would be identical to the octave (*ottava rima*), which was to emerge as the dominant metrical form three or four decades later in Boccaccio's narrative poetry (*Filostrato*, *Teseida*). Even considering the challenge presented by this demanding pattern

(three rhyming words for a and four for b), we must admit that the author too often relies on easy or "grammatical" rhymes, and even on repetitive and imperfect ones.

The content of the poem is distributed with no real sense of proportion and usually on the basis of flimsy connections. The poet relates how, on a glorious day in spring, *fin Amor* ("noble Love") has him fall in love with a lady of wondrous beauty, whose precious attire is lavishly described. The sixty gems on her golden crown give the poet an opportunity to versify a great Latin work, the *Liber lapidum* of Marbodius of Rennes (d. 1123)—or, more precisely, an Italian translation of it that Zuccherò Bencivenni had just made (stanzas 16-58). Then the *alto palazzo* ("lofty palace") where the lady lives is described (59-70): this palace, situated in the east and wrought in Indian style, has been directly made by *Amor divino* ("divine Love") and surpasses anything Polyclitus could have done (see Dante's *Purgatory*, 10.32f, 94-96). Here the model is a splendid palace that, according to several hagiographies, the apostle Thomas built for the king of India. From this point on, 219 stanzas are devoted to a description of the marvelous reliefs, paintings, and mosaics adorning a great vaulted hall (though no clear distinction is made among these decorations). After a brief mention of Fortune's wheel (70), there is a court of love or triumph of love (71-76). Then the author begins versifying *I fatti di Cesare* (*The Deeds of Caesar*), up to stanza 215. *I fatti di Alessandro* (*The Deeds of Alexander*) provides the material for the next section (216-239). The Trojan cycle and two final stanzas (287-288) reserved for the Round Table bring the artistic and historical sightseeing to an end. In the stories of Caesar, where direct speech is often introduced, the poet resorts to *visibile parlare* ("visible speech"): *Ed èvi come disse* ("And it was just as it was told," 112); *Tutto dipinto v'è come dicia* ("It was completely pictured there as it was said," 191); and so on. However, he does not make any rationalistic fuss about this narrative convention (as Dante would do in *Purgatorio* 10); it is applied only to solve (or not solve), in terms of wonder and mystery, the empirical problem he felt compelled to raise.

Having returned to the lady, the poet lists the seven queens (or Virtues) of her entourage (Courtesy, Loyalty, Humility, Liberality, Decency, Chastity, Pity) and devotes three stanzas (293-295) to the musical accomplishments of her court, including a *lot* on the death of

Tristan. At the end (297-298), in order to ascertain whether he is worthy of being promoted to a superior level of existence, the poet, assisted by the god of love, is examined by the lady and, having been found capable of loving, he is given her favor and is made "lord of all riches." An appendix of eleven stanzas (299-309) expounds the allegory of the poem. The lady, we learn, is *amorosa Madonna Intelligenza* ("lovely Lady Intelligence"), who resides in the human body and soul, and at the same time in the empyrean, where she has the angels move the heavens according to God's will. (She thus represents human intelligence and also Averroes's "possible intellect"). Her palace is explained as a psychological and physical allegory of the human body, the painted hall representing nothing other than the mind retaining concepts and learning.

Both *Intelligenza* and Brunette Latini's *Tesoretto* are aimed at disseminating knowledge among the rich bourgeois. Their allegories are more philosophical than religious and promote a tendentiously lay culture whose Aristotelianism still bears the imprint of its Arabic transmission. Of the two works, *Intelligenza* is more complex and more ambiguous. Its didactic organization is deficient and its sources are hastily and often clumsily versified; but everything concerning the *oltremirabile* ("exceedingly wondrous") lady and the intellectual love she so powerfully inspires reveals a sensitive artist close to the *stilnovisti*, endowed with a luminous and joyful sense of nature (see, for instance, the vernal opening, 1-3), and attracted by exotic tales and fabled countries. In the lyrical flashes of the narrative and in the vivid colors of certain fragments, we can already perceive, as Lanza (1994) has pointed out, the rise of the late Gothic taste which would reverberate in Florentine literature of the fourteenth century (including the work of Boccaccio) and beyond, until the exquisite elitism of Giovanni (Gherardi) da Prato.

See also Allegory; Arthurian Material in Italy; Averroës and Averroism; Bencivenni, Zuccherò; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Bru-netto Latini; Compagni, Dino; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Florence; Ottava Rima; Tristan; Troy, Legend of

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Investiture Controversy

The investiture controversy (c. 1049-1122) was a series of disputes between the *papacy* and emperors having to do, at least at base, with the right of a king or emperor (a layman) to bestow the symbols of clerical office on abbots and bishops. This controversy was both a cause and a result of the transformation of Europe that occurred from the tenth century to the eleventh. In its narrowest definition, it was a struggle over electoral procedure in the church, and consequently over the degree to which secular rulers could legitimately intervene in church government.

The reasons why investiture became the signature of this many-sided and long-lasting conflict lay in the slow evolution from tribal to feudal society. Through their property, churches (including monasteries) had been incorporated into the governmental order in Europe—a military, landed aristocracy. That order did not constitute an abstract, readily diagrammed system of offices. There was no money economy; services were paid for with other commodities, including the use of property and prerogatives, such as the administration of justice.

Therefore, governmental order comprised an intricate and ever-changing pattern of personal loyalties, generally secured by property given in fee tenure. The intended result of fee tenure was to establish

mutual obligations, in which, however, the recipient of the benefice was beholden to the giver for the duration of the tenure. The bargain was commonly sealed by a ritual through which the giver "invested" the recipient with the fee.

Difficulties arose on several counts when the fee givers were laypeople and the recipients were clergy. According to theology, ruling and teaching offices in the church were conferred by charismata of the Holy Spirit, expressed through free election. But not uncommonly, a lord's zeal to consolidate political dependence, or his sense for dynastic advantage, or simply his avarice, made these transactions tantamount to selling ecclesiastical offices. Moreover, when secular princes performed investiture with temporalities, normally before consecration, they conferred its material faculties independently of the spiritual function those faculties had been intended to support, thus rendering consideration as well as election nugatory. They also used emblems of spiritual office—such as the bishop's ring, symbolizing his spiritual marriage to his church; and the crosier, representing the rule of souls. Church law had long forbidden the sale of ecclesiastical office as the crime (or heresy) of simony. Beginning with the pontificate of Pope Leo IX (r. 1049-1054), the constitutional and ceremonial aspects of lay investiture came under attack.

Important episodes in the investiture conflict occurred in England and France. However, the main theater of war was the empire, and the chief antagonists were popes and German kings. The historic partnership between empire and papacy, sealed by the coronation of Charlemagne in the year 800, had continued in European history for three centuries. The investiture conflict tore it apart.

Several lines of development, some beginning in the tenth century, produced this result. One was a movement of moral reform centered in the monasteries of Flanders, the Rhineland, Burgundy, and Italy; a revival of the study of canon law was part of this movement. A second development was the consolidation of royal authority in Germany, far beyond what had been achieved at that time elsewhere in Europe, and of a new ideology portraying the king as in some sense the "head of the church" and the royal coronation as conferring a sacramental character resembling that bestowed through episcopal consecration.

A series of German kings encouraged the spread of reform ideology

in their lands, imposing it last and most fatefully on the papacy itself. At the synod of Sutri (1046), Emperor Henry III reversed a profound degradation of the papacy by securing the deposition of two claimants to the papacy and the abdication of a third. Under Henry's guidance, the synod elected Bishop Suidiger of Bamberg as Pope Clement II, the first of five German popes who both began the reformation of the Roman see and prepared it to impose reforms on the whole church.

Under Leo IX, the last of these five popes, the constant goal of papal reform was set forth and enforced: the extirpation of simony, lay investiture, and clerical incontinence (Nicolaitism). However, the conflict between empire and papacy over this goal did not break out until the pontificate of Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085).

The rupture was quite sudden. Gregory VII began his pontificate in a conciliatory atmosphere. But festering conflicts between imperial and papal factions in Milan, together with other points of dispute, plunged the pope and King Henry IV into strife. The open battle came early in 1076, when Henry called a synod of his bishops in Worms to hear charges of personal immorality and official malfeasance against Gregory. The synod declared Gregory deposed, and Henry followed its lead by renouncing his obedience to Gregory. News of this drastic action reached the pope while he was presiding over his regular Lenten synod in Rome. Gregory and his synod responded in kind, excommunicating the king and also the bishops who had signed the decree at Worms. Henry was declared deposed from kingship in Germany and Italy, and his subjects were absolved of their oaths of fealty to him. Gregory interpreted some events in the distant past as precedents for his action; but in fact, although earlier kings had deposed popes, no pope had ever claimed to depose a king. This assertion that kings were accountable to popes for their official conduct marked the beginning of a long and stormy contest for dominance between church and state.

The partial reconciliation between Henry IV and Gregory VII at Canossa (1077) indicated that, at least technically, the exchange of depositions had not been a point of no return. As the conflict continued during the next half century, first after Gregory's death (1085) and then after Henry's (1106), there seemed to be many junctures at which some compromise would be reached.

From 1076 onward, the campaigns for and against lay investiture were aspects of civil war in which it became increasingly easy to separate the symbolic act of lay investiture from the substance of political control. When, without the rigors of civil war, the dispute was settled in England (1106), in France (1107), and last of all in Germany (1122), obligations continued to be established between kings and prelates that were binding with or without consecration; and the original causes of the investiture conflict remained alive. Adherence to the reformers' prohibition of simony and of clerical incontinence was also imperfect. However, these practices existed in a context very different from that of 1076.

All parties to the dispute had used the strategy of "divide and conquer." By playing faction against faction, they had encouraged the growth of new political entities and principles. Often, the episcopal office in a city was claimed by two rivals—one backed by an imperial faction and the other by a papal faction. Each appealed to public sentiment, with the result that, amid ensuing urban warfare, independent town governments, or communes, grew ever stronger, especially in Flanders, the Rhineland, and northern Italy. In some cases, communal governments excluded whole successions of bishops from their sees for generations.

The papacy's strategy of dividing to conquer had other results in Germany. There, the long history of excommunications, depositions, and civil war established the important principle that kings were accountable for their official actions, and that kings who were "unworthy" of their office (or "ministry") could be deposed. Gregory had asserted that popes could judge and depose kings for official as well as personal conduct. But in Germany there arose the more durable argument that kingship was an electoral office, and that kings represented and were accountable to their electors.

The papacy, too, was changed by the divisive tactics of civil war. Its search for allies eventually led it to forsake its historical alliance with the empire in favor of one with France. This momentous political realignment, first signaled by the flight of Pope Gelasius II to France for safety (1118-1119) and the election of Pope Calixtus II, formerly archbishop of Vienne, reached a climax in the "Babylonian captivity" of the papacy in Avignon (1305-1378).

Furthermore, the constitutional principle of the right of resistance came to be applied to popes as well as to kings. While popes used deposition and excommunication as weapons against kings in the investiture conflict, kings retaliated with the same weapons against popes and indeed promoted the election of two antipopes. The papacy was indisputably an electoral office. The regular use of councils raised the basic question whether, if a pope was flagrantly immoral, heretical, or tyrannical, his electors (or their representatives) could bring action against him through a council representing the whole church. The prominence that the College of Cardinals quickly gained made it, along with the council, another collective counterweight to papal autocracy. Thus in the church, as well as in secular rule, the investiture conflict resulted in the formulation of ideas of constitutional and representative government.

More than fifty years of civil war also brought immense devastation. The German kingdom, once the most secure in Europe, lost its fiscal basis through the dissipation of crown lands. Its kings lived from their dynastic holdings; and the kingdom itself, as a corporate whole, was rapidly surpassed by England and France. The once numerous free peasantry was, in the main, reduced to serfdom. With the disintegration of royal power, the diffuse, mediating levels of feudal tenure gradually ended the power of kings to govern directly. Italy, too, was a scene of vast destruction. Political order was irreparably fragmented. The atomistic communes of the north were divided into factions, continually at war, which eventually were known as Guelfs and Ghibellines. Rome itself was a chief sufferer; it was largely destroyed by the Norman protectors of Gregory VII when they rescued him from an imperial siege (1084), and it was further reduced by the factional warfare that prevented Pope Urban II from regaining complete control of his city for ten years after his election.

The Norman state that was formed in southern Italy is an exception to this picture. The Normans were at first opposed by Pope Leo IX, but they soon received investiture for lordships in the south and in Sicily from Pope Nicholas II. Eventually named apostolic legates of the pope, they achieved virtually complete control of the churches in their lands. Finally, they were invested (albeit by the antipope Anacletus II, 1130) with the kingship of Sicily. But there were seeds of destruction in this

alliance, for when a dynastic marriage united the empire and the Norman south, the papacy found itself pinioned between two great and potentially hostile powers. One sequel to the alliance between the papacy and the Normans in the age of the investiture conflict was the devastating warfare between the papacy and Frederick II in the thirteenth century. Then, the ruin of the empire, begun two centuries earlier, was accomplished; and the papacy, amid its triumph, was set on the road to exile and degradation in Avignon. The political unions of Germany and Italy, in 1870, closed the story of social collapse that had opened with the reciprocal condemnations of Henry IV and Gregory VII.

See also Avignonese Papacy; Canossa; Councils, Ecclesiastical; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gregory VII, Pope; Henry IV, Emperor; Leo IX, Pope; Normans; Robert Guiscard; Simony; Urban II, Pope

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Irnerius

Irnerius (Wernerius, Gernerius; early twelfth century) was a Bolognese jurist. As a lawyer and judge, he signed several charters in 1112-1125 ("Wernerius" or, once, "Gernerius" was the way he wrote his name). Irnerius was a partisan of emperor Henry V and served Henry during his Italian expedition in 1116-1118. Irnerius assisted at the election of the imperial antipope Gregoiy VIII (Burdinus) in 1118 and was therefore excommunicated by the Council of Rheims in 1119.

From the last third of the twelfth century on, our picture of Irnerius is enriched by several chroniclers and law teachers, particularly the gossip Odofredo in the thirteenth century: Irnerius was invited by Countess Matilda of Tuscany to teach Roman law at Bologna and did so with such success that he was known as the "light of the law" (*lucerna iuris*). Modern scholars have further elaborated Irnerius's biography, and some have attributed to him, though without good reason, a large number of anonymous legal works (Kantorowicz, 1969).

Only one work, an introduction to Justinian's code, can, with confidence, be ascribed to Irnerius, and this work is short and unsophisticated. A large number of glosses found in twelfth-century manuscripts have been attributed to Irnerius on the basis of the signature "y" that accompanies them. It has, however, been argued that this "y" is not a signature and does not reveal anything about the authorship of the gloss, particularly since it is difficult to fathom why a man who wrote his name "Wernerius" would use "y" as a signature (Dolezalek 1985; Winroth 2000). In this view, there is little evidence that

Irnerius was a teacher of Roman law, not only a practicing jurist. It has also been suggested that his role in creating the Bologna law school is much exaggerated (Southern 1995; Winroth 2000); according to this view, the school was founded by a later generation, including Bulgarus de Bulgarinis and Martinus de Gosia.

See also Gratian; Henry V, Emperor; Matilda, Countess of Tuscany

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Iron Crown

The Iron Crown, now in the treasury of the cathedral of Monza, was purportedly the crown of the Lombard kings, taken over by their successors to represent the Lombard portion of their realms. The date and place of origin of the crown are a subject of great controversy,

however, with estimates of its origin ranging from fifth- or sixth-century Byzantine to tenth-century Italian. The political and sacred significance of the crown are also matters of controversy. If the crown was in origin merely votive (like other Lombard votive crowns in Monza or the Visigothic votive crowns in Paris and Madrid), it would have played a less important political role. If its creation represented an early appearance of metal crowns as symbols of political authority, to be invested in an elaborate coronation ritual, its political role would have been more important. The sacred significance of the crown was enhanced by a traditional story that the narrow iron band on the inside of the crown (which holds together six rectangular gold sections decorated with enamel work and encrusted with gemstones) was made from one of the nails of Christ's cross found by Helena, the mother of Constantine. Tradition also associates this crown with Theodolinda, queen of two successive Lombard kings, Authari and Agilulf; she is said to have given it to the cathedral of Monza.

Another traditional story is that this crown was the one used by Charlemagne to crown himself king of the Lombards in 774 after his defeat of the last Lombard king, Desiderius. There is firmer evidence that the crown was used by Otto I, Otto III, Henry IV, Conrad III, and Frederick I Barbarossa of the German Roman empire.

The significance of the crown was enhanced when Napoleon carried it back to Paris and it was used in his coronation in 1805; it became the symbol of his Order of the Iron Crown. Later the crown was carried to Vienna and used in the coronation of Ferdinand I in 1838; there, it became the symbol of the Austrian Order of the Iron Crown. It was returned to Italy in 1866 and was deposited in the treasury of the cathedral of Monza; it may have been a model for the seal of the Italian Order of the Crown.

See also Agilulf; Authari; Desiderius; Frederick I Barbarossa; Henry IV, Emperor; Lombards; Otto I; Otto III

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Isaac Master

The Isaac Master is one of many medieval artists whose historical identity rests solely on the survival of a stylistically coherent body of work that is otherwise undocumented. The name Isaac Master refers to frescoes representing the Old Testament story of Isaac in the upper church of San Francesco at Assisi; other frescoes in the upper church, dealing with subjects from the New Testament, are also attributed to this artist. Of the entire group, the frescoes representing the story of Isaac are the best-preserved.

Art historians generally agree that the Isaac Master was trained in Rome and, together with other Roman artists, was employed in the basilica at Assisi in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The frescoes by the Isaac Master at Assisi were probably executed after the completion of Cimabue's work in the transept and choir, and they were definitely executed before the famous Saint Francis cycle in the nave, which is the work of early fourteenth-century followers of Giotto. A generally accepted date for the frescoes of the Isaac Master is between the mid-1280s and the mid-1290s. Stylistically, the Isaac Masters art represents an important step between the Italo-Byzantine manner of Cimabue and the later proto-Renaissance art of Giotto. As is evident in the fresco *Isaac and Esau*, the master's art is characterized by a developing command of illusionistic space, strongly modeled figures, and a narrative rich in psychological resonance. There is also a pronounced classicism in the Isaac Master's art, which closely aligns it with the work of his Roman contemporary Pietro Cavallini.

See also Assisi; Cavallini, Pietro; Cimabue; Giotto di Bondone;
Painting: Fresco

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Isidore of Seville

Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis, saint; c. 560-4 April 636) may have been born in Cartagena. He was raised in the cathedral school of Seville, the first of its kind in Spain, by his older brother Leander, who was archbishop of Seville. On the death of Leander, Isidore succeeded his brother to the see of Seville in 599. Isidore is considered the last of the great Latin fathers. He presided over the Second Council of Seville in 619; but he exerted his greatest influence in 633 at the Fourth Council of Toledo, where he established liturgical and doctrinal uniformity throughout Spain and southern France. He founded seminaries in all the cathedral cities, stopped the influence of Arianism and Acephales in Spain, and supported and espoused the teaching of the Greek classics.



Isidore of Seville. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 151 v.

Isidore was undoubtedly the most learned man of his age, and he was also an extraordinarily prolific writer. He is best-known for his encyclopedic summa of universal knowledge, *Ety- mologiarum sive Originum libri XX* (*Twenty Books of Etymologies and Origins*), which epitomized all learning up to that point, ancient as well as modern. *Etymologiae* contains quotations from more than 150 authors, both Christian and pagan. It was used as a textbook throughout the Middle Ages and was printed ten times between 1470 and 1529.

Isidore's other writings were equally important and voluminous. *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum, et Suevorum* (*History of the Goth, Vandal, and Suevi Kings*) is the chief authority on Gothic history in the west. *De natura rerum*, a manual of elementary physics, was one of Isidore's most popular and best-known books in the Middle Ages, as was *De fide catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento, contra Judaeos*. *De ecclesiasticis officiis* discusses the Mozarabic rite and music in general. *De viris illustribus* is a work of Christian biography, important in the literature of patrology. *Regula monachorum* gives rules and guidelines for monks and the monastic life. These books are only a small fraction of Isidore's contribution to medieval literature and

knowledge.

Isidore died in Seville.

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Italian Folklore

Folklore is expressive culture transmitted through informal channels, such as by word of mouth or by imitation. The term often refers to the culture of the common people, which is usually passed on in this manner as opposed to being written down; but the elite and educated classes in any society have their own folklore as well. Folklore also includes "folk life"—all aspects of folk culture having to do with the satisfaction of material needs, such as vernacular architecture, cooking, crafts, farming practices, and animal husbandry. Folklore played an important role in most people's lives in Italy between 300 and 1375. However, it is difficult to reconstruct precisely all the genres (types) of

folklore that were current and the forms they took. Most knowledge of medieval Italian folklore comes to us from contemporary written works. Thus we know most about the verbal genres (folktales, folk poetry, proverbs, riddles, etc.), and they will be the primary focus of this article. Through contemporary accounts, we also know about folk beliefs, games, customs, and festivals. Some of these, like the Palio of Siena, have survived to the present day; others have changed or disappeared with the passage of time. It is sometimes possible to surmise that a certain aspect of folklore existed in the Middle Ages simply because it survived to be documented in a later period.

Folklore varies from region to region and changes in response to historical factors and the artistic input of individual performers. For this reason, it always reflects the values of the community that produced it and is best understood within its cultural context. At the same time, it exhibits a certain stability over time and space; thus we can recognize that the Italian ballad *Il testamento dell'avvelenato* ("The Poisoned Man's Will") is essentially the same song as the English and Scottish popular ballad "Lord Randall." The two ballads, however, may have had radically different meanings to the people who performed them and their audiences; and those meanings may have differed with every single performance of the ballad. Much of this contextual information is lost when folklore turns up within a literary text.

Folklore and Literature

Folklore and literature have always had a symbiotic relationship. Writers such as Dante and Boccaccio drew freely from the folk traditions with which they were familiar, adapting material to their own purposes. Also, literary material often influences folk traditions. The *Chanson de Roland*, itself based on folk legend, inspired the plots of the Sicilian *teatro dei pupi* (puppet theater). In reconstructing folklore from literary sources, it is important to keep in mind that the author may have modified the text, and that the text is in any case only one of hundreds of equally legitimate versions that were in oral circulation at the time.

Folktales

Folktales were among the most widespread forms of entertainment during the Middle Ages. They were performed both by storytellers within a family setting, such as at a *veglia* (evening of storytelling) or during agricultural labor, and by semiprofessional entertainers such as the *cantimpanca* or *cantastorie* in a public square for large groups. Folktales include various types of narrative intended by performers, and understood by audiences, as fictional. The magical tale (or *märchen*), which seems to have originated in Europe during the 1100s, was among the best-known of this type. Set in a fictional, timeless world characterized by the presence of magical helpers, this type includes such well-known favorites as *Cenerentola* ("Cinderella"), *Il drago dalle sette teste* ("The Dragon-Slayer") and *I due fratelli* ("The Two Brothers"), often combined with earlier types in Italian variants. Whereas these tales were common throughout Europe, *Liombruno* seems to be a uniquely Italian folktale and is one of the best examples of the genre as it developed in the Middle Ages.

The fabliau, another fictional narrative characteristic of this period, developed in France but was also prominent in Italy. It is a humorous tale usually centered on a ridiculous situation or the actions of stupid people. Often, authority figures such as clergymen are mocked in fabliaux. In Italy, the folk characters Vardiello, Giuffà, and Giucca Matto were often trickster-heroes in fabliaux.

Legends and Exempla

In contrast to folktales, legends and *exempla* are set in the real world and told as if true. Legends usually deal with intrusions of the supernatural or the sacred into the everyday world; stories about ghosts, witches, and fairies (*fate*, *folletti*) are examples of legends. In addition, many religious legends developed in the Middle Ages that were centered on the lives and exploits of saints. *Exempla* are stories of a moral nature, often used by the clergy to instruct their congregations.

Folk Song and Folk Poetry

Much of Italians' love of poetry and song is deeply rooted in the folk tradition. Surely in the medieval period mothers sang their infants to sleep with lullabies (*ninna-nanna*); hearts were won with love poems; and songs were an integral part of weddings, celebrations, and even funerals (in the form of ritual laments). However, relatively few of these found their way into manuscripts for us to document today. One form of Italian folk poetry that can be dated definitively to the 1200s is the *strambotto*, also known as *rispetto* or *canzona*. This is a lyric single-verse love song, typically with eight lines and an alternate rhyme scheme. (In Tuscany, the last four lines were rhymed couplets.) The *strambotto* was found throughout the Italian peninsula, and in fact is closely allied with similar forms found in the Romance world. In the 1400s, the *strambotto* became a literary genre as various literary figures (among them Leonardo Giustinian, Lorenzo the Magnificent, and Poliziano) tried their hand at composing it.

Another genre of folk poetry dating from the Middle Ages is the ballad. The ballad is not as old as the *strambotto*, it came to Italy from France during the late medieval and early Renaissance period. It is typically a long narrative song consisting of four-line hendecasyllabic verses and narrating a tragic or dramatic story. Ballads were often based on legends or events that purported to be factual; the use of rhymed dialogue made them seem immediate and real to their audiences. Among the best-known Italian ballads are *La donna lombarda*, *Rinaldo*, and *La pesca dell'anello*.

Riddles and Proverbs

A riddle (*indovinello*) is a question with a predetermined answer and a blocking element, so that the answer is not immediately apparent or is purposely concealed. The earliest Italian riddle on record, the *Indovinello Veronese*, dates from the late eighth or early ninth century; it compares a farmer plowing and sowing with his oxen to a scribe writing on paper. Like many Italian riddles, it consists of rhymed couplets and compares two dissimilar yet familiar things.

Like a riddle, a proverb sets up a comparison between two situations: its own internal situation, and the one to which the performer applies it. Proverbs, too, may rhyme or contain a play on words (e.g., *fratelli flagelli*); they often consist of two balanced equivalent sections.

These two genres exhibit a high degree of conservatism because of their brevity; thus many riddles and proverbs in use during the Middle Ages have survived to the present day relatively unchanged. Their original role, however, was quite different. In a largely oral culture, the ability to solve riddles was regarded as a mark of cleverness, and adults enjoyed riddles as much as children. Proverbs, too, were held in higher regard during the Middle Ages, and the knowledge of many proverbs was considered an indication of great wisdom. Both riddles and proverbs had literary as well as popular forms.

Customs and Festivals

The life of each individual and the cycle of the year were marked by certain recurring events; these are called life-cycle and year-cycle rites. Each rite was associated with particular customs, depending on the time and region in which it was found. Rites related to an individual's life included customs surrounding birth, baptism, marriage, and death. For instance, in many parts of Italy, on the day of a wedding the bridegroom would go to the bride's home, where he would recite a formula requesting the most beautiful girl in the house. The bride's family would try to pass off various friends of the bride as *La più bella* ("the most beautiful"), until at last the bride would emerge. At funerals, some regions of Italy preserved until quite recently the custom of ritual laments for the dead, sung as they had been during Roman times by groups of women. In almost all cases, these customs derive from pre-Christian traditions; during the Middle Ages they were gradually modified to include Christian elements.

The year-cycle rites were organized around the Christian calendar, but here too echoes of pagan customs persisted late into the medieval period. The early Christians organized their calendar so that major feast days coincided with important pagan festivals: the birth of Christ coincided with the Saturnalia, for example, and Saint John's day with

the summer solstice. Customs associated with an earlier festival would continue to be practiced despite the new associations. The celebration of May as the month of the Virgin, introduced in the twelfth century, was an attempt to replace the pre-Christian custom of crowning the queen of May and celebrating the fertility of crops and livestock through various propitiatory rites. However, in much of northern and central Italy, the custom of crowning a May queen and dancing around a May tree persisted through the Middle Ages and even into recent times. And the church was never entirely able to suppress the celebration of carnival, with its revelry and its symbolic inversion of the social and political order. These customs were preserved because they served a special role in the expressive life of Italian communities. The major festivals connected with the year cycle included Christmas, carnival, Holy Week and Easter, May celebrations, Saint John's day, the feast of the Assumption, Michaelmas, and All Saints and All Souls.

The church also introduced to the year cycle its own set of feasts and customs. Folk drama in the Middle Ages was largely connected with the passion of Christ during Holy Week; and it was during the medieval period that each Italian town adopted a patron saint and the custom of celebrating the saints day with feasting and games began.

Games

The celebration of saints' days with games became widespread in Italy during the High Middle Ages. Many of these games pitted a town's social classes, guilds, neighborhoods, or families against one another to win a prize. The famous Palio of Siena—a horse race run by the seventeen *contrade* (neighborhoods) of the city to win the *palio*, a banner bearing the figure of the Virgin—was only one of a number of such races in various Italian cities during the time of Dante. In Gubbio, the *corsa dei ceri* was a race between the members of three social groups: each group ran carrying a huge wooden pillar bearing the statue of its patron saint. Pisa had its *giuoco del ponte* ("game of the bridge"); Perugia had a *battaglia de' sassi* ("game of the stones"); and the Florentines played a *giuoco del calcio* ("game of football") that was an early version of soccer. Such ritualized combats served to formalize

social conflicts and thus, to some degree, contain them.

Folk Belief Systems

The worldview of the medieval Italian was characterized by a belief system based on the principles of sympathetic magic. This concept pervaded every aspect of folk belief, from folk medicine to folk religion. Another characteristic of medieval folk belief was a syncretism of pagan and Christian elements. A folk cure for hernia, for example, combined elements of pre-Christian magic, such as passing the patient through a cut made in a tree branch, with prayers to Saint John the Baptist. Folk religion was especially characterized by such juxtapositions because Christian feasts and festivals had often been superimposed on previously existing pagan customs. Christianity never completely succeeded in suppressing earlier beliefs and customs, but their nature changed to include Christian symbolism. For instance, Diana and Hecate ceased to be worshiped as goddesses, yet these figures remained alive in folklore as *fate* (supernatural creatures; loosely, "fairies"). Many aspects of medieval folk belief are accessible to us from hagiographies, medical treatises, and works of fiction.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri; Indovinello Veronese! Italian Poetry: Popular; Magic; Medicine; Stram-botto**

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Italian-Hebrew Literature

Although Jews have lived on the Italian peninsula since the last centuries B.C.E., and although the prominent historian Josephus Flavius composed his historical works (in Greek) at Rome, no significant evidence of Italian-Jewish literary activity in the Hebrew language has been preserved from ancient times. Indeed, not until the ninth century C.E. do we find solid evidence of Hebrew literature being produced in Italy. However, from that time until the close of the period under consideration (1375), Hebrew literature flourished in all the medieval genres. This article, which is by no means comprehensive, can only

survey some of the most prominent works.

The religious poetry of Shephatiah ben Amitai of Oria is the earliest preserved example of Italian-Hebrew literature. His *seliha*, or prayer for forgiveness, "Israel Is Redeemed by the Lord for an Everlasting Redemption," is still included in many Ashkenazic liturgies for the Day of Atonement. Shephatiah's son, Ami tai ben Shephatiah, succeeded him as head of the religious academy (*yeshiva*) of Oria and also as a poet of distinction. From these beginnings, there developed in Italy a rich tradition of both secular and religious Hebrew poetry. Schirmann (1934) contains representative works of more than fifty Italian Jewish poets from the ninth century to the fourteenth. Perhaps the most famous of these was Immanuel of Rome, whose *Mahberet Immanuel*, a collection of poetry organized according to the Arabic *maqama* (modes), is known for its innovative wordplay and ribaldry.

Shabbetai ben Avraham Donnolo was a tenth-century physician and theologian. He was born in Oria, was captured by pirates as a twelve-year-old boy, was ransomed by relatives, and then remained in southern Italy for the remainder of his life. His medical writings reflect his lifework as a physician and a pharmacist. Although he studied and copied many medical treatises composed in Greek and Latin, he wrote his own studies in Hebrew; in so doing, he apparently became the first person in Christian Europe to write on medicine in that language. His most prominent work is the medical treatise *Sefer Hamirkahot* (*Book of Remedies*); it contains more than 100 herbal remedies, with instructions for compounding them. His major work of theology is *Sefer Hakhmoni* (*Book of Wisdom*), a commentary on the mystical *Sefer Yetzirah*.

Historical writing and chronicles are another genre prominent in Italian-Hebrew literature. The anonymous *Sefer Josippon* (tenth century; Flusser 1981) is the earlier of the two examples that will be discussed here. It describes, in the main, the history of Judaea during the Second Temple era, concentrating especially on the rebellions of the Jews against the Roman empire. In this regard, it parallels the historical works of Josephus Flavius; however, it is not to be regarded as a translation or recension of Josephus. The author, who could read Latin but not the original Greek of Josephus, based his account on a Latin source that incorporated substantial amounts from Josephus's histories. A second important Italian-Hebrew chronicle is the *Scroll of Ahima'az*

(eleventh century; Mirkin 1965), written in rhymed prose by Ahimaaz ben Paltiel of Oria. The author's primary purpose is to recount the history of his prominent family over the previous two centuries; however, in doing this he also relates the history of the Jews of southern Italy.

The eleventh century also saw the publication of one of the most influential works of Hebrew lexicography of all time: *Arukh*, a dictionary of rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic by Nathan ben Jehiel Anav of Rome. This author offers etymologies in addition to definitions, including words of Greek, Latin, and Persian origin. Moreover, he often explains whole passages, drawing on various exegetical traditions. As scholarship increased, *Arukh* was expanded many times; it was published in a critical edition in 1878-1892 by Alexander Kohut as *Aruch completum*.

Two thirteenth-century scholars were both named Isaiah. Isaiah ben Mali of Trani (the Elder) was an important halakhist, or scholar of talmudic and post-talmudic Jewish law. He wrote extensively on the entire range of talmudic and post-talmudic literature. His *pesakim* (legal decisions) generally contain a summary of the matter under consideration and a final conclusion regarding the various conflicting legal views among scholars who preceded him. *Tosafot R'ID*, his collection of *hiddushim* (novellas) on the Talmud was a related and very influential work, more exegetical in nature. He also issued legal *responsa*, wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch, and composed *piyyutim*, or religious poetry. He was the founder of a famous rabbinic family: his grandson, Isaiah ben Elijah of Trant (the Younger), also became a rabbinical scholar. Isaiah ben Elijah composed biblical commentaries on the Prophets and Hagiographa in addition to his own collection of talmudic novellas.

Menahem ben Benjamin Recanati (late thirteenth—early fourteenth century), the final scholar whose work we will consider here, is known primarily as a mystical exegete; his most important work is his commentary on the Pentateuch, although he also wrote other mystical treatises and a work of Jewish law. Not much is known about his life, but presumably he lived in the town in central Italy whose name he bears. Unlike other mystics, Menahem apparently did not claim to have received personal spiritual revelation. He synthesized and commented

on the work of other scholars, especially Moses Nahmanides, and drew as well on the classic works of the cabala such as *Zohar* and *Sefer Hababir*.

See also **Immanuel Romano; Jews in Italy**

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Italian Language

See Language, Italian: History and Development

Italian Literature: Religious

Writing on religious themes appeared at the beginning of the literary history of the Italian vernacular (1220s–1230s) and rapidly came to form by far the greater part of literary output in the peninsula during the following two centuries. The evidence of surviving wills, journals, and inventories, especially from the *Trecento*, strongly suggests that most of the relatively few individuals who owned personal copies of books or manuscripts were more likely to possess devotional or doctrinal works, in poetry or prose, than any of even the most famous secular literary works from the same period. However, the whole situation of religious literature in the Italian Middle Ages is profoundly complicated by issues of language (vernacular or Latin), genre (poetry or prose; lyric, narrative, didactic, devotional, hagiographic, oratorical, or dramatic), and audience (clerical or lay; elite or popular; male or female; literate or illiterate, in Latin or the vernacular or both). Generalizations based on romanticized hindsight and our often sadly scanty information about the material circumstances in which texts were produced and circulated are a more than usually treacherous guide to this rich and variegated body of writing.

Italian literary history is often said to have begun with the writings associated with Francis of Assisi and his circle in the 1220s—above all Francis's own *Laudes creaturarum* or *Cantico delle creature*, an almost pantheistic evocation of the unity of creation in rhythmic Umbrian prose. Before that, in the late twelfth century, writers were producing hagiographic material such as the *Ritmo di Sant'Alessio*, a poem in irregular stanzaic form in the vernacular of the Marche. The Franciscans were, however, probably the major driving force behind the diffusion of religious writing in the vernacular: they disseminated biographical material about Francis (a tradition that culminated in the

well-known fourteenth-century *Fioretti—Little Flowers—di san Francesco*); and Franciscans wrote original vernacular poetry, such as the extraordinary work of Jacopone da Todi (1230 or 1236-1306). Jacopone's outpourings of his intensely mystical response to the created world and the experience of divine love took the vernacular (in his case, Umbrian) to the limits of expressivity.

Francis and his order no doubt used the vernacular as a means of approaching, whether through written texts or orally (as in sermons), the large majority of the populace who knew no Latin. In this context, there also developed the most characteristic poetic genre of thirteenth-century religious literature, the *lauda*. Jacopone wrote many *laude*, and there are also scores of anonymous examples, especially from the cities of Umbria and Tuscany, where they were often collected into books called *laudari*. A *Lauda* is a vernacular text of praise and celebration, usually based on the (Latin) liturgy. It expresses communal devotion (thus *laude* were often recited or sung by the religious societies known as *confraternite*) and was intended, at least originally, for use in public worship. The most famous collection is the *Laudario di Cortona* (1260-1270), which, typically, contains texts dedicated to the Virgin, the Trinity, and Saint John, as well as meditations on death and judgment. Devotion to the Virgin also inspired many poetic versions of her *Planctus* or *Lamentatio* ("Lament"), especially in the vernaculars of central Italy, from the late twelfth century onward.

A phenomenon known as *volgarizzamento*—the translation or adaptation (or both) of Latin prose originals into vernacular versions—was also connected with a perceived need to reach out to a public literate in the vernacular but not in Latin. Large numbers of *volgarizzamenti* on religious themes survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and many more were doubtless undertaken but have not survived. *Volgarizzamenti* include passages from and whole books of the Bible, lives of saints and religious leaders, moral and spiritual treatises, collections of proverbial wisdom, manuals of devotion, prayers, and sermons. Although the translators' aims and methods varied widely, as does the accuracy of their versions (at least by dubiously relevant modern standards), all the hundreds of works in this genre testify to the existence of a literate public eager to read in its own language the texts of the faith most of its members professed, and

presumably willing, in many cases, to make the not inconsiderable outlay of effort and expense necessary to acquire them.

Volgarizzamento was also of great importance for the technical development of vernacular prose writing; it offered its practitioners an opportunity to experiment with their new and as yet untried medium while drawing on the established authority and prestige of their Latin originals. Here too the Franciscans (and later the Dominicans) were in the forefront of literary activity. Many of the most active known *volgarizzatori* belonged to one or the other of the two great orders. Bartolomeo da San Concordio (d. 1347), for example, was a Dominican friar whose *Ammaestramenti degli antichi* (*Teachings of the Ancients*), a collection of moral and religious aphorisms, was extremely popular; his Latin *Summa casuum conscientiae* (*Encyclopedia of Moral Dilemmas*, 1338) was itself turned into many vernacular versions.

Volgarizzamento likewise encouraged the development of original narrative prose in the vernacular. The basic form of *Duecento* prose fiction, the *novella*, has clear affinities with the Latin *exemplum*, a short tale with a moral point frequently incorporated into a sermon or another religious discourse. Many collections of Latin *exempla* were subjected to *volgarizzamento* (for instance, by Bartolomeo da San Concordio), but it was not long before didactic and moralizing vernacular *novelle*, intended to inculcate a religious message, made their appearance. The tradition reached a peak in the fourteenth century with work of the Dominicans Domenico Cavalca and Jacopo Passavanti, whose dexterous use of storytelling techniques and forms for religious purposes has often been compared to that of their more overtly secular counterpart Boccaccio.

At the top of the literary and sociocultural scale in the *Duecento* was a genre of serious love poetry known as *poesia aulica*. Its practitioners, from the *scuola siciliana* onward, established the first and most durable literary canon in the Italian vernacular—albeit one whose popularity and influence, to judge from the evidence of surviving manuscripts and their diffusion, were confined to an extremely narrow social and intellectual stratum often consisting largely of the poets themselves. (*Poesia aulica* differed in this regard from much of the religious writing described above.) Although most *poesia aulica*, at least before the appearance of Cavalcanti and the *dolce stil nuovo* at the end of the

century, is clearly, often markedly, secular in tone and assumptions, some authors of *poesia aulica* did write religious poetry in the forms most often associated with it, especially the sonnet and the *canzone*. Foremost among these, perhaps, was Guittone d'Arezzo (c. 1230-1294). Guittone was acclaimed as a secular love poet before his dramatic conversion in the early 1260s, and thereafter as a lay Franciscan and a religious poet of uncommon vivacity and force.

The careers of two Florentines—Cavalcanti and Dante—changed the landscape of vernacular poetry at the end of the *Duecento* so thoroughly as to preclude any further neatly schematic distinction between religious and other genres. After Cavalcanti's work and Dante's *Vita nuova*, vernacular *poesia aulica* was pervaded (as in Dante's later lyrics and Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*) not only with religious imagery and sentiment but with a clear sense that secular love, and its poetry, could acquire meaning only in a context defined by Christian faith. At the same time, the unprecedented achievement of Dante's *Commedia* redrew the boundaries of narrative poetry, blurring the distinction between religious and other genres even more, and adding complexity to questions of linguistic register and audience. Dante, true in this (as in much else) to his admiration for the Franciscans, seems to have chosen the vernacular for his *poema sacro* because it offered a chance to reach the widest possible public, literate or not. Religious writing in the *Trecento*, like every other kind of writing in the vernacular, was to be deeply marked by these developments at the turn of the century.

Most of the genres mentioned above continued to be practiced and elaborated during the fourteenth century. The *lauda* remained popular, especially among the Umbrian confraternities. It was frequently expanded from its devotional, hymnlike beginnings into a specifically dramatic form (*lauda drammatica*) in which biblical and hagiographic narratives are recounted in simple but effective structures. Religious lyric poetry continued to be written by Bianco da Siena (d. 1417), who was an admirer of Jacopone; by Cavalcanti; and by others. Dante's *Commedia* inspired many attempts at narrative-didactic poetry in a religious vein, such as Federico Frezzi's *Quadriregio* (1390s), an account—in seventy-four cantos in *terza rima*—of an otherworldly journey. *Volgarizzatori* were still active, and some of them, like Cavalcanti and

Passavanti, also made distinguished contributions to the growing tradition of original devotional prose in the vernacular. Similar contributions were made in vernacular preaching (Giordano da Pisa, d. 1311), mysticism (Ugo Panziera, died c. 1330; Simone da Cascia, c. 1295-1348; Giovanni Colombini, 1304–1367), devotional manuals (Agnolo Torini, c. 1315-1398; Girolamo da Siena, 1335 or 1340-1420), and hagiography (*Fioretti di San Francesco*).

Among the most consistently interesting aspects of medieval Italian vernacular religious writing is the involvement of women. This began very early: four letters by Saint Clare of Assisi (1193 or 1194-1253) are generally accepted as authentic, and other works are also attributed to her, though less securely. The participation of women continued throughout the *Duecento* and *Tre cento*. Examples include visionary works such as those of Angela da Foligno (1248 or 1249-1309), collected in *Liber de vera fidelium experientia* (*Book of the True Experience of the Faithful*), and Caterina (Benincasa) da Siena (1347-1380), who was the author of almost 400 letters and a mystical work, *Dialogo della divina Provvidenza* [*Dialogue of Divine Providence*, 1378]. But all these cases raise thorny questions of the type with which we began: attribution, literacy, language, genre, audience. Saint Clare, Angela da Foligno, and Caterina da Siena were such remarkable and famous women that what appear to be the writings of others were attributed to them. Angela learned to read but never to write, and Caterina learned to write only late in her short life; both of them (and probably Clare also) dictated their texts to (male) secretaries, who usually recorded the texts in Latin even if the dictation was in the vernacular. Thus the vernacular texts that then began to circulate as "by" Angela or Caterina were often in fact *volgarizzamenti* by unknown hands. Also, the work of all three women circulated among readers who, because they were literate, must have been overwhelmingly male. It is all too easy, and seriously misleading, to fall into the trap of anachronism and treat these women as women writers in a sense that would be comprehensible, or politically acceptable, today. Fascinating and rewarding as their "writing" always is, it exemplifies the need for accurate placement in context, careful reading, and cautious analysis—as well as heartfelt aesthetic admiration—that the vernacular religious writing of the Italian Middle Ages imposes on its modern students.

See also Bianco da Siena; Catherine of Siena, Saint; Cavalca, Domenico; Clare, Saint; Colombini, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri; Francis of Assisi; Frezzi, Federico; Guittone d'Arezzo; Jacopone da Todì; Lauda; Passavanti, Jacopo; Ritmo di Sant'Alessio

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Italian Poetry: Comic

Comic poetry in the Italian vernacular, also known as jocose or realist poetry, first came into vogue in the second half of the thirteenth

century in Tuscany, where it flourished in the principal cities and towns. Italian comic poetry was a manifestation of the rich comic tradition found in Latin Goliardic poetry and all the major medieval Romance vernaculars; and it was strongly influenced by the poetry of the Provençal troubadours and the customs of the *giullari* (Old French *jongleurs*, or minstrels), the wandering entertainers of the Middle Ages. The initiators of the genre in Italy—Rustico Filippi of Florence and Cecco Angiolieri from Siena—wrote the most dynamic sonnets and established the canon that was followed by most other comic poets.

One unique feature of Italian comic poetry—with the exception of Meo dei Tolomei's *Caribetto* and Immanuel Romano's *Bisbidis*—is its almost exclusive use of the sonnet form. Comic poetry elsewhere is characterized by metrical variety, indicative of the influence of music in determining its form; by contrast, the metrical regularity of the Italian sonnet attests to its exclusively literary nature. However, comic poetry was probably recited in public from time to time, because many of the comic sonnets invoke an audience: examples include Rustico Filippi's *Volete udir vendetta smisurata* ("Do you want to hear about an outrageous vendetta"); Cecco Angiolieri's *Udite udite, dico a voi, signori* ("Listen, listen, I'm speaking to you, gentlemen"); and Jacopo da Lèona's *Segnori, udite strano malificio* ("Gentlemen, now hear a strange tale").

The large corpus of comic poetry is transmitted in the same Tuscan and Venetian manuscripts as contemporaneous serious poetry of courtly love. The three principal codices, all Tuscan, are in the Vatican Library. One of the earliest manuscripts, Vaticano Latino 3793, is the source of the sonnets by the first comic poets: Rustico Filippi, Jacopo da Lèona, and Mino da Colle. A later codex, Vaticano Barberino Latino 3953, compiled by Niccolò del Rosso between 1325 and 1355, is the principal source of lyrics by Cecco Angiolieri, Folgòre da San Gimignano, Cenne da la Chitarra, Immanuel Romano, Pietro dei Faitinelli, Parlatino da Firenze, Fino d'Arezzo, Giacomo dei Tolomei, and Giuntino Lanfredi. The poetry of Meo dei Tolomei and Nicola Muscia (Muscia da Siena) is found in Chigiano L.VIII.305, which dates from the mid-fourteenth century.

The integration of comic poetry with poetry of courtly love in the manuscript tradition offers valuable insights into the function and importance of the comic genre. Many poets wrote in both styles.

Among the poets best-known for their love lyrics who experimented with the comic style are Guido Guinizzelli (*Volvol te levi, vecchia rabbiosa*, "May a vulture carry you off, you wrathful old woman"), Guido Cavalcanti (*Guata, Manetto, quella scrignutuzza*, "Manetto, look at that scrawny woman"; *Novelle ti so dire, odi, Nerone*, "Nerone, listen, for I have some news for you"), and Dante (the *tenzone* with Forese Donati). Similarly, several poets known mainly for their comic sonnets also wrote love poetry: Rustico Filippi, Jacopo da Lèona, Cecco Angiolieri, and Pieraccio Tedaldi. Half of Rustico's fifty-seven sonnets treat the theme of love. If we examine the varied themes and modes of expression in comic poetry, we see that it offered an alternative to the ideals and the stylistic conventions of the courtly lyric. Clearly, toward the close of the thirteenth century in Tuscany, poets tended to be proficient in both types, demonstrating their versatility and their mastery of all aspects of their art.

Comic poetry is treated in the principal manuals of style, or *artes dictandi*, of the period. According to the principle of *conveniens* that forms the backbone of the *artes*, poets should use a middle or low style in writing comic poetry and reserve the elevated style for serious themes. Moreover, the dictates of *conveniens* stress that a humble style such as the comic is best suited to the common people, while people of importance merit an ornate, serious style.

Whereas the love lyric revolves around the *encomium* (praise) of the beloved, comic poetry exploits the *vituperium* (personal attack). The idealized world of the love lyric, populated by plaintive suitors and beautiful, gracious women, thrives on a language rich in hyperbole and abstract terms. Hyperbole is also one foundation of comic poetry; however, the language of comic poetry tends to be concrete and quotidian, and the protagonists are a motley crew. Although Italian comic poetry is an autonomous genre flourishing beyond the confines of the courtly lyric, it sometimes utilizes the conventions of love poetry as an object of satire. The old women depicted grotesquely by Rustico, Guinizzelli, Cavalcanti, and others make a mockery of reverent descriptions of the beloved. Cecco Angiolieri's courtship of the earthy and vocal Becchina is most humorous when read in conjunction with Dante's adoration of the "most gentle" Beatrice.

Rustico Filippi was the first to write a large group of comic sonnets.

These cannot be dated with certainty, but Rustico is known to have become famous in Florence for his poetry (presumably the humorous sonnets) between the years 1260 and 1266. His comic poetry can be grouped into two general categories—personal invective and caricature—and it served as a model for Jacopo da Lèona, Jacomo dei Tolomei, and the *tenzone* between Dante and Forese. Cecco Angiolieri's large corpus of comic sonnets was even more widely imitated. In addition to satirizing the love lyric, Cecco introduced two themes to the Italian comic tradition: the omnipotence of money and its counterpart, the misery of poverty. His sonnets in dialogue raised comic poetry to new heights of theatricality. One can discern Cecco's influence in the *canzonieri* of Meo dei Tolomei, Fino d'Arezzo, Giuntino Lanfredi, and Pieraccio Tedaldi. Mordant political poetry was a part of the comic tradition from its inception and was the specialty of Pietro dei Faintinelli, Folgòre da San Gimignano, and Parlantino da Firenze. Folgòre was also a master of the *plazer*, a genre of Occitanic origin that lists pleasurable things or activities. He used the *plazer* to evoke an idealized aristocratic lifestyle and to express, indirectly, his dissatisfaction with contemporary society. Many of the comic poets explored gnomic themes such as an upside-down world and the degenerate values of their society. These fragments of social commentary and sketches of daily life are an important document of the tenor of the times. In reading the Italian comic poets, one gains an appreciation for the thematic richness of the tradition, the expressiveness of the Tuscan vernacular, and the reality of daily life in the burgeoning medieval commune.

Anthologies in English translation that include the comic poets are Rossetti (1892), Smith (1985), and Tusiani (1974).

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Cecco, Angiolieri; Cenne da la Chitarra; Dante Alighieri; Fino d'Aiezzo; Folgòre da San Gimignano; Giuntino, Lanfredi; Guinizzelli, Guido; Immanuel Romano; Italian Poetry; Lyric; Italian Poetry: Popular; Jacomo dei Tolomei; Jacopo da Lèona; Meo dei Tolomei; Mino da Colle; Muscia, Nicola; Niccolò de' Rossi; Parlantino da Firenze; Pietro dei Faintinelli; Rustico Filippi; Tedaldi, Pieraccio

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Italian Poetry: Lyric

The term "lyric poetry" refers, first, to relatively short poems that are meant to be set to music and sung; and, second, to poetic expressions of quintessential human emotions, such as the exaltation of love, virtue, and heroic qualities. Indeed, in his incomplete treatise *De vulgari eloquentia* (hereafter *DVE*), Dante speaks first of the qualities that define what would be the noble literary language for Italy, which he describes as *illustre, cardinale, aulicum, et curiale* ("illustrious, cardinal, courtly, and curial," *DVE*, 1.17.1); and second of the proper usage of this refined *koiné* in poetry—primarily in the *canzone* (ode) and, to a lesser degree, in the *ballata* and sonnet. The most noble subjects to be treated in this excellent language are prowess in arms (*salus*), love (*venus*), and moral virtue (*virtus*, *DVE*, 2.2.8). Dante's treatise on language and poetics also gives us insights on the poets he deemed the best of his general time period; they range from the Sicilian school in the first half of the thirteenth century to himself and his contemporaries at the end of the century. Among those represented are Giacomo da Lentini, Guido delle Colonne, Guido Guinizzelli, Guido Cavalcanti, and Cino da Pistoia. Dante is also very conscious of the earlier lyric tradition—the troubadours, in particular—and refers to some troubadours as exemplifying the heights to which lyric poetry had risen: Arnaut Daniel, Bertran de Born, Bernart de Ventadorn. On the other hand, only one *trouvère*—Thibault of Navarre—is cited for excellence in *DVE*.

This awareness of the earlier lyric tradition is also manifested in

Cantos 24 and 26 of *Purgatorio*, where Dante carefully delineates the historical development of lyric poetry in the thirteenth century. In Canto 24 he has Bonagiunta da Lucca refer to the earlier, pre-Dante poetic "schools" by naming their major exponents: Giacomo da Lentini the Notary (Sicilian school), Guitton d'Arezzo (the Guittonians), and Bonagiunta himself (the Siculo-Tuscan poets). In Canto 26 Dante has Guido Guinizzelli refer disparagingly to Guittone (verses 124-126), thus elevating the *do Ice stil nuovo* to a position of prime importance. In a related way, in *Purgatorio* 11 Dante has another of his characters, the artist Oderisi da Gubbio, speak of the vanity of earthly glory in reference to the succession of artists and poets: *Credette Cimabue ne la pittura I tener lo campo, e ora ha Giotto il grido, / sí che la fama di colui è scura. / Così ha tolto l'uno a l'altro Guido / la gloria de la lingua; e forse è nato / chi l'uno e l'altro caccerà del nido* (verses 94-99). Just as Giotto surpasses Cimabue in art, so will Guido Cavalcanti surpass Guido Guinizzelli in poetry—and the one who will "chase both out of the nest" is perhaps a thinly veiled allusion to Dante himself. Therefore, what emerges from Dante's works is a clear sense of historical periodization, of different literary generations, and of the dynamics of poetic interaction and development through the first century of Italian literature.

Some two generations after Dante, Petrarch discloses a very similar view of the earlier poetic tradition in his *Trionfo d'Amore* (*Triumph of Love*). In this allegorical dream vision, he views those souls conquered by love, and in the long procession are Italian poets from previous times:

*ecco Dante e Beatrice, ecco Selvaggia,
ecco Cin da Pistoia, Guitton d'Arezzo,
che di non esser primo par ch'ira aggia;
ecco i duo Guidi che già fur in prezzo,
Onesto bolognese, e i Ciciliani,
che fur già primi e quivi eran da sezzo;
Sennuccio e Francheschin, che fur sì umani
come ogni uom vide. (4.31-38)*

("There are Dante and Beatrice; there is Selvaggia; there are Cino da Pistoia and Guittone d'Arezzo who seems angry at not being first. There

are the two Guidos who were once much praised, together with Onesto from Bologna and the Sicilians, who once were first and now come last. There are Sennuccio and Franceschino who were as courtly as ever a man did see.")

By mentioning the names of the major Italian poets of love, Petrarca is able to trace, in broad outlines, the rise and development of the lyric tradition from its beginning with the poets of the Sicilian school through the achievements of the Tuscan-based Guittone d'Arezzo and the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo* to the innovations of his own contemporaries Sennuccio del Bene and Franceschino degli Albizzi. In some sense Cino da Pistoia, whom Dante praises as the poet of love par excellence in *DVE*, may be considered the poetic link between the world of Dante and that of Petrarch, who wrote a sonnet lamenting his death. However that may be, Dante and Petrarch viewed the development of lyric poetry in very similar ways.

Lyrical Forms

Lyric poetry in Italy was initially based on earlier (primarily Occitan, but also Old French and German) metrical forms, such as the *canzone* (Occitan *canso*), *sestina* (Occitan *coblas retrograda-das*), *tenzone* (Occitan *tenso*, although in Italy the sonnet was used as the basic strophic unit), and *discordo* (Occitan *descort*). Some popular forms—*strambotto*, *ballata*—were indigenous to Italy; others—sonnet, madrigal—came into being as new artistic inventions. Polyphonic music in France and Italy (*ars nova*) influenced the development of the *caccia* and the refinement of the *madrigale*. In *DVE*, Dante devotes the second of four projected books to the "art" of the *canzone*, which is, in his view, the most noble poetic form, the most perfect vehicle for treatment in the high, "tragic" style of the three most worthy topics noted above: prowess in battle, love, and moral virtue (2.2.8). The other two major forms—the *ballata* and sonnet—were described as more appropriate to the "middle" style of poetry (2.4.1). Imitating the troubadour Arnaut Daniel, Dante composed the first *sestina* in Italian. Other lyric forms—the madrigal, *caccia*, and *frottola*—did not make their appearance until

the fourteenth century.



Francesco Petrarca, *Sonetti Canzoni e Triomphi; con la Spositione di Bernardino Daniello da Lucca*. Venice: Per Pietro & Gioanmaria Fratelli de Nicolini da Sabio, ad istanza di M. Giombattista Pederzano, 1549. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

The Sicilian School

Italian lyric poetry began at the imperial court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen in Sicily in the first half of the thirteenth century— more

specifically, from 1220 to 1250. Court life was open and cosmopolitan, and a dynamic intellectual curiosity and activity permeated the atmosphere. This extraordinary environment fostered the literary enterprises of some fifteen to twenty individuals, most of whom were employed as civil servants in Frederick's bureaucracy. Although we know their names and have some indication of their role at court, we have very little biographical information about most of them. They composed their lyrics in Sicilian dialect and followed, by and large, the established models of poetic excellence provided by the troubadours, and to a lesser degree those of the *trouvères* and minnesingers. Love, or *fin'amors* ("noble" or "courtly" love), was the preferred subject matter of their poetry; and their presentation of the protagonists—lady and lover—and of the nature and the effects of passion follows conventional patterns. They would re-create in their lyrics the feudal setting with many elements of *fin'amors*: just as the lady became *mi dons* ("my lord"), the poet-lover became her faithful vassal whose selfless service was offered in the hope of winning her affection or some token thereof.

The first strophe of the following *canzone* by Rinaldo d'Aquino (who may have been falconer at Frederick's court and brother to Thomas Aquinas) reiterates several familiar themes: the extraordinary beauty of the woman, the exhilarating effects of love, the joy of "love-service," and the hoped-for reward for such service:

*Per fino amore vao sì letamente
ch'io non agio veduto
omo che 'n gioi mi possa aparigliare;
e paremi che falli malamente
omo c'à receputo
ben da segnore e poi lo vol celare.
Ma eo no lo celeragio
com 'altamente Amor m'à meritato,
che m'à dato a servire
a la fiore di tutta caunoscenza
e di valertza,
ed à belleze più ch'eo non so dire.
Amor m'à sormontato
lo core in mante guise e gran gioi n'agio.*

("Because of noble love I go about so happily that I have not seen a

man who can equal me in joy; and it seems to me that any man who has received a boon from his lord and wishes to hide it commits a grave error. But I will not hide how Love has rewarded me so richly, for he has given me to serve the flower of all courtliness and worth; she has more beautiful qualities than I know how to express. Love has enriched my heart in so many ways, and I derive great joy from this.")

Unlike many other lyrics of the Sicilian school, this *canzone* lacks the sadness and torment occasioned by unrequited love; indeed, it sings of the joy of the lover who fully expects to receive his just reward for service rendered to the lady under the tutelage of the god of love.

Another common theme is the tyranny of the god of love and the paradoxical nature of the amorous state, as expressed in the first stanza of this *canzone* by Guido delle Colonne (who was a judge at the imperial court):

*Amor, che longiamente m'hai menato
a freno stretto senza riposanza,
allarga le tue redini in pietanza,
chè soverchianza—m'ha vinto e stancato:
ch' ho più durato—ch'io non ho possanza,
per voi, madonna, a cui porto lianza,
più che non fa Assassino in suo cuitato,
che si lascia morir per sua credanza.
Ben este affanno diletto, amare
e dolce pena ben si può chiamare.
Ma voi, madonna, de la mia travaglia,
che sì mi squaglia,—prendavi mercide,
chè bene è dolce il mal se non m'ancide.*

("Love, who for a long time has led me with a tight bridle without rest, loosen your reins out of mercy, for your oppression has tired and conquered me: I have endured more than I can bear for you, my lady, to whom I am more faithful than the assassin in his belief, the one who allows himself to die for his faith. Loving is indeed a pleasant pain, and can be called a sweet sorrow. However, may you, my lady, have mercy on my torment that ruins me, for the pain is sweet unless it kills me.")

The Sicilian poets imitated earlier metrical forms, such as the *canzo*, and poetic devices, such as *coblas capfinidas* (a way of lining stanzas by repeating the same word at the end of one strophe and at the beginning

of the next), *coblas capcaudadas* (the repetition of the last rhyme in one stanza as the first in the subsequent stanza), and *coblas unissonans* (the use of the same rhymes in each strophe). Moreover, they followed the convention of using a code name (*senhal*) for the lady to keep her identity secret, and they embraced many of the major themes of the troubadours. In all this, the Sicilians borrowed generously from the Occitan lexicon of amorous expressions, italianizing them and thus establishing the basis of the new lyrical language. Words such as *intendanza* (love), *amanza* (love), *drudo* (lover), *sollazzo* (pleasure), *gioia* (joy), and *coraggio* (courage and heart) disclose their etymology. Despite these extensive borrowings, the poets of the Sicilian school demonstrated their artistic independence in other ways. New lyrical forms emerged to replace the trite imitations of earlier models, as well as new images and concepts. Therefore, although they initially shared many traits with the earlier tradition, the Sicilian poets achieved a state of predominance and self-sufficiency. Indeed, we might characterize the poetic production of the Sicilian school as a harmonious blending of the complementary principles of imitation and innovation.

The notary Giacomo da Lentini was the most prolific and inventive poet of the *scuola poetica siciliana*, and it was probably because of his prominence that Dante, in *Purgatory*, designated him as the "leader" of this school. Giacomo's large poetic corpus consists of fourteen *canzoni*, one *discordo*, and at least twenty-five sonnets. Giacomo discloses his debt to the rich Occitanic heritage and, at the same time, demonstrates his particular inventiveness through his use of natural images, scholastic argumentation, and local allusions, as well as through his concern with the role and craft—the "art"—of the poet.

In the first two strophes of Giacomo's *canzone Meravigliosamente*, we may observe how he uses specific traditional motifs—the servitude of love, the necessity of secrecy in matters of love, the importance of the heart as the affective center of love, and the poet as artist:

I

*Meravigliosamente
un amor mi distringe
e sovenmi ad ogn'ora;
com'omo che ten mente
in altra parte, e pinge*

*la simile pintura,
così, bella, facc'eo:
dentro a lo core meo
porto la tua figura.*

II

*In cor par ch'eo vi parte
pinta como parete,
e non pare di fore,
O Deo, co mi par forte!
Non so se lo savete
com'io v'amo a bon core;
ca son sì vergognoso
ch'io pur vi guardo ascoso
e non vi mostro amore.*

(I. Wondrously a love seizes me and is constantly in my mind; like the man whose mind is elsewhere and paints the likeness of that which he is imagining, so do I, my beautiful one: I bear your image within my heart." II. "It seems I have you in my heart, painted as you appear, but this does not appear outwardly. O God, how harsh this seems to me! I do not know if you know that I love you loyally, for I am so shy that I look at you covertly and do not manifest my love to you.")

In one *canzone*, *Amor non vole ch'io clami* ("Love does not want me to call"), Giacomo voices his apparent dissatisfaction with the limitations posed by slavish imitation of troubadour models. Here he proclaims his desire to avoid stylized amorous conventions and to shape his poetry along more innovative lines. This *canzone* seems to be a sort of poetic declaration of independence, in which Giacomo grapples with the problem of poetic virtuosity and originality and states that he will not continue to write in a traditional, conventional manner. It may even foreshadow Giacomo's most important contribution to western literature, the sonnet, a poetic form that was perhaps invented in protest against the artistically stifling influence of the troubadour tradition.

Among Giacomo's many sonnets, *Lo giglio quand'è colto tost'è passoy* through its use of natural images and *traduction* is a good example of the union of technical virtuosity and amorous content:

*La giglio quand'è colto tost'è passo,
da poi la sua natura lui no è giunta:
ed io, dacunque son partuto un passo
da voi, mia donna, dolerni ogni giunta,
perché d'amare ogni amadore passo,
in tante altezze lo mio core giunta:
così mi fere Amor, lavunque passo,*

*com'aghila quand'a la caccia è giunta.
Oi lasso me, cbe nato fui in tal punto,
c'unque no amasse se non voi, Chiù gente!
Questo saccio, madonna, da mia parte:
in prima che vi vidi ne jui punto,
serviivi ed inoraivi a tutta gente,
da voi, bella, lo mio core non parte.*

("The lily when plucked soon withers, since it is no longer joined to its source of life, and whenever I am only minimally separated from you, my lady, every joint in my body aches; because I surpass every lover in loving, my heart reaches great heights: Love strikes me wherever I go, just as the eagle when it seizes its prey. Oh, woe is me who was born in such a state that I would never love anyone but you, most gracious one! This I know, my lady, from my own experience: as soon as I first saw you I was struck, I have served and honored you before all people, from you, beautiful one, my heart will not depart.")

The equivocal rhymes inform both the structure and the meaning of this sonnet with uniformity (the same rhyme words) in diversity (the different meanings of these words): the poet's single devotion to his lady is expressed through diverse external allusions (the plucked lily, the eagle that swoops down to seize its prey). Just as the lily cut from its stem withers and dies, so the lover separated from his lady, his source of life and inspiration, is racked with pain; and just as the eagle seizes its victim, so love inflicts wounds on the lover. In their presentation of the two complementary aspects of violence—tearing apart (the lily) and forceful union (the eagle)—the natural images in the first eight lines describe the anguish experienced by the lover whether far from or near to the object of desire. The final six verses contain the lament of the lover whose destiny (he was "born" to love only her) is to

remain in her thrall; his life is one of complete dedication, faithfulness reinforced by the final declaration that his heart will never stray or be separated from her.

Other noteworthy Sicilian poets include the emperor Frederick II, his illegitimate son Enzo, Pier della Vigna (the emperor's faithful secretary and logothete), and Giacomino Pugliese, whose poetry ranges between the courtly and decidedly more popular registers and alternately celebrates and laments a vibrant, sensual passion.

Alongside the generally refined and noble courtly lyrics of the Sicilian poets we find more popular rhymers, such as Compagnetto da Prato and Cielo d'Alcamo. The subject of Cielo's well-known *contrasto*, *Rosa fresca aulentissima*, is a dialogue, in the *pastourelle* mode, between a woman of the bourgeoisie and an itinerant jongleur. In this lively poem we find a delicious mixture of courtly and rustic language that contributes to the realistic nature of their dialogue. In addition to the psychological interplay between the two interlocutors, the *contrasto* brilliantly demonstrates how language can either convey or mask inner feelings.

The Italian lyric was born in Sicily, and these poets thus hold a place of prime importance in the history of Italian literature. Not only were they the first to use the Italian vernacular in an organized fashion as a medium for artistic expression, but through innovative imitation of earlier models they succeeded in compiling a rich and influential body of literature and also invented the sonnet, which would in time become the poetic vehicle par excellence in Italy and throughout Europe.

The Imitators of the Sicilian School

The lyrics of the Sicilian school were imitated by poets in the prosperous city-states of central Italy, especially in Tuscany. These continuators of Occitan and Sicilian modes have come to be known as the Siculo-Tuscans; they include Inghilfredi, Bondie Dietaiuti, Maestro Francesco (who probably composed the first double sonnet), and the Compiuta Donzella of Florence, the first Italian woman poet. In her two sonnets, Compiuta Donzella voices the complaint of a young woman whose father wishes her to marry against her will (*A la stagion che 'l*

mondo foglia e fiora) and who hopes to avoid this undesirable situation by taking religious vows (*Lasciar vorria lo mondo e Dio servire*). The first sonnet contains the conventional description of the advent of spring (*Natureingang*) and the consequent awakening of all nature to the joy of love, an emotion not shared by the "I" of the poem. The second sonnet laments the evil rampant in the world and presents the protagonist's noble desire to eschew these vanities for a life dedicated to God.

The most important Siculo-Tuscan poet is Bonagiunta Orbicciani, a notary from Lucca, whose lyrics (eleven *canzoni*, five *ballate*, two *discordi*, and eighteen sonnets) demonstrate both formal and thematic diversity. He is an intermediary in every sense of the word, not only between the Sicilian and Guittonian schools but also between Guittone and the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*. Indeed, in Canto 24 of *Purgatory* Dante acknowledges Bonagiunta's pivotal role in this development. In that episode Dante has Bonagiunta comment on the several poetic schools and recognize Dante (whom he identifies as the author of the *canzone Donne ch' avete intelletto d'amore*—"Ladies who have understanding of love") as the most innovative poet of the age. In retrospect, Bonagiunta can say: .. . *issa vegg'io, . . . il nodo / che 'l Notaro e Guittone e me ritenne / di qua dal dolce stil novo ch'i'odo* ("now I see the knot that kept the Notary and Guittone and me from the sweet new style that I hear," verses 55-57). Bonagiunta's love poetry is replete with natural images and characterized by a freshness of sentiment, an immediacy, and a directness that contrast with the abstract discussions and rhetorical elegance of the earlier traditions.

Guittone d'Arezzo and His Followers

Writing in mid-century, Guittone d'Arezzo (c. 1230-1294) was the most important literary figure of his generation. He had many followers, the so-called Guittoniani, who were avid but arid imitators of their Occitan and, to a lesser degree, Sicilian forerunners. Their desire to achieve formal elegance and rhetorical and linguistic virtuosity in their poetry renders much of their work inaccessible, unintelligible, or uncongenial (at least to modern readers). Nevertheless, Guittone contributed to the

development of the lyric tradition by expanding his repertoire to include not only amorous but also moral, religious, and political subjects. In this, his lyrics show the heavy metrical, verbal, and thematic influence of the troubadours and the Latin rhetorical tradition; moreover, they bear the mark of his bourgeois culture and his direct experience with life in the Italian communes. The audience for his poetry was no longer the aristocracy, the landed nobility, or the imperial court, but rather the merchant class of the central Italian communes.

Guittone's large poetic production (fifty *canzoni* and 251 sonnets) may be divided chronologically into two groups: the early love lyrics and the later moral-religious poetry. The poetry in the first group draws considerably on troubadour themes, language, style, and syntax. Guittone was attracted to the style known as *trobar clus* (i.e., hermetic poetry) and the elaborate style of the *trobar ric* (i.e., especially ornate poetry). He also used many local words and expressions, thereby forging a new, composite language. The extensive "municipal" vocabulary in Guittone's poetry was one reason for Dante's negative appraisal in *De vulgari eloquentia* (1.13.1). However, Guittone's use of the vernacular for a high, serious treatment of political and ethical topics marks a major advance in the development of Italian literature. His *canzone* on the defeat of the Florentine Guelfs at the battle of Montaperti in 1260 (*Ahi lasso, or è stagion di doler tanto*) demonstrates his ability to write in a sublime, tragic style.

One good example of Guittone's particular brand of poetry is the following sonnet, in which he elaborates on the *word gioia* (joy):

*Tuttor ch'eo dirò gioi', gioiva cosa,
intenderete che di voi favello,
che gioia sete di beltà gioiosa
e gioia di piacer gioioso e bello:
e gioia in cui gioioso avenir posa,
gioi' d'adomezze è gioi' di cor asnello;
gioia in cui viso è gioi' tant'amorosa,
ched è gioiosa gioi' mirare in ello.
Gioi'di volere e gioi' dispensamento
e gioi' di dire e gioi' di far gioioso
egioi' d'onnigioioso movimento.*

*Perch'eo, gioiosa gioi', sì disioso
di voi mi trovo, che rnaì gioi' non sento,
se 'n vostra gioi' il meo cor non riposo.*

("Whenever I say joy, joyous one, you will know that I speak of you, who are the joy of joyous beauty, and the joy of joyous and beautiful pleasure. You are the joy in which a joyous future resides, the joy of riches and the joy of a lovely heart; the joy in whose face is such amorous joy that it is joyful joy to look upon it. Joy of desire and joy of meditation, and joy of speaking and joy of rejoicing, and joy of every joyful movement. For these reasons, joyous joy, I am so enamoured of you that I will never experience joy unless I place my heart in your joy.")

The poem is unified thematically by the presentation of Guittone's amorous "joy" (*gioia* in its several forms is repeated twenty-two times), an emotion that is both a function and a direct correlative of the lady (*gioiosa gioi'*) herself.

The impact of Guittone's literary production may be measured in part by his numerous imitators—the Guittonianians—who followed his lead in highly artificial and formally difficult poetry, characterized by often intricate internal and end rhyme patterns and by elaborate plays on words. It would appear that the Guittonianians considered intentional obscurity a sign of greatness; indeed, these qualities do seem to define the poetry of Panuccio del Bagno, Meo Abbracciavacca da Pistoia, and others among Guittone's disciples. One of them, the Florentine Monte Andrea, is often singled out for his technical virtuosity; he perfected what was probably Guittone's invention—a modified sixteen-line sonnet whose first part has ten lines in alternating rhyme (ABABABABAB), instead of the usual eight—incorporating it in some 100 sonnets. In poetic exchanges with Guittone and others, Monte often shows a distinct preference for difficult and unusual verbal and metrical techniques.

The Transitional Poets

Some of Guittone's early followers moved away from his rhetorical and

linguistic bombast, arduous hermetic stylizations, and cold conventions. One of these is Dante da Maiano, whom critics generally classify as a Guittonian because of his use of internal rhymes, ornate language, and sometimes disjointed syntax. Despite this label, Dante da Maiano demonstrates an even greater affinity with the Sicilians and the Occitan poets of the *trobar leu* (i.e., elegant, readily understandable poetry). He and Paolo Lanfranchi da Pistoia were the first Italian poets to compose sonnets in the *langue d'oc*.

Another intermediary figure—perhaps the most important— was the Florentine poet Chiaro Davanzati, whose poetic production numbers some sixty *canzoni* and 120 sonnets (many in *tenzoni* with Monte Andrea, Dante da Maiano, and others). Chiaro's lyrics, unlike those of the Guittoniani, have very few stylistic encumbrances and are thus free-flowing and easily comprehensible. The following sonnet shows his indebtedness to the earlier Sicilian and Occitan *trobar leu* traditions and also, through its concentration on the luminescent qualities of the lady, anticipates a major theme of the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*:

*La splendïente luce, quando apare,
in ogni scura parte dà chiarore;
cotant'ha di vertute il suo guardare,
che sovra tutti gli altri è 'l suo splendore:
così madonna mia face alegrare,
mirando lei, chi avesse alcun dolore;
adesso lo fa in gioia ritornare,
tanto sormonta e passa il suo valore.
E l'altre donne fan di lei bandiera,
imperadrice d'ogni costumanza,
perch' è di tutte quante la lumera;
e li pintor la miran per usanza
per trare asempro di sì bella cera,
per fame a l'altre genti dimostranza.*

("When the brilliant light appears, it illuminates every dark place; so powerful is her gaze that its luminosity surpasses all others: thus my lady gladdens any suffering one who simply gazes upon her; she rapidly returns him to a joyous state, so superior is her power. And other women make her their leader, the empress of all courtliness, for she is their light; and painters are accustomed to gaze upon her and to

take her beautiful face as the model of their art, thus making her beauty known to everyone.")

The Dolce Stil Nuovo ("Sweet New Style")

The phrase *dolce stil nuovo* is commonly used (1) to designate a loosely organized group of late thirteenth-century love poets and (2) to describe the special character of their lyric production, that is, a style (*stil*) that is audibly and intellectually pleasing (*dolce*) and innovative (*nuovo*) in concept and manner. The phrase originates in Canto 24 of Dante's *Purgatory*, during a conversation between the pilgrim Dante and the poet Bonagiunta da Lucca. Bonagiunta addresses Dante, calling attention to his special poetic qualities and then referring to the difference between Dante's poetry and that of earlier poets, himself included. Bonagiunta begins: *Ma dì s'i' veggio qui colui che fore / trasse le nove rime, cominciando / "Donne ch'avete intelletto d'a-more"* ("But, tell me, if I see here the one who brought forth the new rhymes, beginning 'Ladies who have understanding of love?'"). Dante responds: *I' mi son un che, quando / Amor mi spira, noto, e a quel modo / ch'e'ditta dentro, vo significando* ("I am one who, when Love inspires me, takes note, and following that way he speaks within me, I express my thoughts"). Bonagiunta then elaborates: *Ofrate, issa veggio.. . il nodo / che 'l Notaro e Guittone e me ritenne / di qua dal dolce stil novo ch'i' odo! / Io veggio ben come le vostrepenne I di retro al dittator sen vano strette, / che de le nostre certo non avvenne* ("O brother, now I see the knot that kept the Notary and Guittone and me from the sweet new style that I hear. Now I do indeed see how your wings [quills] fly [move] after the one who dictates, something that did not happen with ours.") In this passage the phrase *dolce stil nuovo* remains ambiguous: it may refer either to an entire group of poets or to Dante alone. Nevertheless, this indication of a new poetic style clearly does correspond to the poetic revolution begun by Guido Guinizzelli and to its eventual maturation and complete expression in Dante.

In the third quarter of the century Guinizzelli (c. 1230 or 1240-1276), a Ghibelline judge from Bologna, began to write poetry under the influence of Guittone (see the sonnet addressed to him, *O caro padre*

rrtio) but soon he changed his style and composed lyrics (five *canzoni* and fifteen sonnets) that varied greatly from those of his predecessors in style, theme, and conception. In a well-known *tenzone*, Bonagiunta reproved Guiniz zelli as the one who had *mutata la mainera / de li piacenti ditti dell'amore / de la forma dell'esser là dov'era* ("changed the manner of the pleasing songs of love from their earlier forms"). Guiniz-zelli's sonnet in response—*Om ch'è saggio non cone leggero* ("A wise man does not run rapidly")—is a gentle put-down of the older, more traditionally-minded poet. Guinizzelli played a key role in the transformation and renewal of the Italian lyric tradi tion and has therefore been been recognized as the father of the *dolce stil nuovo*. For him, the praise of the lady's divine beauty and miraculous qualities is the primary characteristic of *stilnovismo*, as the following sonnet attests:

*Io voglio del ver la mia donna laudare
ed asembrarli la rosa e lo giglio:
più che Stella diana splende e pare,
e ciò ch'è Lassù bello a lei somiglio,
Verde river' a lei rasembro e l'are,
tutti color di fior', giano e vermiglio,
oro ed azzurro e ricche gioi per dare:
medesmo Amor per lei rafina meglio.
Passa per via adorna, e sì gentile
ch'abassa orgoglio a cui dona salute,
e fa 'l de nostra fé se non la crede;
e no. lle pò apressare om che sia vile;
ancor ve dirò c'ha maggior vertute:
null' om pò mal pensar fin che la vede.*

("I truly wish to praise my lady arid to compare her to the rose and lily: more than the morning star she shines and comes into view, and all that is beautiful in the heavens I compare to her. I compare her to the verdant river bank and the gentle breeze, all colors of flowers, yellow and red, gold and blue and precious stones worthy of being given: through her Love achieves greater perfection. In noble attire she goes along the street, and so graciously that she overcomes pride in those to whom she gives both greeting and salvation, and she converts unbelievers to our faith; no ignoble man can even approach her;

moreover, I say to you that she has an even greater power: no one can think evil thoughts in her presence.")

In his doctrinal *canzone Al cor gentil rempaira sempre amore* ("Love always has its home in the noble heart"), Guinizzelli attempts to resolve difficult questions concerning the nature of human nobility (*gentilezza*), the role of the woman in the amorous relationship, and the purpose and meaning of earthly love. Contrary to traditional wisdom, *gentilezza* is not determined by a person's wealth, or family, or any other external circumstance; rather, it is a consequence of one's innate qualities. Therefore, the capacity or disposition to love purely and nobly is reserved for those to whom nature has given a *cor gentil* (noble heart). No longer a passive object of desire, Guinizzelli's lady is an active force, who assumes in the elaborate system of analogies of the *canzone Al cor gentil* power and status equal to those of God. In this manner the woman is responsible for activating in her admirer that inborn potentiality to love; indeed, Guinizzelli's woman becomes a true *donna angelicata* (angelicized woman), similar to the angelic intelligences who move the eternal spheres. Given the philosophical pretensions and the numerous metaphysical parallels and analogies of the *canzone*, Guinizzelli probably wanted to ennoble human love by transforming it into a sort of secular *caritas*. However, that project proved to be too ambitious, for he concludes the poem on a humorous note. In the last strophe of the *canzone*, Guinizzelli imagines that, after death, he is being judged by God, who rebukes him for having dared to use the deity as a term of comparison for a vain, earthly love (*vano amor*):

*Donna, Dio mi dirà: "Che presumisti?"
siando l'alma mia a lui davanti;
"Lo ciel passasti, e 'nfin a me venisti,
e desti in vano amor Me per sembranti:
ch'a Me convèn la laude,
e a la Reina del regname degno,
per cui cessa onne fraude."
Dir Li porò: "Tenne d'angel sembianza
che fosse del Tuo regno:
non me fu fallo, s'in lei posi amanza."*

("My lady, God will ask me, when my soul stands before Him, 'What

presumption is yours? You passed through the heavens and came to My presence and used Me as a comparison for a vain love. All praise belongs to Me and to the Queen of this worthy realm, through whom all fraud ceases.' I will be able to answer Him: 'She looked like an angel from Your kingdom: it was not my fault that I loved her.' ")

Despite his failure to reconcile human affection for woman and divine love for God, Guinizzelli clearly indicated a new direction in amorous poetry. Dante would eventually turn to this model in *Vita nuova* (*New Life*) and in the *Divine Comedy*, where Beatrice becomes his personal bearer of spiritual salvation (*salute*), thus fulfilling the lofty but unrealized aspirations of Guinizzelli and representing the supreme achievement of the *dolce stil nuovo*.

One of the most distinctive poetic voices of the *dolce stil nuovo* is the Florentine Guido Cavalcanti (c. 1259-1300), whom Dante (in *Vita nuova*) calls his "first friend" and who was an active participant in the factional strife that plagued Florence. Except for a few compositions, his lyrics (some fifty-two poems in all) do not follow Guinizzelli's example. Cavalcanti is obsessed with the psychology of love, and in his poems he represents, externalizes, the inner struggle of the soul afflicted by contrasting emotions, which are personified as *spiritelli* ("little spirits"). The tragic, mournful quality of his lyrics attests to the mental and physical anguish induced by love and often reflects the abject state of the lover, as in the following sonnet—which also marks a new development in the history of the form:

*L'anima mia vilment' è sbigotita
de la battaglia ch'ell'ave dal core:
che sella seme pur un poco Amore
più presso a lui che non sole, ella more.
Sta come quella che non ha valore,
ch'è per temenza da lo cor partita;
e chi vedesse com' ell' è fuggita
diria per certo: "Questi non ha vita."
Per li occhi venne la battaglia in pria,
che ruppe ogni valore immantenente,
sì che del colpo fit strutta la mente.
Qualunqu' è quei che più allegrezza sente,
se vedesse li spirti fuggir via,
di grande sua pietate piangeria.*

("My soul suffers harsh anguish because of the battle the heart wages on it: if it senses that Love is closer to it than normal, it will die. It remains as one that has no power and is through fear separated from the heart; whoever would see how it has fled would say for certain: 'This one is not alive.' The battle first came through the eyes and immediately broke down all resistance, so that the mind was devastated by the blow. Whoever may be in a state of great happiness, if he were to see my spirits fleeing, he would weep from pity.")

This intentionally asymmetrical and unique rhyme scheme (ABBB BAAA CDD DCC) is the metrical counterpart of the emotional disequilibrium, the disordered state of the poet-lover's existence brought about by love. Without resorting to either fragmented syntax or harsh language, Cavalcanti is able to convey a sense of imbalance through subtle manipulation of the rhyme scheme. As is customary, the poet-lover's amorous affairs are acted out with "real" characters, the personifications of his soul, mind, and heart.

Cavalcanti's doctrinal canzone *Donna me prega* is structured along the lines of a philosophical and scientific treatise and is intended to be a sort of scientific proof (a *natural dimostramento*) that defines the origin, nature, and effects of love. The first stanza of the *canzone* announces the several questions about love that it will seek to resolve:

*Donna me prega,—per ch'io voglio dire
d'un accidente—che sovente—è fero,*

*ed è sì altero,—chè chiamato amore:
sì chi lo nega—possa 'l ver sentire!
Ed a presente—conoscente—chero,
perch'io no spero—ch'om di basso core
a tal ragione porti canoscenza:
chè, senza—natural dimostramento
non ho talento—di voler provare
là dove posa, e chi lo fa creare,
e qual sia sua vertute e sua potenza,
l'essenza—poi e ciascun suo movimento,
e 'l piacimento che 'l fa dire amare,
e s'omo per veder lo pò mostrare.*

("A lady beseeches me, and therefore I am willing to treat of an *accident* that is often fierce, and yet so majestic, which is called Love: so that those who disbelieve in it may hear the truth. And now I require an intelligent audience, because I have no hope that people of inferior quality can muster sufficient understanding for a discussion of this kind. For I am not inclined to try, without scientific exposition, to demonstrate where it resides, and who brings it into existence, and what its virtue and its power are, and then its essence and all its movements, and the attraction that earns for it the name of loving, and whether one can show it so that it can be seen"—trans. J. E. Shaw.)

Although the exact meaning and sources of this *canzone* are still a subject of much debate, certain points emerge as valid: the lover, gazing on a real woman, formulates within himself his own idea of beauty, and this ideal conception then completely dominates his mind, causing him to strive anxiously and ceaselessly to obtain its earthly manifestation—that is, a real woman. The anguish and torment of this vain pursuit (vain because the real can never measure up to the ideal) ultimately deprive the lover of reason and cause death. Cavalcanti's poetry, for the most part, has as its subject the externalization, with appropriate personifications, of this inner struggle.

Although the reputation of Italy's greatest poet, Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), is based primarily on the *Divine Comedy*, his minor poems (fifty-nine sonnets, twenty-one *canzoni*, six *ballate*, one *sestina*, and one "double *sestina*") were certainly important to the development of lyric poetry. Dante collected and ordered a number of his early poems in *Vita nuova*, where, through a unique combination of poetry and prose, he tells the story of his love for Beatrice. In the first part of *Vita nuova*, he discloses Cavalcanti's influence by being attentive to the dire and debilitating effects of love on the person and mind. Recognizing the essentially selfish, counterproductive nature of this sort of poetry, however, he turns in the second part of the work to the Guinizzellian poetics of praise, announcing this change in the *canzone* *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore*. In this portion of *Vita nuova* the sonnet in praise of Beatrice, *Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare*, best summarizes the essence of the *dolce stil nuovo* and, more particularly, of Dante's own special contribution to the lyric tradition. It is perhaps his finest poem, because

of its flowing musical quality combined with the lofty theme of praise:

*Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare
la donna mia quand' ella altrui saluta,
ch'ogne lingua deven tremando muta,
e li occhi no l'ardiscon di guardare.*

*Ella si va, sentendosi laudare,
benignamente d'umiltà vestuta,
e par che sia una cosa venuta
da cielo in terra a miracol mostrare.
Mostrasi sì piacente a chi la mira,
che dà per li occhi una dolcezza al core,
che 'ntender no la può chi no la prova;
e par che de la sua labbia si mova
un spirito soave pien d'amore
che va dicendo a l'anima: "Sospira!"*

("Such sweet decorum and such gentle grace / attend my lady's greeting as she moves / that lips can only tremble into silence, /and eyes dare not attempt to gaze at her. / Moving, benignly clothed in humility, / untouched by all the praise along the way, / she seems to be a creature come from Heaven / to earth, to manifest a miracle. / Miraculously gracious to behold, / her sweetness reaches, through the eyes, the heart / —who has not felt this cannot understand—, / and from her lips it seems there moves a gracious / spirit, so deeply loving that it glides / into the souls of men, whispering: 'Sigh!' "—trans. Mark Musa.)

In *De vulgari eloquentia* (DVE, 2.2.9) Dante refers to himself as the most excellent poet of rectitude; here he is undoubtedly alluding to the moral *canzoni* contained in his incomplete philosophical treatise, *Convivio* (*The Banquet*). In the poems generally known as the *rime petrose* (rocky rhymes) because of the harsh, cruel nature of their addressee, the *Donna Petra* (stony lady), he gives much evidence of his artistic talents. In them, he both imitates and attempts to outdo his Provençal mentor, Arnaut Daniel, by composing the first Italian *sestina*, *Al poco giorno e algran cerchio d'ombra* ("To the shortened day and to the great circle of shade"—trans. Robert Durling), and by formulating what might be called a "double" *sestina*-. *Amor, tu vedi ben che questa donna* ("Love, you see perfectly well that this lady"—trans. Robert

Durling).

Most of Dante's lyrics were written in the early stages of his literary career, during that necessary training period before the composition of the *Divine Comedy* when he experimented with traditional forms and ideas. These traditional elements he ultimately rejected or substantially reworked in his quest for and attainment of poetic excellence. In this larger context, then, Dante's lyrics stand as important signposts on his literary *iter*, or journey, which would culminate in the writing of the *Divine Comedy*.

Another major exponent of the *dolce stil nuovo* is Cino da Pistoia (c. 1270-1336 or 1337), who was a good friend of Dante and a celebrated lawyer and teacher of law. Cino's lyric production (134 sonnets, twenty *canzoni*, and thirteen *ballate*) is the largest of the *stilnovisti* and reflects virtually all their major themes, images, and concepts. The following sonnet demonstrates certain characteristics of his lyric voice:

*Deh, non mi domandar perché sospiri,
ch'i' ho testé una parola udita,
che l'anima nel corpo è tramortita
e svariati tutti miei desiri.
Parmi sentir ch'oma' la morte tiri
a fine, lasso, la mia greve vita:
fuor de la terra la mia donna è gita
ed ha lasciato a me pene e martiri.*

*Seco ha 'l meo core, e' miei occhi smagati
rimasi son de la lor luce scuri,
sì ch'altra donna non posson guardare;
ma credendoli un poco rappagare,
veder fo loro spesso li usci e' muri
de la contrata u' sono 'nnamorati.*

("Please, don't ask me why I sigh, for I have just now heard some talk because of which the soul in the body is slain and all my desires are changed. I think I feel that death now brings, alas! my sad life to an end: my lady has gone out of the city and left me with torment and pain. She has my heart with her, and my bewildered eyes are bereft of their light, so that they cannot look at any other lady. But thinking to give

them some small satisfaction, I have them often look at the doors and the walls of the place where they fell in love.")

The political vicissitudes of Pistoia and the consequent exile of individuals and families form the background for this amorous lament. In addition to the mournful quality of these verses—which reflects their intensely personal, almost confessional nature—we find a spatial orientation that is unprecedented in the Italian lyric tradition. Here Cino remembers the lady and their love in connection with his seeing and visiting her home. Far from the conventional and abstract recall of the time and place of the lovers' first meeting, this sonnet underlines the power that a particular place has to evoke a mood and generate ideas.

Cino's contribution to the development of lyric poetry lies both in his harmonizing of various themes and concepts and in his objective psychological realism. For these reasons, he is generally considered the bridge linking the "sweet new style" and Petrarch.

The minor members of the *dolce stil nuovo* reflect in diverse ways certain of its aspects: Dino Frescobaldi and Gianni degli Alfani followed the Cavalcantian tragic manner, and Lapo Gianni wrote highly refined *batlate*, which, reverting to the older tradition, earned the admiration of Dante (*DVE*, 1.13.4).

The identifying traits of the *dolce stil nuovo* are (1) the theme of praise that transcends the secular adoration of woman; (2) the presentation of the lady, who has both the appearance and the role of an angel (to lead the poet to spiritual salvation); (3) the concept of love as a force that may bestow either supreme happiness (beatitude: Guinizzelli, Dante, Cino) or unbearable anguish (death: Cavalcanti, Gianni degli Alfani). In short, the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo* radically changed the lyric tradition, by freeing poetry thematically from the events of daily life, by elevating it linguistically above the common parlance, and by forging a new poetic language based on those terms that were central to their new understanding of love and that infused the conventional amorous vocabulary with new life and meaning: *dolce*, *spirito*, *spirare*, *gentile*, *salute*, *virtù*, *onestà*, *mercede*, *valore*, *soave*, and so on. Although each poet has his own special language and attitudes, together they represent, with their refined lyricism, richness

of poetic techniques, acute awareness and investigation of human psychology, and profound spiritual sensitivity, a major and decisive event in the history of Italian literature.

The Comic Poets

Alongside, and in contrast to, the poetry of the *dolce stil nuovo*, numerous poets in the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth composed a large body of burlesque or realistic lyrics. Indeed, even some of the *dolce stilnovisti* wrote poetry in this vein: Guinizzelli (*Volvol te levi, vecchia rabbiosa*, "May a whirlwind lift you up, you furious old hag"), Cavalcanti (the *pastourelle* *In un boschetto*, "In a little wood"; and the sonnet *Guata, Manetto, quella scrignutuzza*, "Manetto, look at that little hunchback woman"), and Dante (his exchange of sonnets with Forese Donati). Among the so-called comic poets, Folgore da San Gimignano composed several sonnet sequences, one of which catalogs the activities, delights, and festivities of the months of the year, all of which are viewed nostalgically from the perspective of the old nobility in the bourgeois Italian communes. Folgore's idealistic view was satirized by Cenne (or Bencivenne) da la Chitarra, who wrote his own sonnet cycle systematically undercutting each of Folgore's visions.

The foundation of the Italian burlesque tradition consists of motifs common to comic poetry throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. In large part these derived from the Latin Goliardic lyrics: daily events, misogyny, the vicissitudes of fortune, poverty, and virulent or satiric attacks on individuals (based on sexual abnormalities, physical weaknesses and defects, petty jealousies, and the like).

The Florentine Rustico Filippi (died c. 1300) composed fifty-eight sonnets that are evenly divided between traditional courtly themes and the presentation of people, events, and sentiments of a decidedly more common, vulgar, and even perverse nature. Rustico uses typical rhetorical devices, such as exaggeration, parody, and irony, to underline the unsavory physical characteristics of certain individuals, as we can see in the following verses (the first six verses of a sonnet):

Ne la stia mi par esser col leone

*quando a Lutier son presso ad un migliaio,
ch'e'pute più che 'nfermo uom dipregione
o che nessun carname o che carnaio.
Li suo' cavegli farian fin buglione
e la cuffia faria ricco un oliaio.*

("It seems as though I'm in the cage with a lion when I'm a mile away from Luther, for he stinks more than a sick man in prison or more than any hunk of rotting meat or any pile of bodies. His hair would make a great broth and his cap would make an oil merchant rich.")

In another sonnet Rustico uses a mixture of common and courtly language, thinly veiled sexual allusions, and double entendres to describe an attempt by Aldobrandino's wife to exculpate herself from suspicion of adultery with Pilletto:

*Oi dolce mio marito Aldobrandino,
rimanda ormai il farso suo a Pilletto,
ch 'egli è tanto cortese fante e fino
che creder non dei ciò che te n'è detto.
E no star tra la gente a capo chino,
che non se' bozza, e fbtine disdetto;
ma sí come amorevole vicino
co.noí venne a dormir nel nostro letto.
Rimanda il farso ormai, più no il tenere,
ch'e' mai no ci verrà oltre tua voglia,
poi che n'ha conosciuto il tuo volere.
Nel nostro letto già mai non si spoglia.
Tu non dovéi gridare, anzi tacere:
ch 'a me non fece cosa ona'io mi doglia.*

("O my sweet husband Aldobrandino, send the jacket back to Pilletto, for he is such a polite and refined young man that you should not believe what you've been told. And you should not go around with your head bowed down, for you have not been cuckolded, and I swear that to you; rather, he came as a friendly neighbor to sleep in our bed. Send his jacket back to him and do not keep it any longer, for he will never come here against your wishes, since he has understood your will. In our bed he will never again undress. You should not have complained, but remained silent, for he did nothing to me for which I am sorry.")

The Sienese Cecco Angiolieri (c. 1260-c. 1312) was the most prolific poet of comic verse in this period (he wrote 112 sonnets) and is generally considered the master of the comic genre. He satirizes the courtly tradition by incorporating its images, themes, and vocabulary for parodic effects. In one sonnet Cecco describes his personal "trinity"—*la donna, La taverna, e 'l dado* (women, the tavern, and gambling). Several sonnets are in the form of a dialogue between Cecco and his beloved Becchina. In the following example we may note his easy manner, colloquial language, and distinctly "uncourtly" style:

*"Becchina mia!" "Cecco, nol ti confesso."
"Ed i' son tu'." "E cotes to disdico."
"I' sarò altru" "I non vi do un fico."
"Torto mi fai." "E tu mi manda 'l messo. "
"Sì, maccherell'." "Ell'avrà 'l capo fesso."
"Chi gliele fenderàe?" "Ciò ti dico. "
"Se' così niffa?" "Sì, contr'al nimico."
"Non tocc' a me." "Anzi, pur tu se' desso. "
"E tu t'ascondi. " "E tu va col malanno. "
"Tu non vorresti." "Perché non vorria?"
"Ché se' pietosa. " "Non di te, uguanno!"
"Se foss'un altro?" "Cavere'l d'affanno."
"Mai ti conobbi!" "Or non di' tu bugia!"
"Non me ne poss'atar!" "Abbiati 'l danno!"*

(*'Becchina mine!** 'Cecco, I'm not yours.* 'But I am yours.' 'And I deny this.' 'And I will belong to another.' 'I don't give a hoot.' 'You're doing me wrong.' 'So send the messenger to arrest me.' 'Yes, I'll send you the go-between.' 'She'll have a cracked skull.' 'Who will do it?' 'I will.' 'Are you so disagreeable?' Yes, I am, against the enemy.' 'That doesn't mean me.' 'To the contrary, you are the one.' 'You're hiding your true feelings.' 'And you can go to hell.' 'You wouldn't want that.' 'Why wouldn't I?' 'For you are merciful.' 'Not toward you, never.' 'And if I were someone else?' 'I would help that person.' 'I didn't know you well.' 'You aren't lying there!' 'I cannot help myself.' 'Too bad for you!')

Although Cecco was not the first poet to use dialogue in sonnets, he was certainly a master of this technique. Indeed, he exploits to full advantage the restricted space of the fourteen-line form by capturing the excitement and drama of the moment, the spontaneity and

immediacy of the events, and the vigorous and contrasting moods and thoughts of the speakers.

Other comic poets include the Sienese Meo dei Tolomei, the Roman Jew Immanuel, the Florentine Pieraccio Tedaldi, and Pietro dei Faintinelli, whose poems were to a large extent inspired by the political upheavals in his native city of Lucca.

In the mid-fourteenth century Antonio Pucci (d. 1388), the Florentine town crier, composed lyrics (among them no fewer than 141 sonnets) concerned with everyday events and questions of a domestic nature. He was especially interested in the craft of writing poetry (a subject to which he devoted a sonnet sequence) and with the role and position of the poet in society. In one sonnet he focuses on the plight of a rhymer who is called on to compose verses but is not fully appreciated or compensated for his efforts (*Deh, fammi una canzon, fammi un sonetto*). In another he gives advice to a daughter who has just been married; the first two quatrains set the very practical tone that pervades the entire composition:

*Figliuola Mia, po' cbe se' maritata,
convienti far ragion di rinovare
de' modi e de' costumi che suo'fare
con le fanciulle con cui se' usata.
E convienti brigar d'essere ornata
di vita virtuosa e d'onorare
il tuo marito sì che possa andare
ad occhi aperti per ogni contrata.*

("My daughter, now that you are married, you must adopt new habits and act in ways different from those that you and your girlfriends were accustomed to. And you must take pains to lead a virtuous life and to honor your husband so that you can go about in society with no shame.")

Religious Poetry

Much of the religious poetry in this period is narrative, not lyric, in form. However, there emerged in the last quarter of the thirteenth

century a large and impressive body of *laude* (hymns of praise), whose origin may be traced to the liturgical sequences (e.g., Saint Francis's *Laudes creaturarum*). Generally speaking, the *laude* followed a simplified version of the *ballata* and were composed either by individuals or by religious confraternities. The *Laudario cortonese* (so called because the manuscript, number 91, is in the Biblioteca Comunale of Cortona) is the first large collection of these poems with musical accompaniment. The Franciscan friar Jacopone da Todi (c. 1236—1306) was the most prolific writer of *laude* during this period; he composed more than ninety of them. One, *Donna de paradiso*, takes as its subject the crucifixion of Jesus and the lament of Mary. Many scholars consider this *lauda* the first religious drama in Italy. It features four interlocutors: a narrator (perhaps the apostle John), who comments on the action; Jesus; Mary; and the Hebrew people, who observe the events and function much like the chorus in Greek drama. The importance of this poem lies in its vividness; its presentation of the characters and events in a human, natural manner; and its intense depiction of Mary's grief, which is at once personal and universal. The refrain and first three stanzas provide some idea of its dramatic quality:

*"Donna de Paradiso,
lo tuo figliolo è preso
Iesù Crista beato.*

*Accurre, donna, e vide
che la gente l'allide;
credo che lo s'occide,
tanto l'ò flagellato."*

*"Com'essere porria,
che non fece follia,
Cristo, la spene mia,
om l'avesse pigliato?"*

*"Madonna, ell'è traduto:
Iuda sì l'à venduto;
trenta denar n'à avuto,
fatto n'à gran mercato. "*

(Lady of Paradise, your son has been taken, blessed Jesus Christ.

Hasten, lady, and see the people who are striking him; I think they're killing him, so harshly have they beaten him.' 'How could it be that he has been taken? He did nothing wrong, Christ, my dearest hope.' 'My lady, he has been betrayed. Judas sold him; thirty coins he got; he sold him cheaply.')

In other *laude* Jacopone laments the imperfections of this world and inveighs against the corrupt papacy of Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303).

In addition to a number of *canzoni* on moral topics, Guittone d'Arezzo wrote some very beautiful religiously inspired *ballate*. The following refrain and first stanza of one *ballata* are remarkable for their strong rhythms and fervent, almost ecstatic emotional quality, which is emphasized by the repetition of words and the internal rhymes:

*Vegna,—vegna—chi vole giocundare,
e a la danza se tegna.*

*Vegna, vegna, giocundi e gioia faccia
chi ama Te, da cui sol' onni gioia;
e chi non T'ama, Amor, non aggia faccia
di giocundare in matera de noia.*

*Degrta,—degna;—non pò che reo portare
chi Te, gioioso, disdegna.*

("Come, come, all who wish to experience joy, and join in the dance. Come, come, be joyful and rejoice all who love You, from whom alone all joy comes. And whoever does not love You, Love, may he not dare to rejoice in anything evil. All honor is Yours, all honor is Yours. Whoever scorns You, o joyous one, can only be sinful.")

The Imitators of the Dolce Stil Nuovo

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the *dolce stil nuovo* on a wide range of fourteenth-century poets in northern Italy (Veneto and Romagna: Giovanni Quirini, Guido Novello da Polenta, and Niccolò de' Rossi) and northern-central Italy (Tuscany: Fazio degli Uberti, Matteo Frescobaldi, and Sennuccio del Bene).

Without doubt the most important poet of the *Trecento* whom Dante

influenced was Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375). We see the extent of this influence in Boccaccio's original works, such as *Amorosa visione* (an allegorical dream vision modeled on the *Divine Comedy*), and in his critical works: his biography of Dante (*Trattatello in laude di Dante*) and his commentary on the *Comedy* (*Esposizioni sopra le Comedia di Dante*, treating the first seventeen cantos of the *Inferno*). Boccaccio's major literary works in narrative poetry (*Filostrato*, *Teseida*, and *Ninfale fiesolano*) and prose fiction (in Italian: *Decameron*, *Filocolo*-, in Latin: *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, *De mulieribus claris*) overshadow his lyric poetry (116 sonnets, two *sirventesi*, two madrigals, and fourteen *ballate*). In the following sonnet, Boccaccio makes classical allusions (the personification of the wind, Zephyr; Ulysses and the sack of winds, from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 14.233ff) and expresses certain stilnovistic attitudes (e.g., the attempt to move upward in contemplation of the beloved). His setting is a strikingly original topography—the littoral outside Naples, near Baia—that reflects his own experience during his formative years there from 1327 to 1340. The whole is suffused with a vibrant sensuality:

*Toccami 'l visa zefiro tal volta
più che l'usato alquanto impetuoso,
quasi se stesso allora avesse schiuso
dal cuoi' d'Ulisse, e la catena sciolta.
E poi che l'anima tutt'ha in se raccolta,
par ch'e' mi dica: "Leva il volto suso;
mira la gioia ch 'io, da Baia effuso,
ti porto in questa nuvola rinvolta. "
Io lievo gli occhi, e parmi tanto bella
veder madonna entr' a quell'aura starse,
che 'l cor vien men sol nel maravigliarse.
E, com'io veggio lei più presso farse,
lievomi per pigliarla e per tenella:
e 'l vento fugge, ed essa spare in quella.*

("Sometimes zephyr touches my face more forcefully than normal, almost as though it had released itself from the leather sack of Ulysses, and loosed the chain. And then when that breeze has completely gathered in my soul, it seems he says to me: 'Raise your glance; look at this joyful jewel that I, emanating from Baia, bring you enveloped in

this cloud.' I raise my eyes, and it seems so wonderful to see my lady being brought within that gentle breeze that my heart is about to faint from sheer wonder. And, as I see her coming closer, I rise up to take and hold her: but the wind flees, and she disappears with it.")

The Poetry of Petrarch

In his vast literary production Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304-1374) signals the end of the Middle Ages and inaugurates the Renaissance. While using many of the modes, themes, and images of the earlier lyric tradition, he also succeeded in renovating poetry and in giving it new meaning. In Petrarch's hands, poetry became an end in itself, and he carefully crafted each poem in accordance with his humanistic, classically inspired concept of art and beauty. The principal characteristics of Petrarch's poetry are (1) his fashioning of a relatively limited, often Latinate vocabulary; (2) the balance and proportion he achieves in each verse or each poem; (3) his incorporation of themes and images from classical antiquity, and (4) his intense awareness of self. Indeed, it is in his heightened concern for the individual, in his unprecedented concentration on the inner workings of the human psyche, that his uniqueness, greatness, and "modernity" may be observed. These traits describe all his Latin and Italian poetry (lyric: *Canzoniere*; narrative: *Trionfi*, *Africa*) and prose (*Secretum*, *De vita solitaria*).

The 366 poems (317 sonnets, twenty-nine *canzoni*, seven *ballate*, nine *sestinas*, and four *madrigals*) comprising the *Canzoniere* have as their principal subject the poet's love for Laura and for all that her name—suggestive of the poetic laurel crown—implies. In describing his love, Petrarch not only synthesizes earlier notions of praise, salvation, psychological turmoil, and physiological torment but also focuses on the very human qualities of this passion. The following sonnet is the first in *Canzo niere*, thereby serving as an introduction to the entire collection:

*Voi ch'ascoitate in rime sparse il suono
di quei sospiri ond'io nudriva 'l core*

*in sul mio primo giovenile errore,
quand'era in parte altr'uom da quel ch'i' sono,
del vario stile in ch'io piango e ragiono
fra le vane speranze e 'l van dolore,
ove sia chi per prova intenda amore,
spero trovar pietà, non che perdono.
Ma ben veggio or sì come al popol tutto
favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente
di me medesimo meco mi vergogno;
e del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto,
e 'l pentersi, e 'l conoscer chiaramente
che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno.*

("You who hear in scattered rhymes the sound of those sighs with which I nourished my heart during my first youthful error, when I was in part another man from what I am now: for the varied style in which I weep and speak between vain hopes and vain sorrow, where there is anyone who understands love through experience, I hope to find pity, not only pardon. But now I see well how for a long time I was the talk of the crowd, for which often I am ashamed of myself within; and of my raving, shame is the fruit, and repentance, and the clear knowledge that whatever pleases in the world is a brief dream"—trans. Robert M. Durling.)

The sonnet is addressed to past, present, and future readers: to all of us who read, are affected by, and can identify with the many and varied sounds of Petrarch's sighs, the various ways in which he weeps and speaks of his love for ephemeral things. The sonnet is confessional in tone, and through its elegant phrasing we can see into the psyche of the poet, observe his high degree of introspection and self-knowledge, and appreciate his masterly poetic art.

In their presentation of the amorous experience, many of Petrarch's lyrics describe the paradoxical state of the lover who complains of this "bittersweet" sentiment. These oxymoronic expressions, which are symptomatic of Petrarchan passion, reach a culmination in sonnet 134 of the collection, as the first quatrain and the last tercet demonstrate:

*Pace non trovo et non ho da far guerra,
e temo et spero, et ardo et son un ghiaccio,*

*et volo sopra 'l cielo et giaccio in terra,
et nulla stringo et tutto 'l mondo abbraccio.*

...

*Pascomi di dolor, piangendo rido,
egualmente mi spiace morte et vita.
In questo stato son, Donna, per vui.*

("Peace I do not find, and I have no wish to make war; and I fear and hope, and burn and am of ice; and I fly above the heavens and lie on the ground; and I grasp nothing and embrace all the world. ... I feed on pain, weeping I laugh; equally displeasing to me are death and life. In this state am I, Lady, on account of you"—trans. Robert M. Durling.)

Petrarch worked on *Canzoniere* for more than thirty years, composing, meditating, correcting, and elaborating; and in this remarkable poetic legacy he captured the lyrical quality of his desires and aspirations, expressed his internal conflict between love and reason and his simultaneous quest for earthly glory and spiritual salvation, and demonstrated his rhetorical skill in moral and political invective. Most critics agree that his most important contribution to the lyric tradition lies in his great success with the sonnet form, which today is generally—though incorrectly—known as the Petrarchan sonnet. His sonnets have been praised for their precision, compactness, graceful symmetry, vibrant musicality, noble sentiments, and intimate tone. Indeed, in the crystallization of the sonnet form and the concomitant thematic elevation and stylistic refinement in the lyrics of Petrarch we may note the origin of and motive force behind the literary current known as Petrarchism, which spread throughout Europe in the Renaissance.

Followers of Petrarch

Petrarch's contemporaries show his influence in their use of classical allusions, themes, and refined poetic diction. One of these contemporaries, Antonio Beccari da Ferrara (1315—c. 1374), wrote some eighty-five lyrics on autobiographical, political, amorous, and religious subjects. He also appears to have been the inventor of the *disperata*, a genre in which the poet laments his star-crossed condition and inveighs

against the powers that be.

The Florentine Cino Rinuccini (d. 1417) was influenced by the *dolce stil nuovo* but also modeled his small collection of twenty-five poems on Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Simone Serdini (Siena, c. 1360-1420) also wrote under this dual influence; in addition, following the lead of Antonio Beccari, Simone composed two *disperate*—*Le 'nfastidite labbra in ch'io già pose* ("My tired lips in which I once put") and *Corpi celesti e tutte l'altre stelle* ("Celestial bodies and all the other stars")—which are among his best lyrics. Other poets worthy of mention are the Paduan Francesco di Vannozzo and the Florentines Ricciardo da Battifolle and Lorenzo Moschi.

Musical Forms: The Caccia and the Madrigal

As a result of the musical innovations introduced by the *ars nova* in France and Italy, two metrical forms emerged during the *Trecento*: the *caccia* and the madrigal. The *caccia* is characterized by its attempt to represent—through its irregular meter and its use of short, staccato dialogue and onomatopoeic phrases—the dynamic activity and lively movement of the hunt (as its name implies) and, by extension, any outdoor activity associated with "hunting" (such as seeking flowers, herbs, mushrooms, and loved ones).

In one *caccia*, which may be considered typical, Niccolò Soldanieri (Florentine, d. 1385) presents the frenetic activity of a group of fox hunters who urge on their dogs in pursuit of the prey. Through its irregular meters and short monosyllabic verbal utterances this *caccia* presents a realistic scene full of movement:

*Per un boschetto fra pungenti spine,
con cani a mano e bracchi, in qua e 'n la
gimo aizzando:—Té, tetté, tetté,
—Ulivo, torna qua.
— Va su, va su, Donnà.—*

*E'n questo:—A te, a te,—gridare—a te—,
udimo—o del can nero, guarda guarda:
la fuia, ell'è la fuia! A te, ve' là.*

—*In te, in te, in te, o tu sta' in te!*

("In a wood among prickly thorns, with dogs and hounds on a leash, here and there, we egged them on: 'Over here, over here.' 'Ulivo, come back.' 'Donnà, go up, go up.' And then we heard shouts from this side: 'It's coming your way, toward you, toward you!' 'Watch out, watch out for the black dog: the fox, it's the fox! It's coming toward you, look over there.' 'It's yours, it's yours, get 'im!' ")

The madrigal is a short poem with a reasonably standard metrical form, usually two groupings of three lines each, followed by a rhyming couplet. The subject matter is generally amorous; the setting is often an idyllic scene depicted in an indistinct, hazy atmosphere; and the characters are, for the most part, peasants. In the following anonymous example, which was set to music by the renowned Giovanni da Cascia, the narrator celebrates the exceptional beauty of his lady—whose name would appear to be Anna, as the play on *Annamorarmi* suggests—as seen within the natural setting:

*Appress' un fiume chiaro
donn' e donzelle ballavan d'intorno
ad un perlato di be' fiori adorno.*

*Tra queste una ne vidi
bella leggiadra e amoroso, tanto
che 'l cor mi tolse col suo dolce canto.*

*Annamorarmi fa 'l suo viso umano,
el dolce sguardo e la pulita mano.*

("Next to a clear stream ladies and maidens were dancing around a chinaberry tree adorned with lovely flowers. Amid these I saw one who was beautiful, gracious, and so lovely that she seized my heart with her sweet song. Her lovely face, sweet glance, and graceful hand made me fall in love [with Anna].")

Other madrigals are humorous or risqué, presenting in a rustic or an urban setting scenes populated with stereotypical characters, such as the overeager young lovers and the watchful old woman (here the mother) in this poem by the Florentine Alesso di Guido Donati:

In pena vivo qui sola soletta,

*giovin richiusa dalla madre mia,
la qual mi guarda con gran gelosia.*

*Ma io le giuro alia croce di Dio
che, s'ella mi terrà qui più serrata,
ch'i' dirò:—Fa con Dio, vecchia arrabbiata—,*

*e gitterò la rocca, il fiiso e l'ago,
amor, fuggendo a te di cui m'appago.*

("In pain I live here very lonely, a young woman shut in by my mother, who guards me most jealously. But I swear to her on the cross of God that, if she keeps me locked up here any more, I will say: 'Go to hell, you irate old woman'; and I will throw away distaff, spindle, and needie; and run to you, my iove, with whom I satisfy all my desires.")

From its auspicious beginnings at the court of Frederick II through several poetic schools in the thirteenth century to its flowering in the fourteenth century, Italian lyric poetry provided a firm and rich literary foundation on which subsequent generations of poets—in Italy and throughout Europe—would build.

See also Alesso di Guido Donati; Antonio Beccari da Ferrara; Antonio, Pucci; Ars Nova; Ballata; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Bonagiunta Orbicciani degli Averardi; Caccia; Canzone; Caval-canti, Guido; Cecco Angiolieri; Cenne da la Chitarra; Chiaro Davanzati; Cielo d'Alcamo; Cino da Pistoia; Cino, Rinuc-cini; Compagnetto da Prato; Compiuta Donzella di Firenze; Dante Alighieri; Dante da Maiano; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Fazio degli Uberti; Folgore da San Gimignano; Francesco di Van-nozzo; Frescobaldi, Dino; Giacomo da Lentini; Gianni degli Alfani; Guido delle Colonne; Guido Novello da Polenta; Gu-inizzelli, Guido; Guittone d'Arezzo; Irnmanuel Romano; Italian Poetry: Comic; Italian Prosody; Jacopone da Todì; Lanfranchi da Pistoia, Paolo; Lapo Gianni; Madrigal; Maestro Francesco; Meo Abbracciavacca; Meo dei Tolomei; Monte Andrea da Firenze; Moschi, Lorenzo; Niccolo de' Rossi; Panuccio del Bagno; Petrarca, Francesco; Pier de la Vigna; Pietro dei Faitinelli; Quirini, Giovanni; Ricciardo da Battifolle; Rinaldo d'Aquino; Rustico Filippi; Sacchetti, Franco; Scuola Poetica Siciliana; Sennuccio del Bene; Serdini, Simone; Soldanieri, Niccolo; Sonnet; Tedaldi, Pierac-cio; Ten

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CHRISTOPHER KLEINHENZ

Italian Poetry: Popular

The oldest form of Italian popular poetry was probably the epic poems of the *giullari*, or troubadours. Few verifiable traces of their oral performances remain, but we may surmise that they sang the adventures of legendary heroes, celebrated the deeds of local aristocrats and the beauty of their ladies, and extolled love in the abstract. Exordiums calling on God to help the minstrel in his task were a likely feature of troubadour poetry. Other popular poems are the anonymous *serventese romagnolo* and the *canzoni* of Castra and Zerbitana, as well as among the thirteenth-century *Memoriali bolognesi*.

"Popular poetry" is difficult to categorize. In the broadest sense, any verse in the vernacular, as distinct from Latin, was "popular"—i.e., of the people. In proposing a definition, one must also take into account wide circulation or readership; Dante's *Comedy* was very "popular" in this sense. Sapegno (1933) associated "popular" with the largely illiterate population of the earliest centuries of the medieval period, and hence with strictly oral forms. As literacy increased, poetry using popular themes and forms was written down; the result is more accurately termed "semipopular." Such poetry both coexisted and contrasted with other, more readily identifiable styles: it was not of the *scuola siciliana*, not of the *dolce stil nuovo*, and not religious or moral-didactic. Popular compositions have subjects that are homely, everyday, even earthy. The register is decidedly not aulic (courtly) but colloquial; the tone may be jocular or biting. The language is normally dialectal. The content, which often parallels that of contemporary *novelle*, can be low, crude, or even scandalous, deliberately shunning the refinements in style and sentiment of the more erudite "schools." Personal or political enemies may be wickedly caricatured. The poets of the emerging bourgeoisie clearly lacked or deliberately suppressed the intellectual background of the academic or ecclesiastical writer; many were, in fact, the sons of merchants or tradesmen.

Popular compositions or elements could also appear, however, in the work of writers known primarily for "art poetry." For example, refined poets of the Sicilian school such as *Giacomo da Lentini* and Giacomino Pugliese sometimes echoed themes from the oral tradition for

humorous purposes. Guido Cavalcanti celebrated both ideal love and real love. In a famous *tenzone* with Forese Donati, Dante himself may have adopted a lower voice simply for amusement or as a poetic exercise. For this reason, it can be difficult to judge whether the sentiments expressed are autobiographical or merely those of a poetic persona.

The majority of extant realistic poetry was produced in Tuscan cities, although examples survive from Perugia, Venice, and Rome. Two sonnet cycles by Folgore da San Gimignano depict realistically, albeit with delicate touches, appropriate activities for each month of the year and for each day of the week. Other minor realistic poets were Ciaccio dell'Anguillaia, Meo dei Tolo-mei (fl. 1279-1291), and Cenne da la Chitarra (fl. 1322-1336).

The humorist par excellence was Cecco Angiolieri of Siena (c. 1260-c. 1313). The grandson of an important banker, Cecco was known for his facetious but biting comments about his cheapskate father, hateful mother, and ugly wife. He also repeatedly describes his delight in beautiful young women, drinking, and gambling.

Less well-known is the Florentine merchant's son Pieraccio Tedaldi (c. 1275-c. 1350), who wrote forty-four sonnets imitative of Cecco that describe daily life faithfully, if not skillfully. Another minor poet, Pietro dei Fattinelli, called Il Mugnone, from Lucca (1290–1349), was born to a noble family but left a short *canzoniere* that uses the realistic style—including an anti-uxorial satire. Such comic vituperation concerning women developed from an old monastic tradition of misogynist writing.

The Florentines Chiaro Davanzati (died c. 1280) and Rustico Filippi (who was born between 1230 and 1240 and died after 1291) wrote many poems in a realistic style. Rustico was the son of a silk merchant. His poems contain satire, caricature, indecent references, nonsense verse, violent personal attacks, and homely images of everyday life, and the best of them are known for their combination of rough realism with humor. Rustico is credited with creating a type of burlesque sonnet that would continue to flourish, reaching its apogee with Francesco Berni in the sixteenth century. Compagnetto da Prato left a composition regarding a *malmaritata*: a young woman laments her husband's unfounded jealousy; finally, tormented, she is driven to taking a lover;

an elderly neighbor woman discovers the affair, but the lover reassures the girl.

Domenico di Giovanni (Florence, c. 1404-1448) was called *Il Burchiello* because he mostly composed *alia burchia*, or "nonsense-like," poetry. Although other authors—such as Franco Sacchetti, a master of prose realism—had produced such poems, Burchiello perfected the style. He was the son of a poor carpenter, was himself a barber by trade, and had a dissolute lifestyle. He wrote sonnets attacking the Medici as well as his own personal enemies. Inevitably, he was imprisoned. Verses that he wrote in his cell describe his woeful condition in a humorous way. Over the centuries, many of his sonnets have lost their immediacy, but his witty word combinations and bizarre images still amuse modern readers, at least on the linguistic level.

Although these poets preferred the sonnet, they also used other popular forms, including the *serventese*, *strambotto*, *madri-gale*, and *canzone a ballo*. These compositions may have been accompanied by music or dancing in performance. For instance, the *caccia*—of which Sacchetti's mock epic *La battaglia delle belle donne* ("The Battle of Beautiful Ladies") is a fine example—stressed rapid movement in its rhythm and content, realistically describing a hunting scene or some other scene of vigorous outdoor activity.

See also Cecco Angiolieri; Cenne da la Chitarra; Chiaro, Da-vanzati; Compagnetto da Prato; Dante Alighieri; Folgore da San Gimignano; Giacomino Pugliese; Giacomo da Lentini; Italian Poetry: Comic; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Malmaritata; Meo dei Tolomei; Pietro dei Fatinelli; Rustico Filippi; Sacchetti, Franco; Serventese; Sonnet; Strambotto; Tedaldi, Pier-accio; Tenzone

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Italian Prose

The remarkable story of how, in a century and a half, a sophisticated and mature literature grew out of virtually nothing, must follow three main paths. One path is the takeover of Latin subject matter by the vernacular. The second is the growth of the literary language and tradition. The third is the creation of new forms of literature, corresponding to new ways of thinking, that resulted in the thirteenth

century from the expansion and ultimate triumph of the middle, or mercantile, class.

The thirteenth century was the era of Saint Thomas, Egidio Romano, and Pope Innocent III (Lothar of Segni, whose *De miseria humanae conditionis* has survived in more than 600 manuscripts). It was an age of university culture, scholastic discipline, a precise technical vocabulary, and a spirit fed by intellectual depth and the habit of thought; it was also a century that produced *summae* of every kind. However, large-scale projects such as Brunetto Latini's encyclopedia were written in French; the early writings in the vernacular were not ambitious, and they were modeled on pious and pedagogic Latin writings. Starting circa mid-century, they were generally anonymous, were based on precedents, and comprised a mixed bag of miracles, thoughts and deeds of historical or fictional figures from the past, Breton-style chivalric adventures, and so on. Early prose fed the public's taste for ethical and religious writings, its curiosity about historical and encyclopedic information, and its fascination with the exotic and the courtly world, which at least in Italy was coming to an end. There is little to distinguish this prose from Latin writings: indeed, many early writings are more or less loose translations from Latin or French.

The typical medieval collection of stories is atemporal. Authority and moral value are made evident by the situation described; the implicit or explicit truth matches what the reader knows about the world; the characters are paradigmatic, with no distinct personality or psychology. The style and vocabulary match the thought: such a collection is short, linear, simple, irregular in syntax and lexicon, and preoccupied very little (if at all) with style. In *Conti morali d'anonimo senese* (*Moral Tales of an Anonymous Sienese Author*), *Conti di anticbi cavalieri* (*Tales of the Ancient Knights*), *Fiori e vita di filosafi e d'altri savi e imper-adori* (*The Deeds and Life of Philosophers and of Other Wise Men and Emperors*), Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Cicero, and Socrates live next to Tristan, Aeneas, Frederick I, and Frederick II. In the old myths, new ideals exist to teach lessons of gentility, generosity, and equanimity to the rising middle class. The Latin tradition first handed over to the *volgare* the less cultured writings of myth and adventure, and we then find more ambitious projects such as *Storie de Troia e de Roma* (*History of Troy and Rome*), *Miracole de Roma* (*Wonders of Rome*), and assorted

translations from French, including *Fatti di Cesare* (*Deeds of Caesar*). These works cannot be dated with any accuracy, but none of them appeared earlier than 1240 or later than 1290. The remote and the legendary were chosen as subject matter, so that the eccentric is typical of these tales; and we can discern the pleasurable dimension of early prose by tracing the increasing presence of comic influences. The *Libro de' sette savi di Roma* (*Book of the Seven Sages of Rome*), notwithstanding its title (most of the titles listed here were supplied by editors) and notwithstanding the misogynistic origin of many of the tales, was the first such work to be built around a narrative whole (the *cornice*, or "frame") and the first to successfully integrate elements of the fabliaux—jealousy, lasciviousness, infidelity, and the like. In the recounting of the tale itself, one begins to appreciate the aesthetic value of narrative literature, which in time became more and more self-sufficient.

Commerce and politics, now open to wider sectors of society, created a need for a written language of communication. This language had to be developed from a variety of regional usages, against a background of Latin chancery prose. The written record is rich in attempts to evolve a sense of form, possibly influenced by the spoken word, that would not sacrifice simplicity and clarity. Guido Faba's *Parlamenta ed epistole*, written shortly before the mid-thirteenth century, provides models of vernacular written documents based on the Latin notion of prose rhythm (the *cursus*). Guido was the first to theorize about style in this context; his work is a university experiment, almost a learned game, but it set a precedent as an attempt to give the vernacular the communicative instruments that would make the form "convenient" for a given purpose. In early prose, there is a great interest in rhetoric, speeches, and letters—an interest that must be explained from this perspective. In that regard, perhaps no one was more important than the Florentine notary Brunetto Latini. When Guidotto da Bologna translated *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as *Fiore di rettorica*, he still believed it to have been written by Cicero, whom he calls a "knight." Brunetto's *Rettorica* is Cicero's *De inventione*, although Brunetto modernizes the references (famously, *res publica* becomes *comurte*)-, speech in this work has more than an abstract value: eloquence is a human virtue and aspiration, alongside beauty, grace, and generosity.

The translation of Cicero's orations, done between 1260 and 1270, put into practice the quest for a "new man" appropriate to the new times, and art prose was born. With the pursuit of eloquence, the first centers of vernacular culture arose, in the communes, as did an audience—the first true conquest of literary prose. Admittedly, at times Brunetto's prose is disorganized and his syntax is shaky. Nevertheless, it was from him that other writers learned how to use word placement to bring the expressive value of a sentence into focus; how to balance oppositions; how to achieve symmetry; how to use subordination, series, and combinations of thoughts to give a rounded, rhythmic effect; how to raise their tone in addressing the noblest topics; and how to convey harmonious speech. To repeat, the model was Cicero; and Brunetto initiated a vernacular "age of Cicero," the first timid step toward prehumanism.

Thereafter, the vernacular could no longer be considered inappropriate for any subject matter. From 1260 on, we see a plethora of vernacular documents and experiments of all kinds. Scientific prose is represented by Ristoro d'Arezzo's *Composi-zione del mondo* (*Composition of the World*, 1282), which is intended to entertain almost as much as to enlighten. Bono Giam boni's *Libra de' vizi e delle virtudi* (*Book of Vices and Virtues*) is an ambitious moral work that conceals its medieval Latin sources with a unitary style the author learned by translating late Latin writers. Translations from *Albertano da Brescia's* popular religious works done c. 1300 breathe a different air; under the influence of the Mendicant orders, love of family accompanies love of God, forgiveness is idealized, and there is a new tone that departs from the sublime Christian rhetoric of Innocent III. Guittone d'Arezzo experimented with a sublime vernacular prose, derived from the *trobar clus* (hermetic style) of Provencal poetry, but it had no future in a literature that had become more concerned with finding an audience. Historians and chroniclers, especially in Tuscany, were increasingly laypeople and increasingly committed to local reality; their works are lively and mundane and allow the spoken word to break into a new stylistic register. Works such as the *Cronica di Montaperti* (anonymous, 1260) introduced the eyewitness format of Marco Polo's epic autobiographical fiction and paved the way for Giovanni Villani's great fourteenth-century histories. (Marco Polo's *Il mili-one*, translated

from French c. 1310, was as much an expression of his experience of the orient as an autobiographical recounting of the marvels of the world.)

The thirteenth century produced other book-length prose works, of which *Tristano riccardiano* (possibly c. 1280), imported from France, is the most famous. We can assume that the more cultivated people would have read such a book in the original French; relatively few Italian prose romances have come down to us. *Tristano riccardiano* narrates a series of facts and actions in formulaic prose that evokes rather than represents places, acts, and symbols. The chivalric ideal is considered a paradigm of absolute values, but *Tristano*, like Marco Polo's writing and *Fatti di Cesare*, is entertainment—hedonistic and escapist. About half a century later, another anonymous author took up the Breton literary heritage with the *Tavola ritonda*; this work had, perhaps, less primitive beauty, but its broad construction, which did not conceal the author's intervention, had a very rich future in Italian literature.

The first great monument of Tuscan narrative prose that focused entirely on the pleasure of reading and recounting was *Il Novellino*. It was written between 1280 and 1300, perhaps by more than one author and certainly in more than one redaction. The *belparlare*, or eloquence, of its heroes is the only structural element binding the work together. Thus the work had a remarkably elastic format allowing for simple syntax based on the ideal of *brevitas* and intended to mimic the spoken word. The *Novellino* is neither realistic nor paradigmatic; the justification for its existence is the uniqueness of the experiences recounted. Having left behind the absolute value of the *exemplum*, the author or authors discovered that beauty is itself an intellectual value in which the reader can find a model for intelligence, wit, and courtesy. The *Novellino* combines elements from the Provencal tradition, from medieval Latin collections, and from stories about Frederick II and about legendary figures like Prester John. It seeks to impose only artistic—not moral—unity on this variety of tones. At this point, we can reasonably say that the novella has been born. With Boccaccio, the form would become almost synonymous with Italian prose.

Dante towers over all Italian literature, including prose. Tuscan became "Italian" mainly because of his popularity and influence. Dante's *Vita nuova* is an early fictionalized account of the poet's formation, bound together by the prose. The prose explains the meaning

and reveals the sense of the story. Here Dante develops a new lyrical style based on French melodic prose, on *stilnovo* poetic images and motifs, and on biblical language and effects; the sculpted sentences are filled with tension and drama; personal experience has become a subject of literary enquiry. Memory itself is art, and Dante's ethical-religious questions are given dimension and shape within a literary culture. Dante's *Convivio* can be seen as an attempt to bridge a gap between the university culture of Thomas Aquinas and the lay reader of the vernacular; it is a bold attempt to create a "scientific" or "high" style based on a broad syntactic structure and on technical Latin vocabulary smoothly transposed into Florentine, and appealing to the readers' enthusiasm for knowledge and self-knowledge. In this regard, what is of most interest to us is the quest for a language—neither popular nor sublime—appropriate to the "new" subject matter. Dante's work, in which he applies the eloquent rhetoric of persuasion, demonstrates that there is an appropriate vernacular prose for every field of human knowledge.

Much of the most remarkable prose of the fourteenth century has to do with religion. Domenico Cavaica (fl. 1320-1324) offered a style that was plain, persuasive, and popular, the fruit of much thought on stylistic matters. A few years later, Jacopo Passavanti, who was aware of the need for a popular language, presented human destiny as a dramatic, exemplary struggle against sin and perdition. This was the foundation for the great preachers Giordano da Pisa and, later, Bernardino da Siena. A special place must be reserved for the *Fioretti di San Francesco* (*The Little Flowers of Saint Francis*). This presentation of the idyllic peace of Franciscan spirituality is mannered and subtle and has a fable-like dimension that is actually quite far from the Franciscans' message, but it nevertheless clearly uses the "popular elementary" style to captivate its audience.

Three fourteenth-century historical books are remarkable. Dino Compagni's *Cronica delle cose occorrenti nei tempi suoi*, written between 1310 and 1312, is not an exemplary history; it has no absolute dimension and no mythical origins. Rather, it is based on observation and on the author's unabashedly partisan views and moral suasion. Detailed, personal, dramatic, concretely descriptive, it sets a new tone; the author uses ever more vivid and descriptive language to capture his

passionate experience of the world. With this work, Tuscan historiography moved to the forefront of Italian prose. Compagni's approach seems far from that of Giovanni Villani (1280-1348). Villani, who was a jurist and merchant, offers apparent objectivity and equanimity; and his *Cronica* is written in an easy, plain, popular style that accords with the documentary evidence and the author's observations but can nevertheless rise above the monotony of day-to-day accounts. Offering, famously, the first biographical information on Dante, Villani is a confident "Italian" writer, aware of the place of letters in the world and of a tradition that would not and could not die.

A curious document known as the *Cronica* of the Anonimo Romano, written before 1358 in a difficult Roman dialect, contains an early life of Cola di Rienzo, for which it is famous. The author is impartial and distant from the events he recounts, but he lets the reader participate in the excitement of Cola's rise and ultimate fall. This is a brilliant narrative, replete with gesture, expression, and rapid, plastic description. The terse, dense, cumulative syntax has no equivalent in the fourteenth century and seems to be a product of the author's own personality. The presentation of Cola (ch. 18) is one of the great passages in Italian literature.

The fourteenth century was a time of increasing knowledge and understanding of classical authors. This is perhaps most evident in translations: Bartolomeo da San Concordio's Sallust (before 1313), the anonymous Valerius Maximus, and especially Livy; Petrarch himself corrected the text used, probably by Boccaccio, for the translations of the third and fourth decades. Italian prose was to fulfill its destiny with Boccaccio, who was strongly influenced by classical learning (especially by Ovid) and experimented constantly with literature. Even in his early works—*Filocolo* (1336-1338) and *Elegia di madonna Fiammetta* (1343-c. 1344)—Boccaccio stands apart. He combines sources in new ways and offers adventure, autobiography, naturalism, and wordplay, putting the experience of love at the center of his inquiry into the human heart and mind. His ultimate objective is to have the narration match the infinite and complex variety of reality in a natural way. Our analysis, then, ends with his *Decameron*, in which that objective was reached and a literary tradition was formed. Boccaccio's inheritance, Ciceronian Italian prose, became part of the literary canon as type of formalism

that was increasingly self-referential and detached from a world it no longer needed; meanwhile, the Florentine vernacular had grown into a European tradition.

See also Albertanus of Brescia; Bartolomeo da San Concordio; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Bono Giamboni; Brunetto Latini; Ca-valca, Domenico; Chronicles; Cicero; Cola di Rienzo; Com-pagni, Dino; Dante Alighieri; Guido Faba; Guidotto da Bologna; Guittone d'Arezzo; Historiography; Humanism and Protohumanism; Innocent III, Pope; Livy; Novellino, II; Passavanti, Jacopo; Polo, Marco; Ristoro d'Arezzo; Tristan; Villani, Giovanni; Volgarizzamenti

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Italian Prosody

Versification in the Italian vernacular began in the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth, the earliest examples being the *Ritmo laurenziano*, the *Ritmo di Sant'Alessio*, the *Ritmo cassinese*, and the famous canticle of Saint Francis of Assisi (*Cantico delle creature* or *Laud.es creaturarum*). In all these we recognize an attempt to write poetry according to certain metrical principles, but these poems do not, generally speaking, reflect strict adherence to rules of rhyme and rhythm, for their metrical structure lacks uniformity. Not until the lyrics of the Sicilian school do we see the rules of prosody being applied in a regular manner, and in the products of these practitioners of the poetic art we see the beginnings of the Italian literary tradition.



Dante, *De la volgare eloquentia*. Vicenza, T. Ianiculo, 1529. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

The written rules of versification and prosody appear around the turn of the fourteenth century, and the first and most important author to leave us his thoughts on the subject is Dante Alighieri. In his incomplete work *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante has two major goals: first, he seeks to identify which dialect would best serve as a sort of "national" literary language for Italy; second, once the characteristics of this language are determined, he considers how it should be used in poetry. This language would be, according to Dante, *illustre, cardinale, aulicum, et curiale*—"illustrious, cardinal, courtly, and curial" (*De*

vulgari eloquentia, 1.17.1)—and it would be the proper medium for refined lyric poetry written on the three subjects worthy of treatment in the high or "tragic" style: *salus*, prowess in arms; *venus*, love; and *virtus*, virtue (2.2.7). On the basis of the poets whom Dante cites in his treatise, we may observe the rich variety—in form and content—that characterized the first century of Italian literature. Other early metrical treatises and their authors are Francesco da Barberino (*Documenti d'amore*), Antonio da Tempo (*Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis*), and Gidino da Sommacampagna (*Trattato de li rithimi volgari*).

Early Italian poetry imitated the themes and forms of the earlier Occitan and Old French traditions, and medieval Latin rhythmical verse exerted a strong formal influence on all the nascent vernacular lyrics, Italian metrics are based both on the number of syllables and on the position of the major accent in the verse; and of these two, the placement of the major stress is the factor defining the various meters. The hendecasyllable (*endecasillabo*) is, by all standards, the most excellent of meters; it is determined not by the number of syllables in the line, which would normally be eleven, but by the occurrence of the major stress (') on the tenth syllable and the secondary stress (') on either the fourth syllable (*endecasillabo a minore*) or the sixth (*endecasillabo a maggiore*). Thus, a "normal" hendecasyllable (*endecasillabo piano*) would follow this model (Dante, *Inferno*, 1.1):

Nel mez-zo del cam-mín di no-stra vi-ta
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Given that the position of the accent determines the nomenclature, a hendecasyllable could have as few as ten syllables (*ende casillabo tronco*), as in the following example (*Inferno*, 4.60):

E con Ra-ché-le per cui tan-to fè
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Or it could have as many as twelve or even (very rarely) thirteen syllables (*endecasillabo sdrucchiolo* or *bisdrucchiolo*), depending on the position of the primary stress in the line (as in *Inferno*, 15.1):

O-ra cen pór-ta l'un de' du-ri màr-gi-ni

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Sometimes, for metrical reasons, contiguous vowels must be elided in order to form a single syllable; thus, in order to have the verses scan, poets and readers alike must employ synaloepha if the vowels are elided between words, as in this example (*Inferno*, 5.91):

Se fos-sé a-mí-cô il ré de l'u-ni-vèr-so

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Or they must employ syneresis if the vowels are elided within a single word, as in this example (*nferno*, 7.112):

Que-sti si per-co-teán non pur con mà-no

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

In some instances contiguous vowels must be pronounced separately as individual syllables. Thus in order to have the verses scan, poets and readers must employ dialoepha if the vowels occur between words, as in this example (Dante, *Purgatorio*, 8.15):

Che fe-ce mé | a mé | u-scir di mèn-te

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Or they must employ diaeresis if the vowels occur within a single word; such vowels are marked with an umlaut. The following example is from *Inferno* (5.63):

Poi è Cle-o-pa-trás lus-su-ĩ -ò-sa

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Most scholars trace the origin of the hendecasyllable to the Old French and Occitan decasyllable. The *endecasillabo* consists of two hemistichs of uneven length: one part is a septenary (*ettenario*, determined by the major stress on the sixth syllable) and the other is a

quinary (*quinario*, determined by the major stress on the fourth syllable). The manner of division in the verse has also given rise to a distinction between an *endecasillabo a maggiore*, where the septenary precedes; and an *endecasillabo a minore*, when the *quinario* comes first in the line. Here is an example of an *endecasillabo a maggiore* (*Inferno*, 1.17):

Ve-sti-to già dei rág-gi del pia-nè-ta
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

And following is an example of an *endecasillabo a minore* (*Inferno*, 1.2)

Mi ri-tro-vái per u-na sel-vá o-scù-ra
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

The septenary (*settenario*) is the second most popular meter among thirteenth- and fourteenth-century poets. The first line in Giacomo da Lentini's *canzonetta Meravigliosamente* is in itself a *settenario*:

Me-ra-vi-glio-sa-mèn-te
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Dante indicates in *De vulgari eloquentia* that early poets preferred verses with an odd number of syllables. Consequently, we find examples of verses with nine syllables (*novenario*, determined by the major stress on the eighth syllable), five syllables (*quinario*), and three syllables (*trisillabo*, accent on the second syllable). The following *novenario* is from the *Frammento Papa-fava* (verse 73):

Que-sta fo bo-na çì-lo-sì-a
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

The *quinario* below is from Giacomino Pugliese, *Morte perché m'hai fatta s'gran guerra* (7):

E dai cor-dò-glio

1 2 3 4 5

Generally, the *trisillabo* is found only as an internal rhyme— i.e., as a component of a longer verse—as in Guido Cavalcanti's *canzone Donna me prega* (11–12, *l'es-sén-za*):

E qual sia sua ver-tú-dē e sua po-tèn-za

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

l'es-sén-za—poi e cia-scún suo mo-vi-mèn-to

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

One example of a *trisillabo* used as a separate verse is found in Giacomino Pugliese's *contrasto Donna, di voi mi lamento* (62-63), where it functions as a sort of refrain (*amóre*):

On-d'eo di voi son sal-và-gio

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

a-mò-re

1 2 3

Verses with an even number of syllables are less common. Dante notes in *De vulgari eloquentia* (2.5.7), concerning contemporary practice, that "because of their crudity, we have used only rarely lines with an even number of syllables." The most favored parisyllabic verses are the octosyllables (*ottonari*, determined by the major stress on the seventh syllable); and these are the mainstay in more popularly inspired poetry—for example, the following *contrasto* by Giacomino Pugliese:

Don-na di voi mi la-mèn-to

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

There are also a few examples of other meters: the *senario* (six-

syllable line, major stress on the fifth) and the *quadrisillabo* (four-syllable line, accent on the third). The following example is from an anonymous poem of the Sicilian school (1-3); verses 1 and 2 are *quadrisillabi*, and verse 3 is a *senario*:

Ro-sa au-lèn-te

1 2 3 4

spren-di-èn-te

1 2 3 4

tu sei la mia vì-ta

1 2 3 4 5 6

In some early narrative poems the basic meters are the alexandrine and the decasyllable. The alexandrine consists of double septenaries (*doppi settenari*), with the two major accents on the sixth and thirteenth syllables, as in this example (Uguccione da Lodi, *Libro*, 132):

ça-mai no fo la çèn-te / sì fal-sa ní sper-çù-ra

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

In the decasyllable (*decasillabo*) the major stress is on the ninth syllable, as in this example (Gerardo Pateg, *Enoio*, 1):

No-io-so sun, e can-to di nò-io

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

The earliest examples of poetry in Italian are the *ritmi*, rhymed "rhythmical" compositions that do not have a set metrical or strophic scheme. For example, the *Ritmo laurenziano* is a poem of forty verses arranged in three monorhymed strophes of unequal length (10, 14, and 16 verses each) in a mixture of eight-syllable and nine-syllable lines. The *Ritmo cassinese* has 96 verses, which divide into twelve strophes; each stanza is based on two rhymes: a varying number of shorter

monorhymed verses (usually *ottonari*) and a concluding couplet (sometimes three verses) of longer monorhymed verses (generally *endecasillabi*). Following the same pattern, the *Ritmo di Sant'Alessio* (257 lines) is divided into strophes of unequal length; each stanza has a certain number of shorter monorhymed verses (*settenari*, *novenari*) and generally a concluding rhymed hendecasyllabic couplet.

Although most medieval Italian poetry is rhymed, there are occasional examples of assonance and consonance. For example, Saint Francis's *Cantico delle creature* consists of 33 rhymed or assonanced verses of varying lengths, as these initial lines demonstrate:

Al-tis-si-mu, on-ni-po-ten-te, bon Si-gnò-re
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

tue so' le lau-de, la glo-riâ e l'ho-no-rê et on-ne be-ne-dic-tio-ne
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

The very long verses are held together by assonance (-òre/òne) and an uncommon case of internal rhyme (-òre/òre), thus achieving a solemnity and an incantatory quality suitable to the subject—praise of the creator by, through, and for his creatures.

In the Italian language, rhymes are exact; and in order to rhyme, words must be identical from the major stress to the end of the word. Designations of rhymes and their meters follow the terminology given to individual words depending on whether the stress is on the penultimate syllable (a *parola plana*-, *amòre/dolòre*), on the antepenultimate (a *parola sdruc-ciola*-, *càn-tano/piàntano*), or on the final syllable (a *parola tronca*: *complì/ sentì*). Thus, an *endecasillabo piano* would conclude with a *parola plana*, an *endecasillabo sdruc-ciolo* with a *parola sdruc-ciola*, and an *endecasillabo tronco* with a *parola tronca*; and these verses would have, respectively, eleven, twelve, and ten syllables.

Sometimes "eye rhymes" (*rime all'occhio*) are used: words that are apparently identical but are actually not, because of a difference in accent: e.g., *palmilalmilsalmi* (*Inferno*, 31.65, 67, 69). Composite rhymes (*rime composte*) are occasionally found in early lyrics: e.g., *oncia! sconcia! non ci ha* (*Inferno*, 30.83, 85, 87). Numerous examples may be

found in the poetry of Guittone d'Arezzo: *forzolfor zo* and *magnolmagn'ho* (in *Tuttur, s'eo veglio o dormo*, 21-22, 33–34).

Other sorts of rhymes and rhyming techniques are present in early Italian poetry. In equivocal rhyme (*traductio*) the word is the same, while the meaning changes: e.g., *passo* ("step") / *passo* ("I pass"). In derivative rhyme (*replicatio*) the words have the same etymon: e.g., *partel diparte* and *facel sface*. In rich rhyme (*rima ricca, cara*) unusual word forms are used instead of their more common ones: e.g., *abbo* (i.e., *ho*)/*gabbo*.

An orthographical phenomenon known as *rima siciliana* ("Sicilian rhyme") has been identified in a number of early Italian lyrics. This designation refers to words such as *dire* and *tacere* and *tutto* and *motto* that, because of the identity of the vowels *e* and *i* and *o* and *u* (except for open *e* and *o* in a tonic syllable), are true rhymes in Sicilian dialect—*diri/taciri* and *tuttulmuttu*—but not in the Tuscan dialect. In the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth, Tuscan scribes who were copying the lyrics of the Sicilian poets into codices followed their own orthographical conventions and "tuscanized" the texts, thus giving rise to "Sicilian" rhymes such as *ride* ("laughs" or "smiles")/*vede* ("sees"), Sicilian *ridil vidi*;, and *ascoso* ("hidden")/ *incluso* ("included"), Sicilian *ascusulinclusu*.

Lyric and narrative poetry integrate all the disparate elements noted above into a poetic whole, a unified metrical structure with particular verse forms and rules. Dante considered the *canzone* (ode) the most elegant, most artistically perfect, and most suitable poetic form for the three noble subjects—prowess in arms, love, and virtue. The *canzone* developed in Italy under the direct influence of the Occitan *canso*, the Old French *chanson*, and the German minnesong. The following stanza from Cino da Pistoia's /' *no spero che mai per mia salute* will serve as the basis for discussing the strophic structure of the *canzone*. The *fronte* consists of the first and second *piedi* ("feet"); the *sirma* consists of the first and second *volte* ("turns").

Fronte

First *pie*de:

I' *no spero che mai per mia salute*

*si faccia, per vertute—di sofferenza
o d'altra cosa,
questa sdegnosa—di Pietate arnica;*

Second *piede*:

*pot non s'è mossa da ch'ell'ha vedute
le lagrime venute—per potenza
de la gravosa
pena che posa—nel cor che fatica.*

Sirma

First *volta*:

*Però trovando pianger la mia mente,
i' vo dolente—cosituttavia,
com 'uomo che non sente
né sa dove si sia
da compare altro che in parte ria.*

Second *volta*:

*Non so chi ai ciò faccia canoscente
più l'altra gente—che la vista mia,
che mostra apertamente
come l'alma desia,
per non vedere il cor, partirsi via.*

The rhyme scheme of the eighteen-verse strophe is:

A(a)Bc₅(c₅)D/A(a)Bc₅(c₅)D//E (e₅)FefF/E(e₅)FefF

In indicating rhyme scheme, capital letters are used for hendecasyllables and lowercase letters for septenaries; all other meters are identified with lowercase letters plus a subscript number (e.g., in this poem C₅ indicates a *quinario*). Thus, this strophe consists of hendecasyllables, septenaries, and *quinari*, with both *settenari* and *quinari* as internal rhymes (designated by parentheses). The basic division of virtually all *canzone* strophes is bipartite, into *fronte* and *sirma*. In this example the *fronte* divides into two identical *pedi* (feet) of four verses each—A(a)Bc₅(c₅)D—and the *sirma* into two identical

volte (turns) of five verses each— E(e₅)FeflF, although more often than not the *sirma* is undivided. The passage from *fronte* to *sirma* also marks the change from one musical pattern to another, and this moment of transition is called the *diesis*, a term which refers both to the changeover and, often, to the first verse in the *sirma* that introduces this new harmony.

A *canzone* usually has between five and seven strophes, all following the same rhyme scheme. Not uncommon, however, is the *cobbola* (from *cobla*, Occitan "stanza"), an isolated stanza of a *canzone*, which stands thematically and metrically on its own, following the Occitanic tradition of *coblas esparsas* ("scattered strophes").

Sometimes, also following the Occitanic models, a *canzone* will conclude with an envoi (*congedo*, *commiato*, *tornado*), which is metrically identical to the *sirma* (or a part of it). Here the poet addresses the poetic composition and gives it specific advice or instructions (where it should go, with whom it should speak, what it should say, etc.). For example, Guido Cavalcanti's *canzone Donna me prega* has this envoi, which follows the rhyme scheme of the last five verses of the *sirma* including the internal rhymes:

*Tu puoi sicuramente gir, canzone,
la 've ti piace, ch'io t'ho sì adornata
ch'assai laudata—sarà tua ragione
da le persone—c'hanno intendimento:
di star con l'altre tu non hai talento.*

In imitation of the troubadour Arnaut Daniel, Dante introduced into Italian literature a particular type of *canzone*, the *sestina*. The *sestina* is also known by the descriptive phrase *retro-gradatio cruciata*, which refers to how the rhymes "cross over" first from the end and then from the beginning of the stanza. A *sestina* has six stanzas of six verses each plus a three-line *congedo*. It is a technical tour de force: the same six rhyme words are used throughout the poem, and the rhyme scheme follows a rigid permutation whereby at the end of the six stanzas, the pattern is ready to repeat itself. Unlike a "normal" *canzone*, the *sestina* has no division within the stanza between *fronte* and *sirma*. Dante's *sestina*, *Al poco giorno e al gran cerchio d'ombra* will serve to demonstrate the intricate set of changes the rhymes follow over the

course of the composition. The six rhymes—A = ombra; B = colli; C = erba; D = verde; E = petra; F = donna—are ordered according to the pattern shown in the table. The *congedo* of the *sestina* uses all six rhymes, two per verse, but not necessarily according to any strict pattern. Petrarch invented the "double" *sestina* (e.g., *Mia benigna fortuna e 7 viver lieto*, *Canzoniere* 332), in which the permutations run through twelve six-line stanzas, instead of six, plus a three-verse *congedo*. *Al poco giorno e al gran cerchio d'ombra* (Dante)

Stanza 1	Stanza 2	Stanza 3	Stanza 4	Stanza 5	Stanza 6
1 A	6 F	3 C	5 E	4 D	2 B
2 B	1 A	6 F	3 C	5 E	4 D
3 C	5 E	4 D	2 B	1 A	6 F
4 D	2 B	1 A	6 F	3 C	5 E
5 E	4 D	2 B	1 A	6 F	3 C
6 F	3 C	5 E	4 D	2 B	1 A

The distinctly Italian *ballata* (also called *canzone a ballo*) originated in the mid-thirteenth century. As its name suggests, it was intended as a song to accompany a dance. Because of this poetic "impurity," Dante classified it below the *canzone* in the hierarchy of poetic forms, but above the sonnet, which he apparently considered too brief to be a serious form. The metrical form of the *ballata* follows that of the *canzone* with two important exceptions: (1) every *ballata* begins with a refrain (*ripresa*, *ritornello*), which in actual performance would be repeated after each stanza; and (2) a link through rhyme always exists between the refrain and each stanza, by virtue of the repetition of one or more rhymes of the *ripresa* at the end of each stanza. The following *ballata* by Lapo Gianni will serve as an example of the form.

Refrain:

*Net. vostro viso angelico amoroso
 vidi i belli occhi e la luce brunetta,
 che 'nvece di saetta
 mise pe' miei lo spirito vezzoso.*

Stanza

First *piede*:

*Tanto venne in su' abito gentile
quel novo spiritel ne la mia mente,
che 'l cor s'allegra de la sua veduta;*

Second *piede*:

*dispuose giù l'aspetto signorile,
parlando a'sensi tanto umilmente,
ch'ogni mio spirit' allora 'l saluta.*

Sirma (undivided):

*Or hanno le mie membra canosciuta
di quel signor la sua grande dolcezza,
e 'l cor con allegrezza
l'abbraccia, poi che 'l fece virtuoso.*

The rhyme scheme of this refrain is XYyX, and that of the stanza is ABC/ABC//CDdX. In this case rhyme X (-oso) is the link between refrain and strophe and provides the metrical and musical transition to the refrain that would then be repeated. *Ballate* are of several kinds, and their names are determined by the number of verses in the *ripresa*: a four-verse refrain indicates a *ballata grande* (the example given above); a three-verse refrain is a *ballata mezzana*-, a two-verse refrain is a *ballata minore*; a one-verse refrain is a *ballata piccola* (a one-verse refrain with a meter shorter than an *endecasillabo* is called a *ballata minima*); a refrain with more than four verses makes the poem a *ballata stravagante*.

The *lauda* (hymn) follows the basic metrical structure of the *ballata*, as this example from Jacopone da Todi demonstrates

Refrain:

*"Donna de Paradiso,
lo tuo figliolo è preso
lesù Cristo beato.*

First stanza:

*Accurre, donna e vide
che la gente l'allide;
credo che lo s'occide,
tanto l'd flagellato."*

Second stanza;

*"Como essere porria,
che non fece follia,
Cristo, la spene mia,
om l'avesse pigliato?"*

As is dear, the refrain has the metrical structure yyx (note the Sicilian rhyme *Paradisolpreso*) and each four-line stanza has three monorhymed verses aaa plus the repetition of the x rhyme, thus giving aaax bbbx, etc. The refrain would, of course, be repeated after each stanza.

The sonnet was probably invented by Giacomo da Lentini, a notary attached to the imperial court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen in Sicily. Various attempts have been made to trace the origin of this fourteen-line composition: it may have resulted from a fusion of two *strambotti* (eight-line popular poems in *endecasillabi* in alternating rhyme), with the second *strambotto* shortened to six verses); it may represent an attempt to achieve mathematical perfection in terms of Pythagorean harmonies; it may have resulted from imitation of the *canzone* strophe; or it may simply have been a felicitous thought of Giacomo s. However it originated, its basic fourteen-line form was fixed from the beginning as a bipartite composition consisting of an octave in alternating rhyme ABABABAB and a sestet in a variety of schemes (CDCDCD and CDECDE are the most common), all *endecasillabi*. Later in the thirteenth century a new form was invented for the octave—ABBAABBA—and this became the preferred pattern. Numerous rhyme schemes were devised for the sestet: CDEEDC, CDCCDC, CDEDCE, and so on. What emerges is a sense of versatility and flexibility within the artificial restrictions of a fourteen-line composition. Indeed, this short metrical form provided a sort of proving ground for poets, who were eager to test their poetic abilities within its limits.

Early on, the sonnet became the vehicle for poetic correspondence in

tenzoni, in which one poet would write a sonnet on a particular topic (generally on love, but sometimes on moral issues) and send it to another, requesting the addressee's views on the subject. The addressee would then respond, generally *per le rime*, i.e., using the same rhymes and rhyme scheme as those in the original sonnet. In addition to this epistolary use, the sonnet also became the basic strophic unit in sonnet cycles (known as *corone di sonetti*), which were composed on such subjects as the days of the week and the months of the year (e.g., cycles by Folgòre da San Gimignano) and in longer narratives (e.g., *Il Fiore*, attributed to Dante, presents a greatly abbreviated version of the Old French *Roman de la Rose* in 232 sonnets).

In the hundred years or so of its existence the sonnet underwent a number of formal transformations in the hands of adventurous poets who expanded the seemingly rigid fourteen-line structure in various ways. For example, *sonetti caudati* ("tailed" sonnets) have additional verses (one, two, or three) tacked on at the end: e.g., ABBA ABBA CDC DCD D or ABBA ABBA CDC DCD EE. The *sonetto doppio* ("double sonnet"), invented by Puccianzone Martelli (*Signorsensapietansa, udit'ho dire*), consists of twenty verses with *settanari* added after verses 1, 3, 5, and 7 of the octave and after verses 10 and 12 of the sestet: e.g., AaBAaB AaBAaB CDdE CdDE. The *sonetto doppio caudato* ("double tailed" sonnet) follows the form of the *sonetto doppio* with the addition of extra verses forming the "tail": e.g., AaBBbA AaBBbA CdDD DdDC EE. Guittone d'Arezzo invented the *sonetto rinterzato* (e.g., *O benigna, o do Ice, o graziosa*), which is very similar to the *sonetto doppio*, except that its twenty-two verses have an additional two *settanari* in the sestet: e.g., AaBAaB AaBAaB CcDdC DdCcD (thus giving greater emphasis to a rhyme by repeating it in the *terzine*, the sestet). Finally, the *sonetto raddoppiato* ("redoubled" sonnet), true to its name, has twenty-eight verses, twice the number of the "normal" sonnet: e.g., ABAB ABAB ABAB ABAB CDE CDE FGH FGH (or CDCDCD EFEFEF). Another variation on the basic sonnet form—invented by Guittone d'Arezzo but brought to perfection by the Florentine rhymer Monte Andrea—is the sixteen-verse sonnet, with a ten-line first part: e.g., ABABABABAB CDCDCD.

The origin of the *strambotto* was probably popular. Two varieties are most common: the *strambotto siciliano* (ABABABAB) and the

strambotto toscano (ABABABCC), all hendecasyllables (the latter is virtually identical to the *ottavd*). A related form, the *rispetto*, generally has six verses in the pattern ABABCC or ABABAB, but there are also eight-verse examples: ABABCCDD.

The *discordo* came into existence early in the thirteenth century (no later examples survive), perhaps in imitation of the Occitan *descort*. As its name suggests, this metrical form attempts to convey the "discordant" or "discombobulated" state of the poet because of love through a series of radically different strophes of varying lengths and diverse meters and rhymes. For example, four strophes in the *discordo Donna, per vostro amore* by Giacomino Pugliese read as follows:

*Rosa fresca,—già non ti 'ncresca
s'io canto ed ispello;
a tutt'ore—per vostro amore
eo sono novello;
mentre vivo—a voi cattivo
non sono rubello.*

*La feruta non muta de' sguardi;
ancora gli mi mandate tardi,
passano balestri turchi e sardi;
sim'anno feruto i vostri sguardi.*

*Tutto 'ncendo—pur vegendo;
fina donna, a voi m 'arendo.*

*Rendomi in vostra balia,
voi siete la donna mia,
fontana di cortesia,
per cui tutta gioi si 'nvia.*

The unusual meters {*quadrisillabi, senari, novenari, aecasillabi, ottonari*) and rhyme schemes—(a₄)a₉b₆(c₄)c₉ b₆(d₄)d₉b₆// e₁₀e₁₀e₁₀e₁₀// (f₄)f₈f₈//g₈g₈g₈g₈—of these stanzas, together with the internal rhymes, all contribute to the unevenness, conflict, and disharmony of both form and content. This dynamic union indicates the virtuosity attained by the Sicilian poets in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The fourteenth century witnessed the birth and development of other lyrical forms, including the madrigal, *caccia*, and *frottola*. The madrigal,

modeled on the strophe of the *ballata*, usually consists of two three-line *piedi* based on three or four rhymes and a final rhymed couplet (or two), all in hendecasyllabic meter. The first madrigal in Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (52) will provide an example of the form:

*Non al suo amante più Dīana piacque,
quando per tal ventura tutta ignuda
la vide in mezzo de le gelide acque,*

*ch'a me la pastorella alpestra et cruda
posta a bagnar un leggiadretto velo,
ch'a l'aura il vago e biondo capel chiuda,*

*tal che mi fece, or quand'egli arde 'l cielo,
tutto tremar d'un amoroso gielo.*

The rhyme scheme begins as *terza rima* and concludes with a rhymed couplet: ABA BCB CC. Other possible rhyme schemes include the following: ABC ABC DD; ABA BCB DD; ABB ACC DD; ABB CDD EE; ABB ACC CDD; ABA CBC DE DE; ABB CDD EE FF; ABB CDD EFF GG.

The *caccia*, which has no regular rhythmic or strophic structure, attempts to depict through the sounds of words and the irregular meter a frenetic, dynamic scene, such as a hunt (as the name *caccia* implies). In the following *caccia* we may observe how the poet, Franco Sacchetti, is able to capture the movement and excited quality that accompanies a trip to the woods to gather flowers:

*Passando con pensier per un boschetto,
donne per quello givan, fior cogliendo,
"To' quel, to' quel" dicendo,
"Eccolo, eccolo!"
"Che è? Che è?"
"È fior alliso."
"Va' la per le viole. "
"Omè, che 'l prun mi punge!"
"Quell'altra me' v'aggiunge."
"Uh, uh! O che è quel che salta?"
"È un grillo."
"Venite qua, correte:*

Raperonzol' cogliete."

"E' non son essi"

"Sì, sono."

The uneven rhyme scheme, consisting of *endecasillabi*, *settenari*, *quinari*, and *trisillabi* (ABbc₅d₅e₅fgghi₃jjk₅l₃), is accentuated by the rapid bits of conversation.

The *frottola*, as its name suggests, is a sort of grouping together of various ideas and motives (often strange) expressed in verses of varying length that are linked in groups of threes by end rhyme and internal rhyme. The initial verses of the *frottola giullaresca* by Antonio da Ferrara are as follows:

*Già fo chi disse,
per queilo ch'io sentisse,
e anche scrisse—de quelb cb 'io diro,
e sì no me vergognarò,
ché 'l no è pur mò—de prima,
cb'el se diga per rima
de chi sta in cima—e de che trabucca,
ben che l'un sepelucca
e mettelise in zucca—el calavrone,
l'altro è Salamone,
Ettor e Sansone....*

The rhyme scheme is a₅a(a₅)Bb₉(b₅)cc(c₅)Dd(d)Eee₆, and the poem thus continues for 176 verses. Another variety is the *frot-tola letteraria*, which has regular four-line stanzas with short verses (*quinari*, *senari*, and *settenari*) in which the first three are monorhymed and the fourth is constant throughout the poem: aaax bbbx cccx. In *Del mondo ho cercato*, Manoello Romano applies this rhyme scheme using *senari*:

*Del mondo ho cercato
per lungo e per lato
un caro mercato
per terra e per mare.*

*Vedut'ho Sorìa
infin Erminia
e di Romania*

gran parte, mi pare.

The *serventese* (*sirventese*) derives in part from the troubadour *sirventes*, whose subject matter was primarily political, religious, or moral. In the Italian tradition it is generally a narrative form devoted to civic, historical, and didactic themes. The stanzas are short, and the last rhyme of each strophe provides the transition to the next, thus "serving" (*servendo*) the next stanza with one of its own rhymes (*servendo is one explanation for the name serventese*). The following example by Antonio Pucci presents a four-line strophe consisting of three *endecasillabi* with a concluding *qmdrisillabo* (AAAb₄ BBBC₄ etc.) for a total of 180 verses:

*At nome di Colui ch'è sommo bene,
lamento pien di tormento e di pene,
piangendo va' di me, due a d'Atene,
sventurato;*

*che 'n giovinetta età fu' addolorato,
quando a mio padre fu 'l capo tagliato
da la compagna, ond'io son sempre stato
con tormento.*

The basic unit of narrative poetry is the *ottava* (*ottava rima*), which consists of eight lines of hendecasyllabic verse, six in alternating rhyme and a rhymed couplet: ABABABCC. This verse form, perhaps the invention of Giovanni Boccaccio, became the standard meter for both the epic (e.g., Boccaccio's *Ninfale fiesco-latino* and *Filostrato*, Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, and Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*) and the more popular *cantari* (e.g., Antonio Pucci's *Madonna Lionessa*, the anonymous *Morte di Tristano* and *La donna del Vergiù*, and many others).

Following the great model of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, poets composed didactic, allegorical poetry—dream visions and the like—in *terza rima*, i.e., hendecasyllabic verses with the interlinking rhyme scheme ABA BCB CDC DED etc., the meter that Dante invented precisely for his poem. Boccaccio used *terza rima* for his *Amorosa visione*, Petrarch for the *Trionfi*, and Fazio degli Uberti for *Il dittamondo*. Shorter poems that used *terza rima* for their meter are

known as *capitoli ternari* or simply *ternari*; their subject matter was primarily moral or political. Some poets used rhyming heptasyllabic couplets for their narrative poems (e.g., Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto*). The author (sometimes said to have been Dino Compagni) of the allegorical poem *L'intelligenza* invented the strophic structure called *nana rima*, which presents nine *endecasillabi* per strophe arranged ABABABCCB.

During the first two centuries of Italian literature, refined and popular poets alike were conversant with the rules of versification and prosody, and thanks to their diverse and metrically inventive compositions Italy had a firm and fertile foundation for its rich poetic heritage.

See also Antonio da Tempo; Ballata; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Caccia; Can tare; Canzone; Dante Alighieri; Francesco da Barberino; Gidino da Sommacampagna; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Madrigal; Ottava Rima; Petrarca, Francesco; Ritmo Cassinese; Ritmo di Sant'Alessio; Texts, Early Italian: Sir-ventese; Sonnet; Strambotto; Tenzzone

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Italian Troubadours

[The term "troubadours" must be explored from two angles. Approximately forty troubadours of southern French origin, including Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Peire Vidal, Elias Cairel, Aimeric de Peguian, Gaucelm Faidit, and Uc de Saint Circ, sought patronage at the wealthy courts of northern Italy. The migration of Occitanic (Provençal) poets began c. 1190 and expanded with the onset of the Albigensian Crusade (1208-1228). These troubadours lived and composed in Italy. There were also northern Italian imitators of the troubadours, including the Bolognese Rambertino Buvaelli (d. 1221); the Mantuan Sordello (c. 1200 – 1269); the Genoese Bonifacio Calvo (fl. 1250-1266); another Genoese, Lanfranco Cigala (died. c. 1257), juriconsult and councillor of the Genoese republic, who is regarded as the most talented of the Italian troubadours; and the Venetian Bartolomeo Zorzi (fl. 1260-1290). Aristocrats such as Thomas II of Savoy and Alberico da Romano engaged in the refined pastime of composing vernacular love lyrics as well. These poets wrote in the language of the troubadours, whereas contemporary French, Spanish, or Sicilian poets translated troubadour poetics into their own languages.

Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, born to an impoverished noble family of the Vaucluse, is the first documented troubadour who left France to seek a living at an Italian court—that of Obizzo II Malaspina, sometime before 1190. Raimbaut later became a dedicated servant at the court of the marquis Boniface di Montferrat. The poet accompanied Boniface I on the Fourth Crusade; was present at the capture of Zara and the conquest of Constantinople; and may have died at Boniface's side, fighting the Bulgars, in 1208. Besides his traditional love songs

composed in Occitan, Raimbaut is known for a lively exchange, *Domna, tant vos ai preiada* ("Lady, so much have I implored you"), in which a Genoese lady insultingly rejects the troubadour's blandishments in favor of her husband's and her own respectability. The stanzas alternate between Occitan and the Genoese dialect; this is the first instance when an Italian dialect is exploited for its expressive potential (in this case, for comic effect) in the context of a mature poetic form. Raimbaut also composed a multilingual *descort*, with stanzas in Provençal, French, Italian, Gascon, and Gallego-Portuguese, conveying his dismay at his lady's rejection. The stanza in Italian, actually a *koiné* of northwestern Italian urban dialects, is an early experiment in the adaptation of the *lingua di sì* to the rules of refined Provençal courtly poetry. Raimbaut also exchanged an abusive *tenso* with Albert of Malaspina (1165-1206). Raimbaut left a varied corpus of twenty-six works including poems composed for dance, *cansos*, an *alba*, a highly regarded epistle, and a *tomeo des dames*—a tournament poem in which the ladies of the Italian courts vie for supremacy, finally settling on Beatrice Margarita, wife of Thomas I of Savoy, as their leader.

The troubadour Uc de Saint Circ played a decisive role in the development of the Italian courtly lyric. He arrived in Italy c. 1219, armed with a collection of verses; remained for almost four decades at the court of Alberico da Romano; and married a woman of Treviso. Although he ceased to write love poetry, Uc, like other troubadours in Italy, composed several political *sirventes* promoting the aspirations of the Guelf Alberico. Scholars believe that Uc was behind a systematic effort to adapt the literature of Occitania to the new Italian public. It is extremely likely that he was responsible for the compilation of the so-called *Liber Alberici*, the oldest extant manuscript of Occitanic verse (it is dated 1254 and is conserved as part of a larger manuscript at the Estense Library in Modena). Between 1220 and 1240, Uc participated in and promoted the writing of *vidas* ("biographies") of the troubadours, as well as *razos*, brief narratives establishing the circumstances that prompted the writing of various poems. These short prose texts were interpolated into the anthologies of Occitanic verse to help the new Italian public understand and value Occitanic literature. Uc was also, in all probability, the Uc Faidit (*faidit* meaning "exiled") who composed a Provençal grammar, *Donat proensal*, the oldest systematic presentation

of a modern literary language.

The first Italian to leave a solid corpus of work in Provençal is the Bolognese Rambertino Buvaelli, who was active in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. His distinguished career of public service included terms as *podestà* in Brescia, Milan, Parma, Mantua, and Verona, and for three years in Genoa, which was a center of Occitanic culture in Italy. He was also an ambassador for and a consul in Bologna, and a legate for Pope Innocent III. Rambertino Buvaelli was educated at the University of Bologna, where, we may assume, he collected troubadour verse. His equilibrated arrangement of the commonplaces of the Occitanic tradition evokes the image of the poet as a dilettante. His poetry is simple and in a plain style and is dedicated entirely to the theme of love. The lady for whom he wrote was Beatrice d'Este, daughter of Azzo VI, lord of Ferrara— an indication that court and chancery together indulged in the refined game of writing Occitanic love lyrics.

Unlike Rambertino Buvaelli, whose personal reputation, legal training, and administrative ability catapulted him to prominence, the most famous Italian troubadour, Sordello (Sor-dello da Goito, died c. 1269), sought promotion through service at the aristocratic courts of Italy and France. He is a character in the *Divine Comedy*, serving as Dante's guide to the Valley of the Princes in Ante-Purgatorio (*Purgatorio*, 6–8). Indeed, Dante may have hoped to profit from the largesse of the Holy Roman emperor Henry VII as much as Sordello had profited from Charles of Anjou, who in 1269 granted castles and territory in the Abruzzi to the troubadour and his heirs. Forty years earlier, Sordello had been involved in a scandalous episode, abducting Cunizza (another soul we encounter in the *Divine Comedy*—*Paradiso*, 9) from the home of her husband at the behest of her brothers, Ezzeiino and Alberico da Romano. According to a widespread rumor, Cunizza and Sordello became lovers. Fleeing Italy, Sordello sought patronage at various courts in southern France, Spain, and Portugal, eventually establishing himself with Raymond Berlingar, count of Provence, and then with Raymond's successor, Charles d'Anjou, whom he accompanied on a military expedition to conquer the kingdom of Sicily in 1265. Sordello left a varied corpus including love songs; political and moral *sirventes*-, and a famous lament (*planh*) for the death of the lord

of Aups, Blacatz, in which the poet urges secular lords to fortify their courage by consuming Blacatz's brave heart. If Sordello's poetry is viewed today as the "dying gasp of a rhetoric that was once vital, witty, and charged with a dialectic of love" (Wilhelm 1987, xxiii), it appears to have left a deep impression on Dante. The lament for Blacatz and a didactic poem about honor, *Ensenhamen d'onor*, were probably the works that inspired Dante to make Sordello the voice of condemnation in *Purgatorio* 6.

Bartolomeo Zorzi, as a merchant, undertook a journey to Constantinople in 1266, was taken captive by the Genoese in one of their frequent wars with Venice, and was a prisoner in Genoa until 1273. During this time he continued to compose. In all, eighteen of his poems are preserved, among them are two poems addressed to the Virgin and a moving *planh* (elegy) for Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, who was summarily executed in 1268 in Naples. The last noteworthy Italian troubadour is Zorzi's adversary in a *sirventes*, Bonifacio Calvo.

See also Bonifacio Calvo; Charles I of Anjou; Dante Alighieri; Ezzelino HI da Romano; Lanfranc Cigala; Montferrat, Marquisate of; Occitan Raimbaut de Vaqueiras; Sordello

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Ivory

Because the idea of medieval Italy is a modern invention, it is not possible to point to a coherent body of ivory carving that might be described as the creation of such a notional entity. Instead, scholars have chosen to hypothesize regional and even local "schools" or "workshops" on the basis of stylistic resemblances to work in other media. The most convincing of these analogies are to works, particularly of architectural sculpture, in monumental settings, even if it is doubtful that ivory carvers also worked in stone. As to questions of localization, comparisons with wood carving, metalwork, and manuscript illumination, while sometimes striking, are subject to the same problems as beset these other equally portable objects. Only recently has adequate attention been paid to the physical evidence for ivory workshops, but such findings, based on archaeology, account for only a tiny minority of the objects said to have emerged from one or another "center" in Italy. It is therefore no wonder that scholarly disagreement hovers over, and sometimes rages around, the locales where even well-known pieces are said to have originated.

Scarcely fewer problems attend the dating of many medieval ivories. Given the value of the material, most objects—Christian or other—were long used in churches or kept in treasuries where their presence may have been recorded in inventories drawn up long after they had entered these institutions; as a result, we can say only that they must antedate a particular document. Often no less frustrating are the legends that have long surrounded particular pieces, fancifully associating them with some great figure of the past or ascribing to them a quite fictitious antiquity.

In light of these difficulties and in the absence of virtually any medieval documentation for the working (as against the use) of ivory

plaques or boxes, any useful report on the body of objects said to have been made in Italy between the beginning of the fifth century and the end of the fourteenth can at best represent such scholarly consensus as exists or make adjudications when radically diverse opinions exist, as they do concerning a sizable number of the objects discussed below. In only one respect can an incontestable proposition be offered about medieval ivory: the prestige of the material derived from its rarity as an exotic import and led to its use in the creation of secular or sacred objects that were probably as highly prized in the Middle Ages as they are today.

Late Antiquity (400-600)

Generalizations about the rarity, and consequently the high cost, of ivory are most open to question with regard to late antiquity. The large number of surviving pieces, their size, and their range of functions—from utilitarian medicine boxes to plaques applied to the covers of sacred books—all argue for the abundant availability of ivory in this period. The largest pieces are diptychs, hinged pairs of ivory plaques issued by consuls and other officials to mark their accession to office, by aristocratic clans to commemorate marriages and other family events, and by highly placed churchmen to articulate points of belief and, implicitly, their own authority. The leaves of consular diptychs—the largest known ivory objects before the statuettes of the Gothic era—could measure up to about 16 by 6 inches (41 by 15 centimeters). However, an example that is more representative in size is a diptych issued c. 400 by Rufius Probianus, who is described in the inscription as "vicar of the city of Rome" and is shown performing his administrative duties as city prefect. Consuls on similar diptychs are shown signaling the start of the public games that they presented when they entered office,

Because of their size, and ultimately their antiquity, diptychs such as the Probianus, which was kept at the abbey of Werden on the Ruhr River, were put to secondary use as tablets inscribed with the names of bishops and those to be remembered in church liturgies. Although very few of the consular series contain explicit Christian iconography, there

is no doubt that ivories demonstrating such beliefs were produced during this era, probably in the same workshops: a plaque (in Castello Sforzesco, Milan) with two scenes alluding to the resurrection is framed with identical ornamentation and displays figures in the same style. Both objects are often said to have been carved in Milan, which—as an imperial residence and ecclesiastic metropolis—does indeed seem a likely source. Other northern Italian centers proposed as the site of workshops include Brescia, where the Museo Civico still preserves a casket well known for its subtle theological interweaving of events from the Old and New Testaments. This casket was a container for relics, perhaps originally and certainly in later use, and is hence called a *lipsanoteca*. On the other hand, pyxides—cylindrical sections of elephant tusks carved on their exterior with a great variety of either pagan or Christian themes—may have been used to hold medications, ointments, incense, and the eucharistic host. Large numbers of these survive, although their places of origin are much disputed. Fragments of a vessel of this sort were found, together with some 1,500 pieces of bone and ivory debris, in an ongoing excavation of a workshop on the east slope of the Palatine hill in Rome. The pins, furniture mounts, and gaming pieces that have turned up at this site indicate not only that bone and ivory were generally worked in the same shop but also that sumptuous objects represent only a small part of a system devoted in the main to the manufacture of utilitarian objects. Given this emphasis, archaeologists are unlikely to determine where unique objects like the Cathedra (throne) of Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna from 546 to 563, were created. Ravenna, where this throne is still kept, has been proposed as its place of origin, although most scholars believe that it was sent to Italy from Constantinople. Whatever its source, the diversity of styles in its (originally) more than forty figurative and decorative plaques suggests the sort of collaboration that characterized workshop production in an age when ivory was in abundant supply.

The Dark Ages and the Carolingian Revival (c. 600-950)

"Barbarian" invasions, political upheavals, the removal of administrative and creative authority from urban to rural centers, and

not least the Muslims' conquest of North Africa are all forces said to have disrupted Mediterranean societies that are recognizably antique. Although the relative weights of these factors cannot be accurately assessed, among their effects were a decline in the amount of ivory reaching northern Italy, a shift in ivory working from cities to monastic ateliers, and a consequent reduction in the range of uses to which the material was put. The distribution of objects in the late medieval and modern eras—they are preserved at Milan, Monza, Trent, Brescia, Cividale, and Ravenna—may reflect the sites of production in the early medieval period. More certain is the appropriation of late antique and early Christian models in the greatly reduced number of pieces that survive from this period, a phenomenon paralleled in other media and, more broadly, in other cultures subjected to social stress.

If a plaque like that depicting Gregory the Great (or an evangelist) in the act of writing on a book cover (now in the Castelfo at Trent) encapsulates a concern with traditional authority, its form no less embodies the impact of late antique diptychs like that of the Poet and Muse preserved in the cathedral treasury at Monza. One of two openwork plaques on a sacramentary presented by Berengar, the first king of Italy (r. 888-924), to the same cathedral has scrolls, inhabited by beasts, derived from classical *rinceaux* (carved, molded, or painted decorations); the other, on the back cover, shows a transformation of these plastic shapes into an interlace based on geometry. The formal aspects of the synthesis of antique and medieval are nowhere better demonstrated, even though the two plaques are presumably contemporaneous. Equally clear is a tendency for laypeople to commission works and donate them to religious institutions. An earlier example is the so-called Pax of Duke Ursus, possibly the Ursus of Ceneda mentioned in 752 by Paul the Deacon. The duke's name is proudly inscribed on the headpiece and wings of the cross in this Crucifixion.



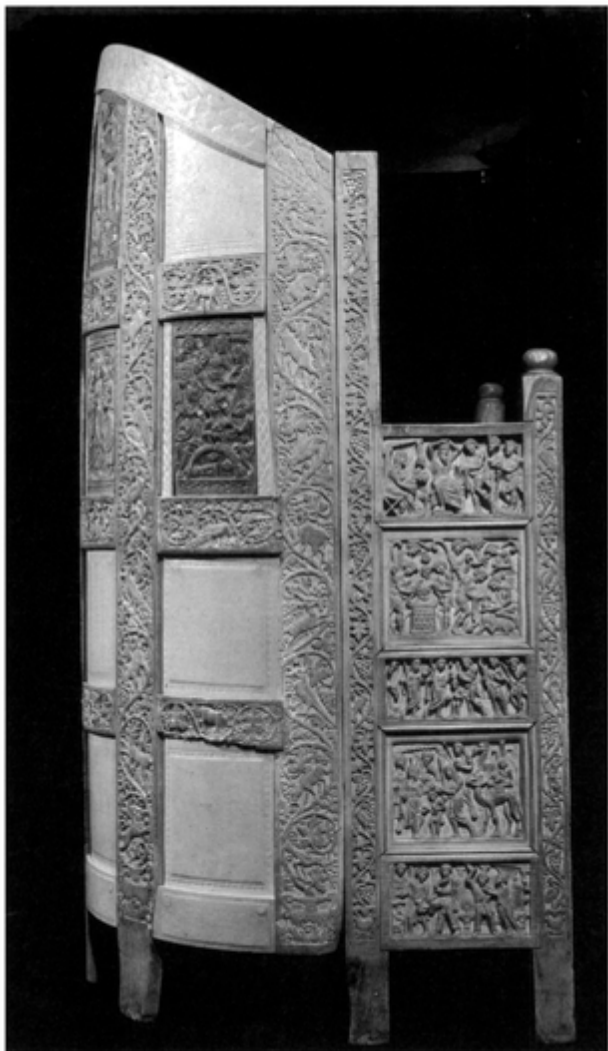
Anonymous, ivory casket known as the *Brescia Lipsanoteca*. Medallion portraits of Christ and Apostles; upper border, scenes from the story of Jonah; *Noli me tangere*, Christ teaching, Christ entering sheepfold. Museo Civico dell'Eta Cristiana, Brescia. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The relatively small size of this plaque—about 6½ by 6 inches (16.5 by 15.3 centimeters)—and the fact that gems and ornamental metalwork are used to fill the area dictated by the codex it covers suggest a scarcity of ivory. Even in Milan, where two plaques depicting the life of Christ from the Washing of the Feet to his appearances after the passion were made, in imitation of a late antique diptych, ivory was a precious commodity. This explains the reuse of much older plaques in Carolingian domains to the north and suggests the value of a gift of "two ivory doors" said to have been obtained "from the Greeks" by Fortunatus, archbishop of Grado, and presented by him to Charlemagne in 807. Ivory may also have been rare in the south, and consequently there may have been a much greater use of bone. An ivory head, depicting a tonsured male but otherwise quite reminiscent of the images of consuls on diptychs, was found in 1991 at the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno, about 31 miles (50 kilometers) east of Monte Cassino; the excavators dated it to the first quarter of the ninth century. Two points must be made about this welcome discovery. First, the small size of the fragment—about 1¼ inches by 1 inch (3.1 by 2.7 centimeters)

speaks for itself. Second, and just as tellingly, the piece seems to have come from the debris of an atelier that produced objects in a variety of media. The eyes in the San Vincenzo head are inlaid glass beads, a practice more familiar in northwestern Europe.

Ottonian, Byzantine, and Islamic Presences (c. 950-1200)

During the tenth and eleventh centuries, only southern Italy— adjacent to Sicily, which was held by the Arabs; and with centers such as Amalfi, Salerno, and Bari that traded with the Arabs— seems to have had a regular supply of ivory. The so-called Vena-fro chessmen (found on the Volturno near Capua and now in the Archaeological Museum in Naples) evince strongly Islamizing forms, whether or not they were made by Muslim craftsmen. A plaque (now in the Musée Cluny in Paris) depicting Otto II and his Greek empress Theophano crowned by Christ has a marked Byzantinizing design and is apparently derived directly from a famous coronation ivory of Romanos II and Eudokia carved in Constantinople some forty years earlier. Yet both the imperial titlature (Latin terms written in the Greek alphabet) and the rather odd Greek on this Ottonian piece allow the possibility that it was carved in Byzantine southern Italy. A plausible suggestion has been made that the figure shown prostrate at Otto's feet is John Philagathos, the emperor's Calabrian tutor, who commissioned the object on which Otto is hailed as *Imp(erator) R(o)man(or)um*. If it was carved in 982, as many scholars suppose, it is contemporaneous with a plaque in Milan commissioned by Theophano, showing herself and Otto II kneeling and presenting their young son (the future Otto III) to an enthroned Christ. Ideologically akin, the two ivories show the different impact on Italian sculptors of Byzantine and Otton-ian demands.



Anonymous, Cathedra of Maximian, left side. Museo Arcivescovile, Ravenna.
Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.



Anonymous, *Resurrection and Three Marys at the Tomb*. Ivory diptych (?) plaque. Early Christian, c. 400. Castello Sforzesco, Milan. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Still, the tangled skein that results from any attempt to treat medieval Italian ivory carving as an entity cannot be reduced simply to differences among alien, northern and southern influences. A third strand, also indebted to both Greek and western models, is represented by boxes and plaques carved in Campania during the second half of the eleventh century. Both the dates and the precise origin of these pieces are widely disputed, the only evidence being their inscriptions (which are subject to various interpretations). One piece, in the treasury of the cathedral at Farfa, is a large casket—about 13½ inches (33.5 centimeters) long—carved from solid slabs of ivory, depicting scenes from the life of Christ and the Dormition of the Virgin. This box mentions Mauro, a known Amaffitan merchant, and his seven sons, one of whom died in 1072; thus it is supposed to have been made before that date. Another object (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art) is a pen case with markedly Islamizing animal decoration; it bears the common Amalfitan name Manso and is consistent with Arab practice of using ivory for secular purposes. The Amalfitan names on these two pieces do not by any means indicate that they were made in Amalfi. They may have been made in Salerno, where the cathedral museum now preserves more than forty plaques of a so-called *paliotto* (altar frontal) that are related stylistically to the Farfa casket. These plaques are sometimes regarded as having belonged to a pair of chancel doors, but an altar frontal is an equally plausible origin. The pen case may offer a clue to a long and diverse series of oliphants: horns carved from hollowed elephant tusks and carved on their exterior with registers of real and fabulous animals in the manner of Fatimid horns, or scenes of chariot racing and circuses that derive from Byzantine and, ultimately, from late antique iconography.

Various other ivories, including a Last Judgment plaque (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London) that is strikingly akin to a mosaic of the same subject at Torcello, have been assigned to twelfth-century Venetian ateliers. A famous casket at Sens, with scenes from the life of David and Joseph on its twelve sides and its pyramidal lid, and an elaborate triptych at Chambéry were formerly considered Byzantine but are now recognized as departing from at least the established norms of Byzantine carving; their attribution to Venice may be due to little more than scholars' desire to identify a region beyond

Byzantium that was yet familiar with Greek conventions, and a Sicilian origin cannot be ruled out. Yet if evidence from other crafts (glass, rock crystal, enamels, and metalwork) is relevant, Venetian craftsmen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were highly adept at imitating both Byzantine and Islamic goods. A group of more than twenty-five plaques and a larger cluster of wooden boxes, sheathed with bone plaques in the manner of tenth-century Byzantine caskets, have been attributed to such "Italo-Byzantine" workshops. Since most of these boxes were preserved in northern Italian cathedral treasuries, a local origin for them is entirely possible. The distribution pattern of the plaques, which are often thoroughly Byzantine in their iconography but divergent in technique and style, is too random to sustain such a hypothesis.

From the Gothic Era to the Renaissance (c. 1200-1400)

By the thirteenth century, the importation of exotic materials had shifted from Campanian ports to Pisa and Venice. Not surprisingly, therefore, these cities figure among the chief centers, known or surmised, where ivory was worked during the Gothic era. In this period, for the first time, we are able to connect the name of a sculptor and a document of commission with a surviving work: in June 1298 Giovanni Pisano agreed with the cathedral chapter of Pisa (his native city) to complete by Easter of the following year a Virgin and Child in ivory, flanked by scenes of the Passion, for a *retable* for the cathedral. The main group measures about 21 inches (53 centimeters) high, indicating the ready availability of ivory that entered western Europe, and particularly France, from the Horn of Africa. Pi-sano's figures resemble his work in wood but are thoroughly northern, the Virgin and Child having been directly inspired by a marble group on the door of the north transept of Notre Dame in Paris. An ivory cup, adorned with images of the liberal arts, transformed into a chalice (and preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Milan), is also French in inspiration.

Ecclesiastical objects, particularly crosiers, made of bone and carved or painted with images of local saints, are much more widespread than these ivories, and scarcely less important. One example (in the Museo dell'Opera della Metropolitana in Siena) is from the second quarter of

the fourteenth century. Similar pieces (in London and in the Bargello in Florence) bear the arms of contemporaneous bishops of Gubbio and Acerenza (Basili-cata). The diffusion of such fashions throughout the peninsula was matched by the traceable movement of craftsmen, among whom the Embriachi are perhaps best-known. The fame of the Embriachi family is encapsulated in the label *alia certosina*, referring to a great triptych in the Certosa of Pavia, for which a series of payment documents survive, drawn up in Venice between 1400 and 1409 in favor of its creator, Baldassare Embriachi, Baldassare was of Genoese origin but was first active in Florence, and he copied Florentine architectural niches in *retables* that he made for Philip the Bold of Burgundy and John, duke of Berry. These, like many boxes made in the same manner, consist of the bisected long bones of animals, each carved with a single figure, assembled to form groups. That technique was also applied to caskets with mythological representations, such as a history of Jason (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum) made in Florence at the end of the fourteenth century. Set within marquetry frames, these altarpieces and boxes began a fashion that lasted well into the fifteenth century. By then, ivory was nearly as available as bone and had ceased to be a highly desired substance. It was no longer a medium preferred by patrons or by the sculptors they employed, and in the Renaissance ivory working became a minor art.

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Jacobello Dalle Masegne

See Masegne Brothers

Jacobus Da Voragine

Jacobus da Voragine (Jacopo da Varazze, c. 1228-1298) was a Dominican writer, administrator, and archbishop; his name suggests that he or his forebears came from Varazze, a town near Genoa. He entered the Order of Preachers—i.e., the Dominican order—as a youth, in 1244. After completing his education, he is reputed to have distinguished himself both as a public preacher and as a teacher of preachers in training, and also to have been prior (local head) of the Dominican community in Genoa. From 1267 on, his career is more clearly documented. His fellow Dominicans repeatedly elected him prior of the entire province of Lombardy, a post he held from 1267 to 1277 and again from 1281 to 1286. Both the order and the papacy entrusted him with sensitive diplomatic missions. From 1292 until his death, he was archbishop of Genoa, and he had such an exemplary reputation in this office that he was eventually beatified (in 1816).

Among the literary works Jacobus wrote or compiled, the earliest and most famous is a *Legenda sanctorum*, or anthology of readings about the saints, generally called *Legenda aurea* (*Golden Legend*). After the *Legenda*, Jacobus composed four large sets of Latin sermons, which evidently circulated as models for other preachers to use: *Sermones de sanctis*, on major saints and festivals of the church year; *Sermones de tempore*, on the Sunday gospels for the year; *Sermones quadragesimales*, on the weekday gospels for Lent; and *Mariale*, or *Laudes deiparae virginis*, sermons in praise of the Virgin Mary.

Jacobus's sermons survive in numerous manuscripts and early printed editions and thus must have enjoyed a wide and long-lasting popularity. His last major work, *Chronicle of Genoa*, which he wrote as archbishop, is noteworthy for the local history and hagiography it preserves and for some autobiographical passages that shed light on his own life.

See also **Dominican Order; Genoa; Legenda Aurea**

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Jacomo Dei Tolomei

Jacomo dei Tolomei (Iacomo di messer Lottorengo de' Tolomei; nicknamed Granfione, Graffione; fl. 1250–1300) lived in Siena and was one of the earliest Italian comic poets. His one extant sonnet, *Le favole, compar, ch'om dice tante* ("The many fables, my friend, that are told"), found in the Vatican Codex Barberino Latino 3953, is a parody of the bestiary similes that pervaded the serious love poetry of the time. In this sonnet, Jacomo compares animals and other creatures that populate Aesop's fables to several personages from Siena (including the comic poet Nicola Muscia, also known as Muscia da Siena), thus "proving" that Aesop's mythical creatures really existed. The comic comparison of

beasts to humans was a theme first made popular by Rustico Filippi.

See also Italian Poetry: Comic; Muscia, Nicola; Rustico Filippi

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Jacopo D'aquino

The poet Jacopo d'Aquino (d. after 1306) was the son of Adenolfo (*giustiziere* or executioner, of Sicily in 1231; d. 1243) and the grandson of Tommaso I, count of Acerra. After the death of Frederick II in 1250, Jacopo rebelled against Emperor Conrad IV, who later pardoned him and reinstated him in his possessions. Jacopo was forced by Charles of Anjou to abandon his fiefs in 1266, and his name is encountered in Charles's proscription lists for 1269-1270. Scandone (1904) uncovered a document showing that Jacopo was still alive in 1306.

Only one poem can be definitively attributed to Jacopo d'Aquino: *Al cor m'énato e prende uno disio* ("A desire is born in and takes hold of my heart"). Another, *Allegramente eo canto* ("Joyfully I sing"), though attributed to him in the Florentine Codex Laurenziano-Rediano 9, is more likely by Jacopo Mostacci, as established in the Vatican Codex Lat. 3793.

See also Charles I of Anjou; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Jacopo Da Bologna

The Italian composer and music theorist Jacopo da Bologna (fl. northern Italy, 1340-c. 1360) was a member of the first generation of Italian *Trecento* musicians. He was evidently a native of Bologna and worked with Giovanni da Cascia at the Veronese court of Mastino II della Scala (d. 1351). Earlier, he had been linked to the Milanese court of Luchino Visconti (r. 1339— 1349); and after 1352 he apparently reentered the service of the Visconti family. The poet Petrarch may have been personally acquainted with Jacopo, whose madrigal *Non al suo amante* ("Not to her lover") is the only known contemporary setting of a Petrarch text. The music treatise *L'arte del biscanto misurato secondo el maestro Jacopo da Bologna* was influenced by French notational theory and raises the possibility that Jacopo may have been a university teacher. He may have lived beyond 1360; certain Aragonese records in Spain mention a similar personage between 1378 and 1386.

Thirty-four musical works can be positively attributed to Jacopo: twenty-five two-voice madrigals, seven three-voice madrigals and *cacce*, a *lauda-ballata*, and a motet. Most of his surviving work is contained in the Squarcialupi Codex (I-Fl 87). His popularity as a composer is attested to by the wide circulation of his music in northern Italian and Tuscan sources, and by mentions of his work in sources into the early fifteenth century. Many of his musical texts are autobiographical and hint at associations with Floriano, Philippe de Vitry, and Marchetto da Padova.

Jacopo's contributions to the development of the Italian madrigal include his textual emphasis, his motivic development between voices through imitation, and his use of monophonic transitional phrases between two lines of text. Tonal structure is important in Jacopo's music: most of his compositions begin and end on the same pitch. Three-voice madrigals make their first appearance in his compositions, and the first known *lauda-ballata* was also composed by him. Jacopo da Bologna's works had a profound influence on the next generation of *Trecento* composers—Francesco Landini and Bartolino da Padova.

See also **Ars Nova; Ballata; Bartolino da Padova; Caccia; Giovanni da Cascia; Landini, Francesco; Lauda; Madrigal; Mar chetto da Padova; Petrarca, Francesco; Squarcialupi Codex**

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Jacopo Da Lèona

Jacopo (fl., late thirteenth century), a poet from Lèvane, near Montevarchi in Tuscany, was among the first to use a comic style. His eight sonnets, all contained in the Vatican Codex Latino 3793, show the influence of two contemporaries—Guit-tone d'Arezzo and Rustico Filippi. Jacopo's best-known sonnet is *Signori, udite strano malificio* ("Gentlemen, listen to the unusual scheme"), in which he mocks Rustico Filippi in the comic style that Rustico first popularized. Rustico's influence is also seen in three sonnets in dialogue form, in the tradition of serious courtly love poetry. Jacopo's *Contessa è tanto bella e saggia e cónta* ("Contessa is so beautiful and wise and gracious") is reminiscent of Guittone. Guittone, in his *canzone Comune perta fa comun dolore* ("Common loss makes for common grief"), praised Jacopo as a great poet.

See also Guittone d'Arezzo; Italian Poetry: Comic; Rustico Filippi

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Jacopo Da Milano

The Franciscan lector Jacopo da Milano (Jacob of Milan, James of Milan, Jacobus Mediolanensis, Giacomo da Milano; thirteenth century) was the author of the original version of a spiritual classic in Latin, *Stimulus amoris* (*Prick of Love*). Much has been surmised but little is known for certain about Jacopo. From the date of the earliest evidence for the *Stimulus amoris*, and from the acquaintance it shows with the writings of Saint Bonaventure, Jacopo must have composed it in the second half of the thirteenth century. Jacopo has been plausibly but not conclusively identified with a Brother James of Milan recorded as a lector at the Franciscan convent at Domodossola in 1305. Some scholars have thought him identical or possibly identical with a mid-thirteenth-century Milanese theologian who was known until 1979—incorrectly—as Giacomo Capelli or de Capellis; but this person is no longer credibly a Jacopo. Jacopo could well have been the renowned Franciscan, formerly a lector in Milan, who sometime after 1296 read and approved Arnaldo of Foligno's *Memorial* on the mystic and visionary Angela of Foligno. One modern scholar has ascribed to Jacopo a meditation on the hymn *Salve Regina*, transmitted in some of his manuscripts and at times attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux (among others), but this idea has not found widespread acceptance.

Recent investigation has revealed *Stimulus amoris* in its Jacopean form to be an unstable "open text" whose very title is uncertain. As now

edited, it consists of a prologue and twenty-three brief chapters; the first nine chapters guide the reader toward divine rapture, and the rest deal with other aspects of the contemplative life. The writing style is often intense and rhetorically effective; it combines direct address, exclamation, and figures of repetition with an intentionally simple vocabulary. Chapter 14, an especially vivid meditation on Christ's passion, is thought by some to have furnished the theological basis for the imagery in the window of the Glorification of Saint Francis in the upper church of Francis's basilica at Assisi. However, the ideas in question were common in later thirteenth-century Franciscan contexts, and the dating of both the window and the earliest version or versions of the text is uncertain.

Jacopo's *Stimulus* circulated with Bonaventure's works, was soon mistakenly attributed to Bonaventure, and was expanded twice in the fourteenth century by persons unknown. Modern scholars differentiate these texts by calling the original *Stimulus (amoris) minor* and the expansions (treated as a single version) *Stimulus (amoris) maior*. The *maior* was more widely read: there are more than 130 manuscripts of it, as opposed to some ninety manuscripts of the *minor*. A recent suggestion that the *maior* was actually the original seems unpersuasive. Starting in the later fourteenth century, this very different larger version was translated into other European languages, including English. A fourteenth-century translation (now lost) of *Stimulus minor* into Tuscan dialect is thought to underlie its first printing in Italian (Venice, 1521).

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Jacopo De Cessolis

Jacopo (Jacobus, fl. 1275-1322) was born in the small town of Cessole, near Asti, in Piedmont. He entered the Dominican order, probably at the convent of Santa Maddalena near Asti. From 1317 to 1322, he lived in Genoa, where he became vicar of the Inquisition attached to the convent of San Domenico. At the request of fellow Dominicans and several laypeople, he wrote his only extant work, *De moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super ludo scaccorum* (*On the Customs of Men and Their Noble Actions with Regard to the Game of Chess*), known simply as *Ludus scaccorum*.

Ludus scaccorum is a moralized explanation of chess based on the medieval estates, whereby each chess piece represents a different social class. It consists of twenty-four chapters divided into four sections (*tractatus*). The first section consists of three chapters that narrate when, how, and by whom chess was invented. The narrative, in the form of a medieval *exemplum*, recounts how a Greek philosopher named Xerxes or Perses invented the game to show his cruel king Evilmerodach "the maners and condicions of a kynge of the nobles and of the comun people and of theyr offices and how they shold be touchid and drawen. And how he shold amende hymself & become vertuous." Xerxes explains that he invented the game to keep the king from "ydlenesse," which can induce men to sin, and to satisfy man's desire for "noueltees & tydynges," which in turn sharpen the mind. The *exemplum* ends with Evilmerodach's eventual conversion, thus setting a precedent for using chess to teach people how to behave.

The second section is divided into five chapters describing, respectively, the five different chess pieces in the first row: (1) king, (2) queen, (3) alphinus (judge), (4) knight, and (5) rook (legate). Each piece is described in terms of its clothing, its symbols of power, the moral significance of those symbols, and—most important—the way a represented by the piece must behave in society. Jacopo narrates several *exempla* to illustrate the kind of behavior he has in mind for each person.

The third section deals with the pawns and is divided into eight chapters, each taking up a particular group of commoners (one pawn

representing one group): (1) laborers (farmers), (2) smiths, (3) notaries, (4) merchants, (5) physicians, (6) innkeepers, (7) city watchmen and guards, and (8) ribalds and town couriers. Each pawn is described in terms of the tools of its trade, its relationship to the chess piece behind it, and how the person represented should behave. For each group of commoners, Jacopo narrates one or more *exempla*, illustrating either appropriate or inappropriate behavior of that group.

The fourth section is also divided into eight chapters. The first chapter describes the chessboard as an allegorical representation of Babylon, where the game was presumably invented. The next six chapters deal with the actual moves of each chess piece on the chessboard. These moves reflect the rules of chess that were then in effect in Lombardy and are allegorized to illustrate a moral. For example, when a pawn becomes a queen, the fact that many great rulers had humble origins is illustrated. In the eighth chapter in this section—the final chapter—Jacopo reiterates the history of the origins of chess, reminding his readers that chess is a social allegory of the various classes of medieval society working together for the common good.

As Kaeppli (1960) noted, the convent of San Domenico in Genoa produced a considerable amount of popular religious literature. It is not surprising, therefore, that *Ludus scaccorum* spread rapidly throughout western and eastern Europe; there were even a Scottish translation and a Czech translation. When *Ludus scaccorum* was translated from Latin into a vernacular, or from one vernacular into another, the content was sometimes modified to reflect a country's particular ways of representing its own social classes (Buuren 1997).

The diffusion and popularity of *Ludus scaccorum* during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are reflected in the numerous manuscripts and early printed editions of the work. It was the second book to be printed in the English language: William Caxton printed an English translation of Jehan de Vignay's French translation (c. 1350) of *Ludus scaccorum* in 1474. Despite the popularity of *Ludus scaccorum* in the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, there are no critical editions in print of the Latin original, nor are there any modern translations in either English or Italian. There are, however, modern critical editions of Jean Ferron's French translation of 1347 (the best of the medieval French translations), and of the Middle Scots translation of

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Jacopo Mostacci

Jacopo Mostacci (fl. 1230-1260) was the author of four *canzoni*, written in a refined, Provençalizing style, and he participated with Giacomo da Lentini (the Notary) and Pier de la Vigna in a *tenzone* on the nature of love. Jacopo is referred to as *messere*, a title indicating a man of considerable social status. Some scholars suggest that he may be identical with the falconer whom Frederick II sent on an expedition to Malta in 1240, and who, in 1262, accompanied Manfred's daughter Costanza on her wedding journey to Aragon. Scandone (1904) traced the Mostacci family to Messina, and Torraca (1902) suggested Lecce as its place of origin. The scribe of manuscript Palatino 418 (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, now Banco Rari 217) proposed that Jacopo was of Pisan extraction, but this theory has few adherents.

See also Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Giacomo da Lentini; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Manfred; Pier de la Vigna; Scuola Poetica Siciliana; Tenzone

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Jacopone Da Todi

The Franciscan friar and mystic Jacopone da Todi (Jacobus de Benedictis, Jacopus de Tuderto, Jacopo de' Benedetti, Giacomone de' Benedetti; c. 1230 or 1236—1306) is considered by some to be Italy's greatest poet before Dante. The principal type of verse that Jacopone used is the *lauda*, a nonliturgical song of praise in vernacular ballad form, although some works in Latin are also attributed to him.

Details about Jacopone's life before his religious conversion are sketchy, but it is generally accepted that he was born (as his name implies) in Todi, Umbria, to a family of the lesser nobility. He received an education typical of his time and social class (he may have studied

at the University of Bologna) and then is believed to have practiced the profession of notary in Todi and, in his mid-thirties, to have married Vanna di Bernardino di Guidone, of the counts of Collemedio (or Coldimezzo). According to early *vitae* (lives) of Jacopone, Vanna's accidental death at a party devastated him, provoked a profound psychological crisis, and led to his religious conversion in 1268. The precipitating factor in this rapid chain of events appears to have been his discovery that Vanna, like many others during this tumultuous period of Italian history, had practiced self-mortification as a form of religious penance—in her case, by wearing a hairshirt under her beautiful and costly outer garb. To the consternation of his family and the disbelief of his fellow citizens, Jacopo divested himself of all his worldly goods and habits and became a *bezocone*, or mendicant Franciscan tertiary (*Laude*, ed. Mancini, 1974, 151). For the next ten years, he traveled the highways of Umbria, singing God's praise and preaching salvation, not in the Latin of the church but in the language of the people, as was the custom of the Franciscans. In 1278, on his second request, he was finally admitted to the order of Friars Minor (i.e., the Franciscan order; Casolini 1966,620). He thus became Fra Jacopone—a name that can be translated as Big Jim or Big Jake.

In the years following the death of Saint Francis (1226), the Franciscans split into two opposing camps. The Spirituals believed in the strict interpretation of Francis's rule, which called for complete poverty; the Community, sometimes referred to as the Conventuals, supported a more relaxed interpretation that permitted ownership of property and other material comforts. Jacopone sided with the more extreme Spirituals and, as a consequence, found himself locked in the bitter and sometimes dangerous struggle between the two factions. When Boniface VIII became pope, Jacopone allied himself with the Colonna family, Boniface's enemies. Jacopone's open and virulent opposition to the powerful new pope earned him excommunication and five years of solitary confinement.

While he was in prison, Jacopone wrote many *laude*. In one of them—*Que farai, fra Iacovone?* ("What will you do, Brother Jacopone?" number 55 in Ageno's edition, 53 in Mancini's)—he comments with mordant irony on the dire conditions of his imprisonment. We know from two *laude*—*O papa Bonifazio/io porto el tuo prefazio* ("O Pope

Boniface, I bring your sentence," number 56 in Ageno and 55 in Mancini) and *Lo pastor per mio peccato/posto m' à for de l'ovile* ("Because of my sin the shepherd has cast me out of the sheepfold," number 57 in Ageno and 67 in Mancini)—that Jacopone twice begged the pope for absolution. Although the pope granted absolution to many in the jubilee year of 1300, Jacopone was not among them. In 1303, however, Jacopone received personal liberty and release from religious censure from Boniface's more compassionate successor as pope, Benedict XI.

The elderly Jacopone then retired to the convent of San Lorenzo in Collazzone, where he died on Christmas eve, 1306. In 1433, his remains were discovered in the convent of Santa Maria di Montecristo, and in 1596 his tomb in the crypt of the Franciscan church of San Fortunato in Todi was dedicated. Although he has not been beatified or canonized by the church, Jacopone is inscribed in the Franciscan martyrology and is popularly referred to and venerated as "blessed" or "saint."

Jacopone wrote approximately 100 *laude* in the Umbrian vernacular that express the mystic's innermost sentiments about the state of his soul and seek to instruct others who are seeking greater closeness to God. Unlike many *iaude* composed by others at this time (which was the form's most fertile period), Jacopone's hymns were written not for the general lay public but for his own personal use, and possibly for his Franciscan brothers. Jacopone's *laude* treat a wide range of subjects and present a variety of tones and moods. His important themes include the following (for each example, the number in Ageno is followed by the number in Mancini): praise of God (e.g., *La bontade enfinita*, "The infinite goodness," 79, 21), Christ (*Adl'amor ch'è venuto*, "To the Love that came," 65, 86), and the Virgin Mary (*O Vergen piú che femina*, "O Virgin more than woman," 2, 32); Saint Francis and the Franciscan ideal of poverty (*Povertade enamorata*, "Beloved poverty," 59, 47); the condemnation of all types of secular temptation (*Guarda che non caggi, amico*, "Be careful not to fall, my friend," 6, 20); detailed descriptions of disease, death, and dying (*Quando t'alegri*, "When you are glad," 25, 61); soul-searching self-criticism (*Que farai, fra Iacovone?* "What will you do, Brother Jacopone?" 55, 53); extreme self-abnegation (*O Signor, per cortesiajmandame la malsania*, "O Lord, please infect me with disease," 48, 81); biting political satire (*Que farai, Pier da Morrone?* "What will

you do, Pier da Morrone?" 54, 74); laments on the state of the church (*Piange la Ecclesia*, "The church weeps," 53, 35); descriptions of the mystical state of ecstasy, akin to madness, that the poet entered during his spiritual meditation (*Senno me pare e cortesia*, "It seems to be wise and courteous," 84, 87); and the passionate praise of divine love (*O iubilo del core*, "O heartfelt joy," 76, 9; and *Sopr'onne lingua amore*, "Ineffable love," 91, 92). Misogyny is patently evident in some of his *laude* (e.g., *O femene, guardate*, "Women, beware," 8, 45), revealing Jacopone to be a man of his time. However, there is also evidence that he gave some thought to the difficult living conditions of many women in the late thirteenth century (e.g., *O vita penosa*, "O sorrowful life," 24, 58). One simple yet supremely elegant *lauda*—*Donna del paradiso* ("Lady of Paradise," 93, 70)—is important because it represents the pinnacle of Jacopone's poetic art and also because it constitutes a crucial step in the evolution of Italian religious theater: it has four speakers, and many scholars consider it the first religious drama in Italy.

Although critics are not in complete agreement regarding Jacopone's authorship of a number of works in Latin, the following have variously been attributed to him: the famous sequence *Stab at mater dolorosa*, now a part of the Roman Catholic liturgy; pithy moral sayings known as the *Dettk* and *Trattato* (*Treatise*), whose subject is mystical union with God.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Celestine V, Pope; Colonna Family; Italian Literature: Religious; Lauda

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James II, King of Aragon

James II of Aragon (James I of Sicily, James the Just, James the Honest; 1264-1327) played a crucial role in the history of the Italian islands, and this aspect of his career will be emphasized here. He was the second son of Peter III of Aragon, under whose will he inherited Sicily (1285), while his elder brother Alfonso became king of Aragon and Valencia and count of Barcelona. James's task was therefore to sustain the Hohenstaufen inheritance of his mother, Constance, during the bitter war of the Sicilian Vespers against the claims of the house of Anjou. His reign in Sicily began with a coronation at Palermo in February 1286, during which he promised to respect the liberties of his subjects. However, he also had to face papal conspiracies to subvert the island, and his offer to become a papal vassal was sternly rejected by Pope Honorius IV, who considered the offer presumptuous and excommunicated James. The pope also rejected peace initiatives supported by Charles II of Naples, a captive in Catalan hands. An attempt by the papacy to capture Augusta in Sicily met with humiliating failure (1287) when the Aragonese trounced the Angevins in the waters off Naples.

James's wish for peace took a new turn in 1291, when he inherited the Spanish lands of his childless brother Alfonso; the return of Sicily to the Angevins in exchange for another territory became fundamental to the ensuing negotiations. James refused to agree to the terms of Alfonso's will, according to which he would cede Sicily to their youngest brother Frederick, who was merely appointed lieutenant-governor. The Sicilians were displeased by the negotiations to return the island to the Angevins and expressed their displeasure in 1295 by elevating Frederick to the throne. By 1297, James had maneuvered himself into a position where Boniface VIII granted him the title to Sardinia and Corsica in exchange for a promise that James would

abandon Sicily. Sardinia—a potentially valuable source of grain, silver, and pastoral products—had been an objective of the Aragonese since at least 1267, when James I of Aragon had tried to secure the island for his second son, James of Majorca. After 1297, James II of Aragon added to his titles that of *rex Sardinee et Corsice*. However, as a result, James had to join the Guelf-Ange-vin war against his brother in Sicily. He provided some troops for the war, though never on a very large scale. He also led his armies, unsuccessfully, in an assault on eastern Sicily (1298), and thereafter spent some time on the mainland; but he returned to Spain in 1299. His admiral Roger de Lauria did inflict a severe defeat on the Sicilian navy at Cape Orlando in 1299. By now, however, James had clearly secured most of what he really wanted. His letters continued to show affection for his brother Frederick even while they were officially at war. James's attention shifted to Sardinia once the treaty of Caltabellotta (1302) had secured Aragonese rights in Sicily in the medium term.

Sardinia was dominated by Pisan and Genoese interests, and the Pisans' fears of intervention by the Aragonese led to proposals that Pisa should submit to Aragonese rule, in the hope of being able to share the benefits of conquest. These proposals did not come to anything. In 1323, however, James exploited an alliance with the powerful native judges of Arborea to invade Sardinia. The Arboreans were hoping to play off the Aragonese against the Pisans, a declining force on the island since their defeat at Genoese hands at Meloria (1284). It would be more accurate to call this an invasion than a conquest, since the Aragonese soon broke with their Arborean allies, and James began to distribute prizes to those who had supported him in the campaign: Catalan soldiers, Majorcan merchants, and Jewish businessmen from Spain. The Pisans managed to hold onto some lands in the south, but the Genoese vigorously opposed the invasion, and these events marked the beginning of a long, bloody, and bitter rivalry between Genoa and the Catalans in the western Mediterranean. Sardinia (and notionally Corsica, which was not attacked until the next century) was subsumed into the "Privilege of Union" of 1319, according to which, whoever was king of Aragon and Valencia, was also count of Barcelona; unlike Majorca and Sicily, it never acquired a cadet ruler from the house of Barcelona. However, the Catalan settlers soon grew discontented with their lot in the harsh

setting of an island that lacked the sophistication of earlier Aragonese conquests such as Sicily and Valencia, and Sard rebellions prompted many to return home to Spain.

James's great strength lay in able diplomacy, which secured him control of the Val d'Aran in the Pyrenees (1312). He was an effective administrator and an enthusiastic letter writer. His role alongside Castile in the conquest of Muslim territories in Spain revealed high ambitions, but they were dashed. The campaign of 1309 against Almeria and Gibraltar did not secure its objectives. Increasingly, James's involvement in Sardinia distracted him from grandiose plans for crusades in Spain and North Africa. His relations with his nephew James II of Majorca, whom he would gladly have dispossessed, were often poor. On the other hand, he had good relations with Islamic rulers in the Levant, gaining recognition from the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria of his protectorate over Christian churches in the east. He was a patron of the mystic and missionary Ramon Llull and of the mystic and physician Arnau de Vilanova. Indeed, James's hypochondria knew no bounds, and it was said that by the end of his life he would not go two paces without a doctor at hand. By the time he died, in 1327, James had proved that his wiliness could produce enormous dividends. Sicily had not, after all, returned to the house of Anjou, and he had gained Sardinia all the same.

See also Angevins Dynasty; Boniface VIII, Pope; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Honorius IV, Pope; Sicily

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Jaufre Rudel

Jaufre Rudel (c. 1100-c. 1147) was lord (*princeps*, prince) of Blaye at the northern shore of the Gironde River in France; he participated in the crusade of 1147, from which he seems not to have returned. Like his overlord and model, William IX, count of Poitiers and duke of Aquitaine, he cultivated literature.

Jaufre's name is associated with two *topoi* (literary commonplaces) in which the paradox of courtly love is concretized: love from afar and passion for a lady the poet has never actually seen. Six poems ascribed to him in the manuscripts are authentic; a seventh is doubtful. These poems have a mystical background and demonstrate a refined sensuality, especially in their descriptions of hopeless longing, as in the famous *Lanquan li jorn son lone en mai* ("When the days are long in May, / I love the sweet song of the birds heard from afar, / and when I have left from there, / I remember a love from afar"). The yearning for love from afar led to a well-known legend of a lady whom Jaufre had never seen, the countess of Tripoli; he is said to have endured a difficult sea voyage in order to see her and to have died in her arms. This legend has inspired writers since the thirteenth century, including Petrarch, Stendhal, Heinrich Heine, and Giosuè Carducci. However, other troubadours, contemporary and later, attacked Jaufre for using mystical elements ordinarily reserved for religious poetry and for being too restrained toward women.

See also Italian Poetry: Lyric

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Jerome, Saint

Saint Jerome (Eusebms Hieronymus, c. 331–30 September 420) was born into a wealthy Christian family at Stridon in Dalmatia. He was the eldest of three children. All the sources reveal that Jerome was a difficult man: he was irascible and held strong opinions that made him quick to participate in any controversy. These characteristics made his life somewhat stormy, but the controversies generated a volume of Christian literature that was profoundly influential.

Jerome apparently received an education in the best classical Roman tradition and went to Rome to continue his studies in the early 340s. He stayed in Rome for ten to twenty years. During that time he became friends with Christians who advocated strict asceticism—notably Rufinus, with whom he later engaged in a bitter dispute. We have little information about Jerome's early years in Rome. However, we know that they ended with one of his perennial conflicts. Jerome had become involved in a scandal about which we have no details but which was enough to make him leave Rome to seek an ascetic life in the east.

In 372, he went to Antioch, where he was well received by Emperor Valens. While Jerome was in Antioch, he had a dream in which Christ accused him of being a disciple of Cicero, not of Christ. This famous dream expressed a conflict that confronted many classically educated Christians. Jerome responded by applying his talents more vigorously to Christian literature, although he later returned to his beloved classics.

A few years later, he retreated to the Syrian desert (near Chalcis) to lead an ascetic life. During this retreat, he kept his extensive library and continued his studies. He learned Hebrew, a skill that would have far-reaching consequences for his biblical scholarship.

Around 377, Jerome discovered that his retreat in the desert had not allowed him to avoid contention. He became involved in a Trinitarian dispute with other monks, and the bitterness of the conflict led him to leave the desert for Antioch and then Constantinople. Finally, c. 382, he

returned to Rome and took a central place in Roman Christian society.



Saint Jerome. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 135r.

In Rome, Jerome worked as secretary to Pope Damasus I. However, Jerome had an even stronger influence within the great Roman families. Several aristocratic widows were drawn to an ascetic life, and Jerome became a spiritual guide to some of them. Two of these women—Marcella and Paula—offered their households as meeting places for other religious women, and Jerome often attended the meetings, teaching scripture and encouraging the women's educational and ascetic pursuits. Paula and one of her daughters, Eustochium, of the noble family of the Aemilii, became Jerome's close companions until their deaths.

Jerome advocated a rigorous asceticism that required extreme fasts, reclusiveness, and a profound regard for chastity. He defended these positions vehemently against all critics. In 383, Helvidius (a figure about

whom we have little information) published a pamphlet trying to vindicate marriage in the face of a growing tendency to exalt celibacy; he argued that Mary had lived a full married life after the birth of Jesus. Jerome's tract *Against Helvidius* was influential in making belief in the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary orthodox. A decade later, Jerome again responded to a critic of Christian celibacy—Jovinian, a Roman monk. Jovinian argued that chastity brought no religious advantage over fidelity within marriage and, echoing Helvidius, claimed that Mary had not remained a virgin after Jesus' birth. Jerome responded so vigorously in his tract *Against Jovinian* that many members of Roman society accused him of being opposed to marriage. Such tracts and Jerome's voluminous correspondence with ascetic men and women form a body of thought that remained a force in monasticism and asceticism throughout the Middle Ages.

Jerome's acerbic style continued to cause him trouble. His satiric comments and his often self-righteous prose offended many, and his uncompromising advocacy of strict asceticism created further problems. One of Paula's daughters, Blesilla, had been widowed when she was twenty years old. Under Jerome's influence, she undertook such severe bodily mortification that she died four months later. Many people in Rome blamed Jerome for her death. Furthermore, Jerome's close friendship with Paula had raised questions of propriety. Therefore, in 385, after the death of his patron Pope Damasus, Jerome left Rome again for the Holy Land. Paula and Eustochium followed him, and the three founded monasteries and settled in Bethlehem. Jerome would not return to Italy, but he continued to influence the west through his correspondence.

In Bethlehem, Jerome completed his most influential works. He prepared a new Latin translation of the Old Testament and the Gospels. For the Old Testament, Jerome translated from Hebrew scriptures instead of from the Greek Septuagint with which the west was most familiar. During his lifetime, he probably received the most criticism for presuming to tamper with the scriptures. Even Augustine wrote to him, asking him to avoid using the Hebrew texts and to work only with the Septuagint. Perhaps fortunately, Jerome did not receive Augustine's cautionary letter, so these two church fathers remained on good terms, and Jerome continued his significant translating. Augustine's concerns

reflected the feelings of many Christians of the time about new scriptural translations, yet Jerome's biblical work was his most enduring achievement. His Latin translation formed the major part of the Vulgate version of the Bible that was accepted for centuries.

Jerome also began a series of Biblical commentaries that were very influential. These commentaries relied heavily on an allegorical interpretation of the Bible that owed much to the Alexandrian theologian Origen (c. 185-254), whom Jerome and his friend Rufinus admired. Jerome's debt to Origen led him into yet another controversy, which ended his longtime friendship with Rufinus. In 393, the bishop of Salamis found certain errors in Origen—Origen's view of the Trinity, his belief in the preexistence of souls, and his allegorical interpretations of creation and paradise—and consequently banned Origen's writings. Jerome immediately renounced Origen, to whom, however, Rufinus and an influential companion, Melania the Elder, remained loyal. Jerome and Rufinus were to spend the rest of their lives defending their respective positions. In 400, the Origenist controversy spread to Rome. Jerome translated and circulated John Chrysostom's renewed condemnation of Origenist thought, and Pope Anastasius I confirmed the condemnation. The Romans followed the continuing controversy through a public correspondence between Jerome and Rufinus.

Jerome took up his next major dispute in 411, when Pelagius came to Palestine from Rome. Pelagius's ideas had been condemned in Rome, and Jerome continued a debate that Augustine had begun. Pelagius attacked what he believed was Jerome's deprecation of marriage in *Against Jovinian*, and he further offended the contentious Jerome by claiming (quite correctly) that Jerome's biblical commentaries had been influenced by Origen. Jerome built on Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings as he articulated the orthodox position on the importance of grace to human will. Jerome's most famous anti-Pelagian work is *Dialogue against Pelagius*.

In 416, Jerome's monasteries in Bethlehem were attacked and burned. Jerome, Eustochium, and Paula's granddaughter (also named Paula) escaped unharmed. Pelagians were accused of the attack, and the accusation caused the weight of public opinion in the Holy Land to shift away from Pelagius; the heresiarch had to leave Jerusalem. This incident ended Jerome's involvement in the Pelagian controversy.

Jerome and Eustochium continued to live in the damaged monastery at Bethlehem.

Jerome's works continued to be read after his death in 421), and as time passed they became even more influential. In the eighth century, Jerome was acclaimed as one of the four doctors of the church (the others were Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great); Pope Boniface VIII formally ratified the title in 1295. This acclamation meant that the church considered Jerome's writings worthy of study by the faithful.

Jerome was primarily a scholar. He devoted himself to his books and writings; as we have seen, he took both into the desert with him when he sought an eremitic life. During the Renaissance, humanist scholars admired his scholarship and recognized him as a Latin stylist. Erasmus published the first collected edition of Jerome's writings. The many scholarly writings by Jerome, particularly his contribution to the Vulgate Bible, advanced Christian theology and devotion. Jerome was also influential in helping to legitimize monasticism in the west as a central Christian institution. Finally, Jerome's advocacy of asceticism, celibacy, and veneration of the Virgin Mary left an enduring mark on medieval Christianity.

***See also* Ambrose, Saint; Augustine, Saint; Bible; Biblical Exegesis; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Jovinian; Monasticism; Pelagius and Pelagianism**

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Jews in Italy

By the fourth century, the Jewish communities of Italy were undergoing various changes for the worse. After more than 400 years of successful acculturation (despite occasional setbacks) to the relatively tolerant and polytheistic society of Rome, their status and numbers declined progressively during the Christianizing of the Roman empire. Recognized as a *religio licita* (a legal entity) by pagan Rome, Jews had enjoyed citizenship, as individuals or collectively, since a decree of Caracalla in 212. Jewish proselytism was still allowed and was even effective in the late empire, especially among noblewomen. Jews interacted in all areas of pre-Christian Roman society from jurisprudence and academics to shipping and manufacturing. The

majority of Jews, however, were proletarian and, though found throughout the population centers of Roman Italy, were centered in urban Rome. Their overall number has been estimated at 50,000 during the second century. The pre-Christian rulers beginning with Julius Caesar allowed Jews certain privileges based on traditional Jewish religious laws, and these privileges continued to structure the status of Jews through the Middle Ages. Yet the Jews of Rome were continually reminded of their lost independence: the Arch of Titus (still extant) recorded their exile; and the sacred objects of Jerusalem's destroyed temple, depicted on the arch, reposed in the *templum pacis* (temple of peace) on the Capitoline hill until the fifth century.

Scholars have reconstructed the legal and social status of the Jews during the fourth and fifth centuries from the Theodosian code, the writings of the church fathers, and Christian councils. The emperors from Constantine I to Theodosius II restricted the rights of Jews as Roman citizens. Constantine began the process of excluding Jews from the military, political, legal, social, and economic life of the empire. His law of the decurions was a burden on wealthy Jews but attests to their economic success in urban centers. Constantius, his Arian successor, prohibited marriage between Jews and Christian female workers in imperial garment factories. Jews were prohibited from circumcising slaves and from proselytizing in general. Although this hostility toward Jews on the part of the Christian emperors was reversed by Julian (361-363), it was reintroduced by Theodosius I (383), who actively promoted Christianity against pagans and Jews. The code of Theodosius II concretized the earlier (generally ad hoc) laws to establish second-class citizenship for Jews. Undoubtedly, many Jews converted to the dominant religion during the century from Constantine to Theodosius II.

The Christianization of the empire was aggressively promoted by the newly developed monastic movement. Pagan temples and synagogues were sanctified as churches, often forcibly, if not destroyed. Theodosius I protested these unlawful actions, particularly in the case of the synagogue of Callinicum (388). However, he did not punish the perpetrators but backed down in the face of a spirited protest from Ambrose of Milan. Therefore, in 393 Theodosius had to repeat his prohibition of the interdiction of Jewish practice and the destruction of

their synagogues. Jews were restricted by law from building new synagogues but were generally allowed to repair older buildings.

Church councils in Italy and throughout the empire listed anti-Jewish canons intended to segregate Jews from Christians. These included bans on marriage, sexual relations, eating or bathing together, discussing the scriptures, and even exchanging gifts on holidays. The intent in the fourth century seems to have been to protect a developing Christianity. By the fifth century, the church had become the official religion of the empire, and its canons were treated as law by the emperor. Thus twofold legislation against Jews and Judaism can be traced in the secular and ecclesiastical literature of the fourth and fifth centuries. Judaism, however, remained a *religio licita*, and the Jews maintained their status as Roman citizens despite the increasing restrictions placed on them.

During the fifth- and sixth-century invasions of Italy, the Jews suffered along with their fellow citizens, but under the Arian Goths their situation improved. Breviaries of the Theodosian code, including some of its anti-Jewish laws, were interpreted liberally by both kings (e.g., Theodoric) and popes (e.g., Gelasius); and the Orthodox Christians' animosity toward Jews was muted because the Arian kings used Jews for administrative and economic support. During the Byzantine reconquest of Italy, Jews fought alongside the Goths, especially during Belisarius's siege of Naples in 536. After the Byzantine reconquest, Justinian further denigrated Judaism in his code and placed restrictions on Jews, including an interdiction against the teaching of rabbinic Judaism. Despite these setbacks, though, Byzantine Italy was to remain the main area of Jewish settlement.

In the Jewish community of Rome, which maintained an unbroken continuity from the days of the republic through the twentieth century, entered a new stage under the papacy. Gregory I (590-604) mentioned the Jews in twenty-eight of his letters, and these formed the basis of later popes' attitudes toward them. Officially, Jews were allowed to fully enjoy their circumscribed status as defined in the Theodosian Code, but no more than that. This phraseology, initiated by the words *sicut Iudaeis*, was to prefix every papal bull to the Jews beginning with Calixtus II (1119-1124). Gregory, as the last bureaucratic representative of the empire in the Latin west, protected the economic and religious

rights of the Jews in Italy (especially in Rome, Naples, and Ravenna, but also in Sicily) and southern France against forced conversion and the destruction of their synagogues, while permitting them some leeway in the slave trade (the latter out of necessity, since the papal estates needed slaves). At the same time, he authorized his overseers in Sicily to bribe poor Jews to convert, arguing that the children of the converts would become good Christians. This policy gave effect to Augustine's balanced treatment in his homiletic commentary on Psalm 59:12: "Slay them [the Jews] not, lest My people [the Christians] forget."

Inscriptions by Jews in Greek, Latin, and (increasingly from the seventh century on) Hebrew attest to their presence in southern Italy, especially in Venosa. An eleventh-century Hebrew chronicle in rhymed prose known as *Megillat ahimaaz* provides a folklorish narrative of a prominent Jewish family in Oria through the ninth and tenth centuries. Written in the contemporary style of hagiography and emphasizing the mystical and the miraculous, it is our primary source for tracing Jewish fortunes in Byzantine Italy as well as for outlining the beginnings of a renaissance of Hebrew literature and poetry. Subsequent research in the rich liturgical collections emphasized the continuity of Palestinian poetic traditions in southern Italy and the role of southern Italy as an intermediary in the further development of these traditions in the German Rhineland from the eleventh century on. The classical *piyyut* of Palestine was codified, so to speak, during the tenth and eleventh centuries and was succeeded by the new poetry of Spanish Jewry's golden age. Alongside this Sephardic tradition the new Italian poetry of the thirteenth century was absorbed into Hebrew, producing a mellifluous Italian legacy to Renaissance Jewry.

Historiography reached its high point with the appearance of *Sepher yosippon*, an extraordinary history of ancient Israel derived from the Vulgate and from Josephus, and written in a superlative mix of biblical and later Hebrew. The anonymous author interweaves the legendary history of Rome with biblical and postbiblical events down to the destruction of the Second Temple and Jerusalem in 68 (according to medieval Italian reckoning). Fragments of the book of Maccabees and a chronicle of ancient rulers to 962 were also produced. In medicine, astronomy, and mysticism, the works of Shabbetai Donnolo of Oria rank as extremely important, not least for their continued use by Jews

and Christians throughout the medieval period. Valuable collections of rabbinic texts also make their appearance. In the eleventh century, a Hebrew rendering of Pseudo-Callisthenes's *Deeds of Alexander* attests to an interest in general culture. This Hebrew renaissance is characterized by a twelfth-century pun on Isaiah (2:3) substituting two southern Italian cities for Zion and Jerusalem—"The teaching (of Moses) came forth from Bari and the word of the Lord from Otranto."

From another perspective, this renaissance witnessed the migration of Jews (e.g., Kalonymos ben Kalonymos of Lucca) to the Rhineland at the invitation of the Saxon emperors. The immigrant Jews were to found, or reinforce, communities in Speyer, Worms, and Mainz that flourished until their destruction during the First Crusade. At the same time, there were vicissitudes under the Macedonian house in Constantinople: forced conversions by Basil I (873–874) and Romanus I Lecapenus (932–936) and inevitable disruptions during the Italian wars of Alexander and Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Bowman 1986, 54–57) and during the Muslim conquest of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria. (Shabbetai Donnolo, for example, was enslaved by an Arab raiding party in 925, an experience that allowed him to study medicine and astronomy from Arabic as well as Greek sources.) Islam had a generally more tolerant attitude toward Jews; as a result, their condition improved during the tenth and eleventh centuries despite the imposition of land (*kharadj*) and poll (*jizya*) taxes. Sicilian Jews were to maintain an Arabic culture well after the Christian reconquest. The destruction of Bari in 1071 signaled the beginning of a shift of Jewish centers to Rome and later, at the end of the thirteenth century, to northern Italy.

Under the qualified protection of the popes, the Jews of Rome flourished from the eleventh century on, producing important medical, financial, and literary figures. Nathan ben Yehiel *min ha-anavim* created his *Arukh*, an encyclopedia of postbiblical Hebrew that is still valuable. Later generations of the Anav family produced important scholars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nathan's nephew, Yehiel Anav, was a financial administrator for Pope Alexander III (r. 1159–1185). A scion of an eleventh-century convert to Christianity (Benedict, or Baruch, of Rome) became the popular antipope Anacletus II (Pietro Pier-leoni, r. 1130–1138); and Anacletus's family, the Pierleoni,

remained prominent in Roman politics and finances. Two earlier Pierleoni popes were Gregory VI and Gregory VII. Menahem ben Solomon produced an important homiletic commentary on Psalms in 1139 and concretized the liturgy of the so-called Roman or Italian prayer book. Many papal physicians through the Renaissance were Jews. By virtue of their presence at the papal court, the Jewish community of Rome—numbering about 1,000 and centered in Trastevere—provided an intercessionary voice for Jews of Roman Catholic and other Christian lands.

In the thirteenth century, the papacy became more aggressive, and Gregory I's ambivalent policy toward the Jews was sharpened. Innocent III, through the Fourth Lateran Council, imposed a yellow star on Jews (as well as on Muslims). The newly established Inquisition was invited by the Jews of Provence to consider whether the writings of the renowned philosopher and religious thinker Maimonides were blasphemous; the inquisitors went on to condemn the Talmud (the codified corpus of rabbinic commentary on the Bible), which would be periodically burned over the next few centuries. The recently established Dominican order began to study Jewish religious writings and, with the aid of apostates, engaged Jews in public disputations, especially in Spain. On the other hand, the popes vigorously, if ineffectually, condemned popular hysteria regarding Jews, trying to discredit accusations that the Jews practiced blood libels (stealing Christian children to use their blood for making unleavened bread at Passover), poisoned wells, and desecrated the host wafer (the eucharistic bread). Popes also challenged the Holy Roman emperors on the question of jurisdiction over the Jews. This controversy may be seen as part of the larger investiture controversy; it also had important economic ramifications, since jurisdiction involved taxation as well as protection. The Hohenstaufen emperors, for their part, redefined the Jews in their realm as *servi camerae* and placed Jews under the protection of the king's peace along with ecclesiastics and women.

Jewish life in southern Italy and Sicily received a mortal blow in 1290 with the forced conversion of its still Arabized communities. Presumably, the victims also included the colony of Jews whom Roger II had kidnapped from Corinth in 1172 and brought to Palermo to create a silk industry. This persecution ended the school of philosophers

and translators that had flourished during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The center of Jewish life in Italy had shifted permanently to northern Italy by the end of the thirteenth century, although Italian Jewry would always have a voice in Rome. The developing economies of the northern cities attracted Jews whose value to the economy eventually overcame barriers against their settlement. Jews were banned by law from politics and were excluded from competitive manufacturing by the Christian guild system. Their public economy therefore developed in the area of essential services: medicine (prohibited by church canon), loans (challenged as usury by the church), general retail merchandising, and secondhand clothing. Indeed, most of the Jews were involved in the garment industry, which involved both domestic use and a minimal trade. The Jewish community was also served by its own ritual slaughterers, tanners, religious functionaries, teachers, and judges. Loan banks were the major source of income for the small percentage of wealthy Jews. Jewish pawnshops were a familiar institution in most Italian cities, welcomed by the mass of poor Christians who could not possibly afford the exorbitant rates charged by the Lombard banking houses. During the fourteenth century, Jews were periodically expelled, but popular demand always brought them back. Jews began to gain privileges, protection, and occasionally citizenship from the new city governments: in Urbino (beginning of the fourteenth century), Rome (1310), Naples (1311), Montefiascone (1312), Mantua (1386), Milan (1387), etc.

Because of their ubiquity, Jews were seen both positively and negatively in Italian culture, depending on the prejudice of the observer. One factor exacerbating the negative image was an influx of French, German, and Spanish Jews who had been persecuted in or expelled from their homelands. The immigrants established their own separate congregations and synagogues, but there was persistent tension regarding religious and communal matters. More positively, Jews participated in the development of local languages; an Italian translation of Hebrew poems is extant, as are Hebrew-Italian word lists. Apparently, the weekly reading of the Pentateuch in some synagogues was in Italian. Immanuel ben Solomon ha-Romi (c. 1270-c. 1330) composed poems in Italian and sonnets in Hebrew and produced a

Hebrew version (*Topbet ve-eden*) of Dante's *Inferno*. The tradition of religious and secular poetry continued to flourish, as did talmudic studies, especially in Rome, where great efforts resulted in a Hebrew translation of the nearly lost commentary to the Mishnah of Maimonides. Philosophers, too, were prominent among scholars. For example, Judah ben Moses, known as Judah Romano, was part of the circle of translators of King Robert of Naples, along with Kalonymos ben Kalonymos and Shemaryah Ikriti, an erstwhile Roman. There was fierce competition between pro-Maimonidean and anti-Maimonidean factions; this was to last for centuries and included the newly developing kab-balistic (mystical) trends emanating from Spain.

In the last generation of the fourteenth century saw a decline in Jewish scholarship. Plagued by natural disasters and economic difficulties and burdened with extraordinary taxes, the Italian communities of Rome, Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara founded a committee of collective relief in 1416. Italian Jewry, a composite of French, German, Spanish, and Italian congregations with a rich cultural background, was now organized to participate fully in the Renaissance.

Most of the scholarship on Italian Jewry is in either Italian or Hebrew (see *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 9, 1146). The works listed in the bibliography below are, however, limited to English publications and translations, with the exception of Milano (1954). *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901), *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1939), and *Encyclopedia Judaica* (1971) are recommended for general and specific subjects.

See also Anacletus II, Antipope; Belisarius; Calixtus II, Pope; Dominican Order; Gelasius, Pope; Gregory I, Pope; Gregory VI, Pope; Gregory VII, Pope; Immanuel Romano; Innocent III, Pope; Investiture Controversy; Italian-Hebrew Literature; Justinian I; Roger II; Rome; Theodoric

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Joachim of Fiore

Joachim of Fiore (Flora, Floris; c. 1135-30 March 1202) was a biblical exegete and the founder of the order of San Giovanni in Fiore, commonly known as the Florentians. Joachim's attempts to explain the patterns of Christian history gained him a reputation as a prophet in the thirteenth century, as well as a following among the Spiritual faction of the Franciscan order. His reputation as a prophet made his thought very influential in the later Middle Ages, but some people considered him a heretic because of his Trinitarian doctrine and his adoption by the Spirituals.

Joachim was born in Celico, near Cosenza in Calabria. As a young man, he trained to be a notary like his father, and for some years he served in this capacity at the Corte del Giustiziere in Calabria and later at the court of King William II of Sicily in Salerno. Around 1167, a serious illness led Joachim to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land,

where he decided to become a monk. On his return to Calabria, Joachim retired first to the Cistercian monastery of Sambucina and then to the monastery of Corazzo, near Catanzaro. There he professed and was ordained in 1168. Sometime before 1177, he was elected abbot. Joachim found administration arduous; and when negotiations to have Corazzo officially accepted by the Cistercian order led to a two-year residence at the Cistercian monastery of Casamari (1182-1184), he took advantage of the respite to begin two major works of biblical exegesis. These were *Liber de concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* (*Book on the Concordance between the Old and the New Testaments*) and *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (*Exposition of the Apocalypse*). Now convinced that exegesis was his real calling, Joachim turned to the papacy to obtain a release from administration. When Pope Lucius III took up residence in nearby Veroli during 1184, Joachim obtained Lucius's permission to devote himself to writing for a year and a half. He received a renewal of this permission from Pope Urban III in 1186, and another from Pope Clement III in 1188. Clement also seems to have approved Joachim's resignation as abbot of Corazzo, which was now fully incorporated into the Cistercian order.

In the mid-1180s, Joachim became dissatisfied with the Cistercian life. He moved to a hermitage at Petraiata, and then to San Giovanni in Fiore, in the Sila mountains. Meanwhile, his reputation as a prophet was growing. In 1191, he was summoned to an interview with Richard I Coeur de Lion (Lion-Heart) at Messina; later that year he was summoned to another, with Emperor Henry VI near Naples. The Cistercian leadership did not approve of Joachim's activities, however. In 1192, the order's chapter general declared that if Joachim and his companion Ranier of Ponza did not return to Corazzo by the feast of John the Baptist in 1193, they would be considered fugitives. Joachim ignored the deadline and instead founded his own order at Fiore. Again he turned to the papacy to legitimize his actions. The rule of Joachim's new order, based on that of the Cistercians but more austere, was approved by Pope Celestine III in 1196. Joachim also received a charter for his monastery and an annual stipend from Emperor Henry VI. The new order spread rapidly, establishing thirty-eight houses in Calabria and twenty-two elsewhere within the first few decades of its existence. But its growth stopped in the mid-thirteenth century, apparently

because of competition from the Mendicant orders. It was united with the Cistercian order in 1570.

Joachim died at the Florentine monastery of San Martino di Giove near Canaie. In 1240, his body was translated to San Giovanni, where it became the center of a local cult.

Joachim's fame rests on his novel method of scriptural exegesis. He sought understanding of what he called *concordia*—harmony between the Old Testament and the New Testament, manifested in parallel events. Joachim described this as "a similarity of equal proportion between the Old and the New Testaments, equal, I say, as to number, not as to dignity." The idea of *concordia* had no real precedent in earlier Christian exegesis. Typology had been used to argue that certain Old Testament events and figures foreshadowed Christ and that Christ was therefore the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies, but Joachim's *concordia* presumed a steady parallel between Old Testament and Christian history. Moreover, Joachim treated Christ as one of many parallel figures and events in scriptural *concordia*, whereas previous exegetes had seen Christ as the only figure foreshadowed in the Old Testament. It has been suggested that Joachim's *concordia* derived from a desire, common in the twelfth century, to find meaning and pattern in human history. In this sense, Joachim's exegesis was very much in the spirit of his time.

Joachim believed that three visions had given him the spiritual insight to perceive scriptural *concordia*. His study of *concordia* revealed, in turn, the patterns of history. These were overlapping numerical sequences of events, arranged mainly in twos, threes, and sevens. The two most important were the synchronous *diffinitio alpha* and *diffinitio omega*. *Diffinitio alpha* divided history into three *status* or states, corresponding to the persons of the Trinity and symbolizing the spiritual progress of humanity. *Diffinitio omega* was arranged in two stages corresponding to the Old Testament on the one hand, and the New Testament, the Christian era, and a final period of special spiritual understanding on the other. This final period would be the completion of the Christian era. The first *status* of *diffinitio alpha* was marked by an order of married people and the second by an order of clerics; the third would be characterized by an order of monks. This third *status* would be a time of joyous contemplation and understanding of the

scriptures, in which the church would become truly spiritual. Joachim thought that the second *status* was gradually giving way to the third in his own time. On the basis of the pattern of twos that he saw throughout the Old and New Testaments, he predicted that the church would be led into the new *status* by two new orders of spiritual men: one an order of hermits, the other of preachers. These orders would not end the Roman church but would, rather, lead its transition to a higher quality of spiritual life. There would be a period of peace before the last great persecution preceding the last judgment.

Joachim subdivided the stages of historical *diffinitiones* into lesser overlapping patterns, also numerically based. For example, the first *status* featured twelve patriarchs who founded twelve tribes, the second had twelve apostles who founded twelve churches, and the third had twelve great religious who founded twelve monasteries. Although each set of twelve dominated its own *status*, it also had roots in the previous *status*, thus producing the overlap. By far the most important of these lesser sequences was a pattern of sevens arranging the Old and New Testament stages of history. There was some precedent for this among previous exegetes, who had often divided history into seven periods. But whereas traditional commentators such as Augustine envisioned the seventh period as a time of peace beyond the end of history, Joachim placed his seventh age before the last judgment. He considered this seventh age to be concomitant with the third *status*. Joachim was also original in imposing a pattern of concordant double sevens subdividing the seven ages: one a sequence of seven seals that appeared during the second and third ages, the other a sequence of seven openings of the seals that occurred in the sixth age. Joachim believed that he was living at the end of the sixth age and near the end of the fifth seal-opening, so he speculated a good deal on the identity of contemporaries who might figure in the transition to the next age. This established an important precedent for his followers.

Joachim's Trinitarian concerns led him to question Peter Lombard's commonly accepted description of the unity of the Trinity, *vera et propria*, suggesting instead *collectiva et similitudi-naria*. This formulation was condemned as tritheistic at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The council's failure to comment on the rest of Joachim's doctrines created uncertainty about his orthodoxy, and this uncertainty

was never really resolved. While many were drawn to Joachim's vision of a coming spiritual age, others remained suspicious of his doctrine. In the mid-thirteenth century and the early fourteenth, Joachim's reputation suffered further blows. His predictions regarding the two orders of spiritual men who would herald the new *status* attracted the interest of the newly founded Dominicans and Franciscans. Soon radical Franciscans had woven their own apocalyptic notions around Joachim's thought. Gerard of Borgo San Donnino's *Eternal Evangel* was condemned as heretical in 1255. The doctrines of the Spiritual Franciscans met a similar fate in the 1310s. Both were deeply rooted in Joachim's teachings, and their censure increased doubts about his orthodoxy.

Joachim's double reputation as a prophet and a heretic continued into modern times. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and the sixteenth-century historian Cesare Baronius all considered him heterodox; Dante, Boccaccio, and the usually skeptical Bol-landist Daniel Papebroch considered him a prophet. Early Protestant writers were similarly divided. During the Enlightenment, attacks on the notion of prophecy drastically diminished Joachim's influence, but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it could still be found in figures as diverse as Auguste Comte and Carl Jung.

See also Dante Alighieri; Franciscan Order; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Italian Literature: Religious

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Joanna I of Naples

Joanna (Joan, Joanne, Giovanna; 1326-1382, r. 1343-1382) was queen regnant of Naples. She was the elder daughter of Robert the Wise, king of Naples, and was married four times: to Andrew of Hungary (in 1340), Louis of Taranto (1347), James of Majorca (1362), and Otto of Brunswick (1375). She had no surviving issue.

In 1345, Andrew was assassinated. His death provoked an invasion by his brother, Louis the Great of Hungary, who accused Joanna of complicity in Andrew's murder and claimed the throne for himself (as the grandson of Charles Martel, firstborn son of Charles I of Anjou). Louis entered Naples in 1348. Few Italians opposed him, and some, including Cola di Rienzo, were actively supportive. (Cola, however, fell before the Hungarian triumph, his defeat having been partly engineered by Joanna's supporters.) Joanna, seeking allies, married one cousin, Louis of Taranto, secretly and without papal sanction (she and Louis were related closely enough to require a dispensation in order to marry); and appointed another cousin, Charles of Du-razzo (d. 1348), guardian of her son, though Charles played an equivocal role in the invasion. As the Hungarians approached, Joanna and Louis fled to their overlord, Pope Clement VI, at Avignon. To recover his support after their marriage and the murder of Andrew and to obtain money with which to renew the fight against Hungary, Joanna sold Avignon to Clement for 80,000 florins, considerably less than its worth. Meanwhile, the black death broke out, and the Hungarians, much reduced in number, returned home, taking as hostage Joanna's son (who died in Hungary) but leaving Joanna and Louis of Taranto in possession of the Regno. The Hungarians returned later, but never successfully. By 1352, Louis of Taranto, with help from the papacy, was recognized in Naples and had also established his rights against his wife's claims to sovereignty. Organized by the grand seneschal, Niccoló Acciaiuoli, the Regno experienced a brief period of recovery before war was renewed. The war was undertaken again partly in an unsuccessful attempt to

reunite Sicily (which had been under Aragonese rule since 1285) with the Regno, and partly because of renewed rebellion by the Durazzo branch of the Angevins, who resented the dominance of Louis of Taranto.

Louis died in 1362. Joanna's third husband, James of Majorca, was given no authority in government. James—who had recently escaped from fourteen years' imprisonment in an iron cage by his uncle, Peter IV of Aragon—was half mad and periodically violent. He soon returned to Spain, and from 1362 to 1375 Joanna ruled alone. Despite minor rebellions initiated by her sister Maria, who was the widow of Charles of Durazzo, and by Maria's sons, the realm achieved a measure of peace. In 1368-1370, Urban V briefly returned to Italy from Avignon, with Joanna's protection.

In 1378, Urban VI, formerly archbishop of Bari and Joanna's subject, became pope and quickly indicated his intention to revive and support the Hungarian claim to Naples. Accordingly, when a rival pope, Clement VII, was elected, Joanna took Clement's part; and her next husband, Otto of Brunswick, proved entirely willing to persecute Urban's followers. Urban reacted by excommunicating Joanna and conceding her throne to Louis of Hungary. Charles III of Durazzo (nephew of Maria and the late elder Charles) encouraged Louis, so, although Charles III was her nearest relative, Joanna excluded him from the succession. Instead, with Clement VII's approval, she bequeathed all her rights to Louis of Anjou, eldest brother of Charles V of France (in January 1380). In 1381, Urban, despairing of the Hungarians, crowned Charles III of Durazzo king of Naples. In the ensuing civil war, Charles was successful: in August Otto was taken prisoner and Joanna surrendered. She died in prison, probably stifled to death on Charles's orders, in July 1382, while her adopted heir, Louis of Anjou, was coming over the Alps to her rescue.

Joanna's lament "I regret only one thing, that the Almighty did not make me a man" has some justification. Urban VI's main complaint against her was apparently that he disliked queens regnant. She had some devotees, notably Giovanni Boc-caccio, but she was more usually scorned as immoral and incompetent. Still, she did her best work when she ruled alone: although her reign was a disaster, the problems were not all of her making.

See also Acciaiuoli Family; Angevin Dynasty; Black Death; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Charles I of Anjou; Clement VI, Pope; Cola di Rienzo; Robert of Anjou; Urban V, Pope; Urban VI, Pope

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Johannes Andreae

Johannes Andreae (d. 1348) was the one layman among the great canonists of the Middle Ages. He studied in Bologna with Guido de Baysio, the archdeacon, receiving his doctorate c. 1298. Pope Boniface VIII issued the decretal collection *Liber sextus decretalium* in 1298, and about three years later Johannes composed the ordinary gloss to it. Johannes taught most often at the University of Bologna, and he achieved prominence in the affairs of that city. Shortly after 1317, when Pope John XXII reissued the *Constitutiones clementinae* (*Clementines*) of his predecessor, Clement V, Johannes composed a commentary on that collection; this commentary, too, achieved the status of an ordinary gloss, found with most copies of the compilation. Johannes also composed a *Novella*, or new commentary, on the *Decretals* of Gregory IX. Late in life, he published a *Novella* on *Liber sextus*, supplementing his earlier gloss; and he left notes for an update of his commentary on the *Clementines*. When he died of the plague, Johannes also left behind numerous opinions, disputations, and procedural works, as well as later commentaries on decretal collections, especially *Liber sextus* and the *Clementines*, merely adding to his work. The tale that he had a beautiful daughter, Novella, who lectured in his absence, is doubted by scholars.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Canon Law Collections and Ordinary Glosses; Clement V, Pope; John XXII, Pope

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John VIII, Pope

Pope John VIII (d. 16 December 882, r. 872-882) was chosen following the death of Pope Hadrian II. John had long been a member of the Roman clergy and was an adviser to Pope Nicholas I. As pope, John struggled to maintain the integrity of the papacy through a period of mounting turbulence. His immediate problems were military, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical. Saracen raids had become a growing menace to many areas of Italy, compelling him to build fortifications around Roman churches outside the walls. More broadly, he cultivated the Carolingian rulers Louis II and Charles the Bald in hope of securing their military aid. This brought him into complicated controversies with rival Carolingian princes that did not end until John's coronation of Charles the Fat as emperor (881); and in any event military support from the Franks did not prove forthcoming.

Hoping to obtain support instead from Byzantium, John sought to resolve a long dispute between Rome and Constantinople over the controversial patriarchate of Photius. John was willing to concede recognition of the restoration of Photius by the new emperor, Basil I, but the outcome was complicated by the issue of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Bulgaria, a Slavic kingdom. Bulgaria had turned from Constantinople to Rome in order to receive Christianization, and Bishop Formosus, a bitter rival of Pope John, had successfully pursued papal missionary work there. Then, disillusioned in turn with their Roman connections, the Bulgarians suddenly turned back to Constantinople. In 879, there was a meeting of the council in Constantinople; John had sent legates, but behind their backs the patriarch and the emperor maneuvered to secure the adherence of the Bulgarian church to the east. John was foiled not only in this matter but also over certain fine points; however, he accepted these defeats with the consolation of renewed good relations between the great sees, as well as some military help from the Byzantines in Italy. At the same time, John was concerned about the independence of the German clergy in central Europe; to restrain them, he continued Nicholas I's policy of supporting the work of the Byzantine missionary Methodius in Moravia against them.

Faced with increasing violence in Rome and with the dissidence of his political opponents, John was betrayed by his retinue, who first tried to poison him and then beat him to death.

See also Charles the Bald, Emperor; Frankish Kingdom; Hadrian II, Pope; Louis II, Emperor; Nicholas I, Pope; Photian Schism

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John X, Pope

Pope John X (d. 929, r. 914-928) had been archbishop of Ravenna and was chosen as pope in early 914 with the backing of the clan of Theophylact. In the summer of 915, John led a Christian coalition to the battle of the Garigliano, where he fought with distinction. This success sealed John's alliance with Theophylact's faction in Rome. Not until after 924, when his Roman protectors and Berengar (whom John had crowned emperor in 915) were dead, did John's position in Rome weaken. The pope desperately sought new allies but lost favor in Rome; he was deposed by Marozia in June 928. John was imprisoned and died mysteriously in 929.

John realistically tolerated the Roman dynasts' influence on the papacy but also held to an exalted concept of the popes' role in Christendom. He intervened in the affairs of numerous European and eastern churches and worked to incorporate the Dalmatian and

Croatian churches in Latin Christendom. He idealized the empire as an antidote to the Roman factions and gave imperial leaders considerable authority in ecclesiastical matters. John's contemporaries, and later writers, maligned him for moral faults and for his Roman politics.

John's letters as archbishop are in Loewenfeld (1883); his papal letters are in Migne (1880) and *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (1885). Councils held during his pontificate are recorded in Mansi (1778).

See also Garigliano, Battle of; Papacy; Pornocracy; Ravenna

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John XII, Pope

Pope John XII (Octavian; c. 937-964, r. 955–964) was the son of Alberic, a petty Roman warlord. Alberic's larger ambitions were curbed by Hugh of Provence, but Hugh was unable to dislodge Alberic from Rome. Alberic had his adolescent son, Octavian, elected pope in 955.

As pope, John was menaced by Berengar of Ivrea, who had driven Hugh of Provence from Italy. Repeating the actions of earlier popes, John called on a powerful northern ruler, Otto I, who was married to Adelaide, the widow of Hugh's son Lothar. Otto was looking for an excuse to invade Italy and did so in 961, posing as the pope's champion. John, in gratitude, crowned Otto emperor in February 962. The pope soon regretted his action and plotted against Otto, possibly asking the Magyars and the Byzantines for aid. Otto in turn deposed John and chose another pope, Leo VIII. John was driven from Rome but recaptured the city when Otto left. However, John died soon thereafter, evidently from a beating by an outraged husband whose wife had been caught with the pope. John XII, a dissolute and incompetent youth who was said to have toasted the devil's health when drunk, was probably the worst pope in history.

John XII's surviving official documents (and at least one forgery) are collected in *Regesta Imperii* (Zimmermann 1998).

See also Liudprand of Cremona

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John XXI, Pope

Pope John XXI (Petrus Juliani, Petrus Hispanus, Peter of Spain; d. 1277, r. 1276-1277) was Portuguese. He studied in Paris, receiving his degree in the arts c. 1240. After teaching medicine in Siena c. 1246-1250, he became dean of Lisbon and an archdeacon. Pope Gregory X made Peter his physician. Peter became a cardinal in 1273 and took part in the Second Council of Lyon in 1274. Following Hadrian V's brief pontificate, Peter was elected pope in Viterbo, in riotous circumstances. Although (owing to a scribal error) there had been no John XX, uncertainty about the correct numeration of the popes led to his being cal led John XXI.

John was a scholar, not a politician, and he left many decisions to Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, Charles of Anjou lost favor; and negotiations were resumed with the Greeks, in part to thwart the Angevins' ambitions in the east. Rudolf I of Hapsburg was favored to

become emperor, and negotiations for peace between France and Castile were undertaken. Papal authorization for the bishop of Paris to inquire into the teachings at the university there led to condemnations of certain errors.

John XXI died when the roof of his study in the papal palace at Viterbo collapsed. Orsini succeeded him as Nicholas III, further undermining the Angevins' ambitions. John is best-known for a tract on logic, *Summulae logicales*; and for a medical compendium, *Thesaurus pauperum*.

See also Charles I of Anjou; Gregory X, Pope; Nicholas III, Pope

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John XXII, Pope

Pope John XXII (Jacques Duèse,, d'Euse, Deuze; c. 1245-1334, r. 7 August 1316-4 December 1334) was born at Cahors to a prominent bourgeois family. He studied law at Orléans and Paris, and subsequently taught canon and civil law at Cahors and Orleans. Elected bishop of Fréjus in 1300, he became the chancellor of Charles II of Anjou, king of Naples, in 1308. Pope Clement V made him bishop of Avignon two years later and a cardinal in 1312.

On his election as the second Avignonese pope, John considered a plan to return the papacy to Italy from Avignon; when that proved impractical, he took steps to establish Avignon as a long-term residence for the papal curia. John initiated a number of ecclesiastical reforms, the most important of which were fiscal and administrative. Many were

intended to replace revenues that the papacy had lost when it withdrew from Italy. These measures—especially John's extension of papal authority to grant and tax benefices—were extremely effective, but they created much ill feeling toward the papacy among local clergy. John also founded the papal library at Avignon; promoted important missionary activity in Asia; established a university at Cahors; and promulgated *Extravagantes communes* and *Constitutiones Clementinae*, collections of his own decretals and those of his predecessor.

John's reign was marked by several important conflicts. His opposition to attempts by the German emperor Louis IV to assert imperial rights in Italy led to a long struggle. In 1324, Louis was excommunicated; in 1328, he invaded Italy and installed an antipope at Rome. Although the antipope submitted to John in 1330, Louis remained an enemy of the Avignon papacy until his death in 1347. During the 1320s, John's efforts to resolve disputes within the Franciscan order over the nature of apostolic poverty led to a clash with the order's leadership. By the end of the decade the Franciscan minister-general and other prominent Franciscans had defected to the court of Louis IV.

John's obstinate, contentious nature is often blamed for the severity of these disputes. In 1331, he created a controversy single-handedly when he insisted on proposing for public discussion among theologians a personal and highly problematic theory regarding the beatific vision. Despite accusations of heresy from his political opponents and despite the overwhelmingly negative appraisals of his interpretation by consulting theologians, John asserted until he was on his deathbed his right to hold the doctrine as a personal opinion. The episode did considerable damage to his own reputation and to that of the Avignon papacy.

***See also* Avignonese Papacy; Charles II of Anjou; Franciscan Order; Lewis of Bavaria; Papacy**

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Jordanes, Chronicler

The chronicler Jordanes (Jornandes, sixth century) was of Gothic origin. He is first attested to as a notary (secretary) in the service of an Ostrogothic general named Gunthigis *qui et* Baza in the early sixth century. Jordanes eventually converted from Arianism to Catholicism and seems to have become a cleric. Some historians identify him with a contemporary bishop, Jordanes of Croton.

Around 550, Jordanes composed *On the Origin and History of the Goths*, usually called the *Getica*, which summarized the now lost *Gothic History* written by the Roman senator Cassiodorus. He also wrote *A Survey of the Times, or, On the Origin and History of the Roman People*, usually referred to as the *Romana*. This work is in two parts: the first part covers the history of the world up to the beginning of the Roman empire, and the second covers the Roman empire. The *Romana* was

partially based on another lost history, that of the Roman senator Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, although not nearly to the extent once thought. The suggestion has been made that Jordanes's works, which are both in Latin, were written in Constantinople.

Jordanes gives the earliest extant account of barbarian history written from the barbarians' viewpoint, and his works include much material that is found nowhere else. His underlying intention was to justify the Gothic domination over the Romans.

See also Cassiodorus; Ostrogoths

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Jovinian

The medieval church is known for its emphasis on monasticism and asceticism, but in the fourth century that emphasis was still a subject of dispute. The opinion which was to prevail became solidified in Italy in part during a controversy generated by Jovinian (d. before 406). Jovinian was a monk and ascetic who practiced celibacy, chastity, and bodily mortification. However, he came to the conclusion that such actions were irrelevant to true Christian belief, and so he abandoned his

asceticism for a moderate life and wrote pamphlets encouraging other Christians to do the same.

None of Jovinian's writings survive; we know his position only from his opponents, primarily Jerome, Ambrose, Pope Siricius, and Augustine. From their works, it appears that Jovinian advocated the following positions: (1) There is no difference between baptized Christians who are married or chaste, and there will be no differential reward in heaven. (2) There is no advantage to fasting. (3) Mary conceived Jesus as a virgin but lost her virginity bearing him. These points directly contradicted the position of the powerful ascetic party (represented by Ambrose, Jerome, and other influential Romans), but they were popular with many people. According to Pope Siricius, under Jovinian's influence numerous dedicated virgins abandoned their vows in order to marry, and numerous ascetics abandoned their rigors for a more balanced life.

Jovinian and his ideas were condemned at a Roman synod presided over by Pope Siricius in 389 or 392. A year later, the condemnation was repeated at a synod in Milan guided by Ambrose. The medieval church rejected the moderate position advocated by Jovinian, but the questions he raised regarding the value of virginity and the nature of a Christian life did not disappear.

See also Ambrose, Saint; Augustine, Saint; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Jerome, Saint

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Jubilee

The first year of jubilee, or Holy Year, was officially proclaimed by Pope Boniface VIII on 22 February 1300 by means of the bull *Antiquorum habet*. Who may lay claim to the decisive initiative for the proclamation is a question that cannot be answered unequivocally. There is no question, however, that at the beginning of the year 1300 the streams of the faithful flowing into Rome had quite unusual expectations about obtaining indulgences and that these expectations were associated with the special character of the year as marking the beginning of a new century. Boniface VIII responded to the expectancy of the masses, but his own positive disposition stemmed from a variety of motives. Alongside the pastoral care of souls, power politics was certainly significant: the superior position of the successor to the prince of the apostles should have made clear to all—especially to temporal rulers of the stripe of a Philip the Fair of France—that expectations at the turn of the century were being used to enhance the pope's political power. Moreover, economic considerations were favorable for the

inauguration of the jubilee year.

Before the final proclamation, however, it had to be determined what kind of indulgence was to be attached to the Holy Year. Boniface VIII had the archives searched for precedents and had eyewitness accounts of the Holy Year 1200 examined; he finally followed the example of the indulgence for a crusade, which almost always took the form of an *indulgentia plenaria*, i.e., a plenary indulgence for the guilt and the punishment for sins. This was the most significant of all indulgences; and to prevent anyone from obtaining it more than once in a lifetime, there was a legally binding condition calling for a lapse of 100 years between two jubilees. Boniface granted a full indulgence of all sins, and of the punishment resulting from them, to all foreign pilgrims who, after receiving the sacrament of penance in full penitence of spirit, visited for fifteen days both the basilica of Saint Peter and the basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls. For Romans, the fifteen days were increased to thirty. These requirements were strictly maintained. In only three cases did Boniface suspend the canonically specified length of the visitation.

As expected, the city of Rome profited enormously from the rush of faithful visitors. The Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani says that 200,000 pilgrims were constantly present in Rome. Villani was probably exaggerating; and Cardinal Stefaneschi—in the only contemporary treatise, *De centesimo seu iubileo anno*—laments the absence of princes, who would have brought increased contributions of money. Even so, the Holy Year 1300 can certainly be numbered among the largest celebrations for the masses in medieval Christianity.

Appealing to Leviticus 25, which describes a kind of Jewish holy year celebrated every fifty years, Pope Clement VII proclaimed on 7 January 1343, in his bull *Unigenitus Dei filius*, a new Holy Year for 1350. Clement thus halved the interval between two Holy Years and gave more people the opportunity of obtaining a plenary indulgence. He also added Saint John Lateran to the basilicas that had to be visited. Along with the main bull, *Unigenitus*, there circulated two unpromulgated bulls. One of these bulls required a daily visit to five churches—Saint Mary Major and Saint Lawrence Outside the Walls were added—and allowed all religious, if they received the permission of the head of their order, to set out for Rome. The second bull (*Ad memoriam reducendo*)

was an astonishing proclamation: it reduced penitential action to a visit to only one church; and religious—expressly including women—could make the journey to Rome without permission from the head of their order. It is not clear how widely this latter bull was followed. Clement allowed many kinds of exceptions: Elisabeth of Hungary and the English royal family received the privilege of indulgence without the pilgrimage to Rome—in return, of course, for payment of a sum equivalent to the expected cost of the trip. For the first time, a whole populace profited from the indulgence: Majorca obtained the privilege of indulgence in return for the payment of 30,000 florins. In addition, the cardinal legates present in Rome were fully empowered—in case of epidemics or shortages of provisions—to adjust the length of the pilgrims' visit.



Giotto di Bondone (1266-1336, attributed), *Pope Boniface VIII Proclaiming the First Jubilee from the Lateran Loggia*. San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The next Holy Year reflected the church's uncertain political situation at the time of the Great Schism. The Holy Year of 1390 was an expression of the financial distress of the Roman pope Boniface IX, whose administration was intensely aware of the expected increase in revenues. Urban VI had already shortened the interval between two jubilees to thirty-three years, the length of Jesus' life. Yet in 1400, a Holy Year was celebrated that was never officially proclaimed. There is no doubt that the Holy Year had been reduced to its political and economic aspects and served as an ideological battleground for the competing popes. But Rome profited once more from the inflationary increase in Holy Years: Boniface IX instituted a church construction program, ensuring the stability of many churches and contributing not a little to the beautification of the distressed and physically neglected city.

The Holy Year of 1423 under Martin V is the least documented. It too was never officially proclaimed, because it ran counter to the regulations of the Council of Constance prescribing a Holy Year for 1450; and not until 1450 was Nicholas V able to celebrate an official Holy Year in proper form and before a suitable public. In 1468 the interval between two jubilees was reduced to twenty-five years. Other cities also offered competing Holy Years: Montmajour and Saint Jean c. 1400, Canterbury c. 1420, and Santiago de Compostella c. 1426. The Reformation, however, brought to an end all Holy Years except those in Rome and Santiago.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Clement VI, Pope; Papacy; Rome: Guidebooks; Villani, Giovanni

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Justinian I

Justinian I (Flavius Sabbatius; c. 482 or 483-565, r. 527-565) was the sovereign of the eastern Roman, or Byzantine, empire during an age of vast transition and was a figure of both glory and paradox. Born a peasant, he appreciated the awesome Roman heritage as few others could appreciate it; but in seeking to be its steward and restorer, he also opened the way to its transformation. His reign—one of the longest in the Byzantine empire—saw achievements that were substantial and enduring but brought ruin and disaster as their price. In his very quest to restore the territorial and doctrinal unity of the Roman world, Justinian guaranteed its further fragmentation.

Justinian was of Thracian-Illyrian stock and was born in a Latin-speaking district of the Macedonian Balkans. His uncle, Justin, having achieved success as a member of the new imperial guards in Constantinople, sent for the boy and several other nephews in order to give them an education, and opportunities, in the capital. Adopting a new name in tribute to his uncle, Justinian learned Greek, took a liking to intellectual pursuits such as theology, and learned the workings of the militia and the court. In 518, by a quirk of fortune, Justin seized the throne, and Justinian quickly emerged as his right-hand man, becoming heir-designate in 525 and full successor two years later.

By that time, Justinian had met and married Theodora, the remarkable woman who was to be his invaluable partner in rule. He had also identified administrators and commanders on whom he could

rely and had formulated the main lines of his policies. During the first four years of his reign, he was trapped in an unwanted war with his powerful eastern neighbor, Persia; and just as he was winning peace and freedom there, the devastating Nika riots of January 532 nearly swept him off the throne. He recovered quickly, however, thanks partly to the advice of Theodora and to the soldiers of the young general Belisarius, and was then in a stronger position that allowed him to initiate an array of projects. These included a codification of the Roman legal tradition as *Corpus juris civilis*, schemes to end the religious and political dissent of the Monophysites and other heterodox movements, and a large-scale building program that was to culminate in the triumphant cathedral of Hagia Sophia in the capital.

Justinian's chief project, though, was his program of reconquest, aimed at recovering the western provinces that had been detached by various Germanic tribes during the previous century. He was inspired in this by his duty to rescue the orthodox provincials in those districts from their Arian Christian rulers, and he was also prodded by dispossessed landowners who sought the restitution of their property; more broadly, he was motivated by his broad perception that the barbarian "successor states" in the west were only a temporary aberration, and by a sense that he was responsible for restoring the Roman empire to its former scope, encompassing the entire Mediterranean.

Exploiting diplomatic opportunities, Justinian dispatched the brilliant Belisarius to North Africa, where the destruction of the Vandal kingdom was effected with lightning speed (533–534). Meanwhile, given the deterioration of relations with the Ostro-goths in Italy during the last years of their king, Theoderic, and the dynastic crisis attending the succession of Theoderic's daughter Amalasuntha, Justinian was next able to address the conquest of the Ostrogoth kingdom. While another general was sent to seize the Ostrogoths' holdings in the Balkans, Belisarius landed in Sicily in the summer of 535, beginning the long episode of the Gothic wars in Italy.

Uneasy about Belisarius's popularity and military prowess, Justinian vacillated in his support for his general and was then furious when Belisarius dared to entertain an offer from the Goths to take the imperial title in the west. When the settlement of 540 with the Goths

broke down and a counter-offensive by Totila began undoing Belisarius's work, Justinian sent Belisarius back to Italy, though grudgingly and without adequate support or resources. Only when Belisarius asked to be recalled and the outlook in Italy seemed hopeless did Justinian commission Narses to organize a new army and complete the conquest of Italy.



Court of Justinian. Early Christian mosaic (500-525). San Vitale, Ravenna.
Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

When Justinian's commitment to the reconquest was most intense and the reconquest itself was in full tide and was proving more prolonged than he had intended, the rapacious Persian king reopened war with the empire on a wide range of fronts. This drained the emperor's manpower and resources, which were further reduced by a plague that ravaged the Mediterranean world in 542-543. Justinian, increasingly pressed, was forced to impose oppressive taxes and to skimp on expenditures wherever he could. His economies and his withdrawals of troops particularly weakened the Balkan regions, which were exposed to raids by various peoples, notably the Huns, who menaced Constantinople several times. This weakening allowed even more disastrous penetrations of the Balkans by Avars and Slavs in the

decades following Justinian's death.

Throughout his reign, Justinian strove to achieve religious unity in the face of intractable dissent and regional resistance. His continually shifting responses included persecution, conciliation, schemes for compromise, and the bullying of Pope Vigilius to win the accord of Rome. Justinian's increasing obsession with religious coercion poisoned his last years, during which the ruinous effects of his overstrained finances darkened his reputation and made his death in November 565 a relief to his subjects.

Among Justinian's achievements, for good or ill, must be reckoned his lasting impact on Italy. Although his wars of reconquest left the peninsula devastated and exhausted, he nevertheless set the pattern for its restored government through his Pragmatic Sanction of 554; and the extraordinarily comprehensive powers that he granted to Belisarius and Narses laid the foundation for the governmental agency of the exarchate, through which the Byzantine empire was to rule its Italian holdings in the face of invasions by the Lombards. The exarchs' capital, Ravenna, provided a model for imperial style and imagery for centuries and had an important influence on Charlemagne. This model was conveyed most notably through the wondrous mosaic decorations carried out under Justinian, which include the famous portraits of him and Theodora in San Vitale. As the sponsor of the great *Corpus juris civilis*—whose rediscovery in Italy in the eleventh century was influential in reviving Roman law and legal studies in later medieval Italy and the west in general—Justinian himself became a symbol of the traditions of Roman sovereignty. Dante was to celebrate Justinian as a paradigm of imperial majesty in Canto 6 of *Paradiso*.

See also Amalasuntha; Belisarius; Byzantine Empire; Dante Alighieri; Exarchate of Ravenna; Gothic Wars; Law: Roman; Lombards; Monophysite Controversy; Narses; Ostrogoths; Pragmatic Sanction; Ravenna; Theodora; Theodoric; Totila; Vigilius, Pope

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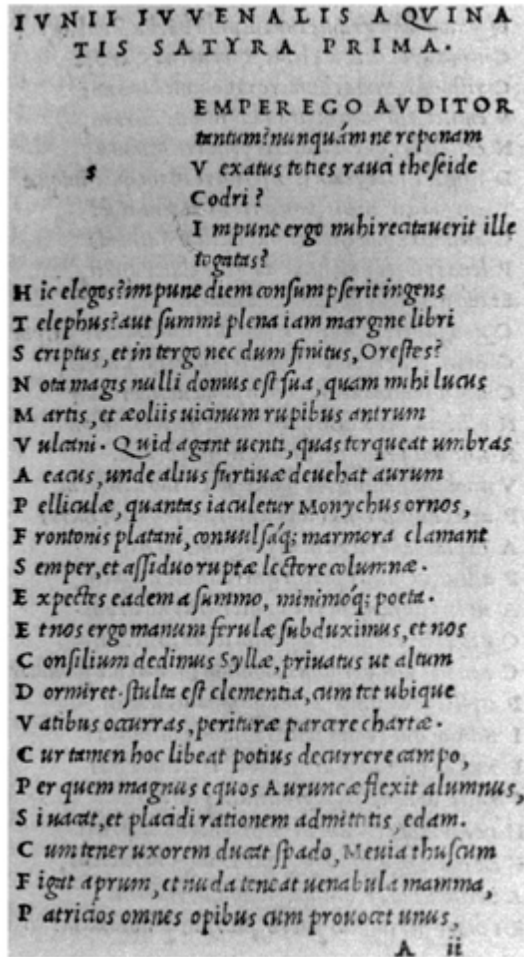
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Juvenal

Little is known about the life of Decimus Junius Juvenal (c. 50 or 60-c. 127). He was probably born in southern Latium, and he evidently received a good education in rhetoric. He wrote the *Satires*, sixteen poems in hexameters, between 100 and 127; and it is likely that he practiced law at the same time. Juvenal died sometime after 127.

The *Satires* object to various aspects of Roman society, from the ostentation of the nouveaux riches to the hypocrisy of false philosophers. The best-known and most virtuosic of the *Satires* is the

sixth, a scathing denunciation of the social and sexual habits of Roman women, aimed at dissuading a friend from marriage. This sixth *Satire*, like the collection as a whole, is pervaded by both indignation and nostalgia, Juvenal longs for an idealized version of the past, when propriety and moderation, rather than vice and corruption, prevailed.



Juvenal, *Satyra prima*. Venice: Aldus, 1501. Reproduced by courtesy of Department of Special Collections, General Library System, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Although Juvenal's work was generally neglected in the centuries

following his death, he was cited more than seventy times by Servius (in the fourth century) and became a popular school author, Juvenal's disapprobation of the degeneracy of Roman society earned the admiration of early Christians, and his reputation as a moralist ensured his popularity in the Middle Ages. Juvenal's pithy style allowed his work to be excerpted and anthologized, and his poems served as important models for twelfth century Latin satire.

Dante cites Juvenal twice in *Convivio* and once in *Monarchic*, and in *Purgatorio* 22, Juvenal is represented as a character who, when he dies, brings news of Statius's veneration for Virgil to Limbo. However, Dante's knowledge of Juvenal's work was probably only at second hand. Boccaccio, though, was strongly influenced by Juvenal; his *Corbaccio* owes much of its misogynist vitriol to Juvenal's sixth *Satire*. Petrarch, too, seems to have been familiar with the *Satires* and made frequent reference to Juvenal, often identifying him as "the satirist."

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K

Kinship

See Family Structure

Knights of Our Lady

See Frati Gaudenti

L

Lactantius

Lactantius (Lucius Caelius Firmianus, c. 250-c. 325), a Christian apologist and rhetorician, is best known for *The Divine Institutes*, one of the earliest Latin attempts at systematic theology. Although he was considered a heretic by some during the Middle Ages, his prose style was admired by Renaissance humanists, who considered him a "Christian Cicero."

Lactantius was born in Roman Africa and studied there under Arnobius. A pagan by birth, he eventually converted to Christianity, although the date of his conversion is not known. The emperor Diocletian brought Lactantius to Nicomedia to teach rhetoric, but the advent of the Diocletian persecution in 303 effectively forced him to retire from teaching, and he left Nicomedia in 305 or 306. Around 317, the emperor Constantine I appointed Lactantius tutor to his eldest son, Crispus, and Lactantius took up residence at the imperial court in Trier. The date of Lactantius's death is unknown.

Lactantius's major surviving works were all written between 303 and 315. In *The Workmanship of God* (303–304), the nature of the human body is used to demonstrate divine providence. *The Divine Institutes* (304–311), Lactantius's masterwork, is an attack on paganism and a defense of Christianity. It is noteworthy for its attempt to place Christianity in a context that would have been familiar to Lactantius's contemporaries through the use of Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, and other pagan authors. *The Wrath of God* (313–314) argues that anger and kindness are necessary parts of God's nature. In *The Deaths of the Persecutors* (314–315), Lactantius interprets the eventual fate of those who persecuted Christians as evidence of God's righteous vengeance. Lactantius also prepared an *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* (c. 320) and wrote an allegorical poem, *The Phoenix* (date uncertain). His letters and a number of early works have been lost.

See also Constantine the Great

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Lais in Italy

Lais became a particularly popular genre at the end of the twelfth century (1160-1170), with a collection of *lais* in octosyllabic couplets (Guigemar, Fresne, Bisclavret, Lanval, Deus Amanz, Yonec, Laiistic, Milun, Cbaitivel, Chievrefoil, Eliduc) by the Anglo-Norman poet Marie

de France, who was also the author of 102 fables and of *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz*, which was translated from Latin.

The *lai* belongs to the tradition of the *matière de Bretagne*, and judging from what Marie de France says in the prologue (verse 41) to her collection, the word *lai* (*Laid* in Old Irish) refers to a melody for which she had written verses. The word covers narrative (in the case of Marie de France) as well as lyric compositions, which can be divided into three main types: the *lai-descort*, *grand lai*, and Arthurian *lai*.

Marie de France's collection is the first important medieval work written and signed by a woman. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, numerous anonymous *lais* were also produced—*Melion*, *Doon*, *Désiré*, *Graelent*, and *Guingamor*—all of which shared the theme of secret love between a knight and a fairy creature. Another group of *lais*—*Tydorel*, *Tyolet*, *Espine*—shared the theme of an encounter with a supernatural knight. Less closely related to the *matière de Bretagne* are the *lais* produced during the thirteenth century, which all appear to be characterized by love stories: *Lai de l'ombre*, by Jean Renart; *Lai d'Aristate*, by Henri d'Andeli; *Lai de l'oiseleP*, *Lai d'amours*; *Lai de l'èspervier*, and *Lai du conseil*.

The original Old French word *lai* occurs in several Italian medieval texts and is translated as "sonnet"—for instance, in *Tristano veneto* and, during the fourteenth century, in *La Tavola Ritonda o l'istoria di Tristano*. However, it is also rendered as "song" and "lamentation" (*Tristano veneto*; *Tristano riccardiano*; Dante, *Inferno*, 5.46; Dante, *Purgatorio*, 9.13), without the meaning of poetry set to music. However, *lai* is generally given with the meaning "lamentation," and only in *Meliadus* does the word keep its original meaning.

Traces of various narrative mm have been found in the *Decameron*: *Laüstic* in 5.4; *Yonec* in 4.2; and *Fresne* in 10.10. Finally, *Decameron* 4.9 is reminiscent of *Lai of Eliduc* and *Lai of the Ignauré*, also known as *Lai du prisonnier*. Traces of certain *lais* have also been found in Italian *cantari*. Levi (1914) noted parallels between the *Lai of Fresne* and the *cantare Gibello*. The theme of secret love between a knight and a fairy creature, found in *Lai of Lanval*, appears in three Italian *cantari* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: *Bel Gherardino*, *Ponzela Gaia*, and *Liombruno*.

In spite of recent contributions, Neri's observation (in 1946) that the

impact of Marie de France's *Lais* on Italian literature was still largely unexplored still holds true and can be extended to the genre in general.

See also Arthurian Material in Italy; Cantare; Tristan

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Lambert, Emperor

Lambert (d. 899) succeeded his father, Guy of Spoleto, as king of Italy and emperor in a challenge to Berengar I in 894. He had been associated with Guy since Guy's own imperial coronation in 891. Lambert's reign was brief (894-899) and troubled. He was young at his accession and depended on the support of his mother, Ageltrude, a daughter of Adelchis, the prince of Benevento. The intent of his rule was serious, as is indicated by a diet held at Ravenna, where he issued a series of laws aimed at protecting the church and curbing the pretensions of overly mighty subjects. His legislation was the last issued by the kings of Italy before Otto I. Lambert died, without heirs, in a hunting accident in 899.

See also **Berengar I of Friuli; Spoleto**

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Lancelot

Lancelot was one of the most famous and morally upstanding members of King Arthur's court at Camelot. The legends of his feats and of his love for Queen Guinevere were made famous in the twelfth century by French poets, most notably by Chrétien de Troyes in his *Chevalier de la charette*. Although Lancelot's adulterous love for King Arthur's wife made him unable to secure possession of the Holy Grail, Lancelot provided the medieval imagination with an enduring model of chivalrous behavior. Unlike the legend of Tristan and Isolde, which is

somewhat more erotic, that of Lancelot is characterized by nobility of character and constancy of affection. From the many allusions in learned as well as popular culture (such as the *cantari*) to episodes of the Arthurian cycle involving Lancelot, we may assume that his story was well known and much appreciated.

Reflections of the idealized figure of Lancelot appear early in Italian literature. There are about a dozen extant Italian translations of the Old French *Lancelot* dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and Lancelot also appears in *Tristano Ricciardiano* (c. 1272-1300) and the famous *Tuvalu ritonda* (c. 1325-1350). In the anonymous *Novellino*, three short tales exalt Lancelot's reputation as a knight (28 and 45) and a faithful lover (82). He was celebrated in the courtly poetry of the thirteenth century by Guittone d'Arezzo (*Ben aggia ormai la fede e l'amor meo*), Folgore da San Gimignano (*Alia brigata nobile e cortese*), Brunetto Latini (*Tesoretto*, verse 40), and the anonymous author of *Mare amoroso* (verse 33). Lancelot's immutable devotion to Guinevere was easily assimilated into the poetic patterns of the nascent *dolce stil nuovo*, which made great use of similes and metaphors that depended on the readers' familiarity with Lancelot's adventures and character.

The most famous literary use of Lancelot in the Italian Middle Ages is, of course, Dante's. In the celebrated fifth canto of *Inferno*, Francesca recounts her reading of "Gallehault," the section of *Lancelot du lac* in which Lancelot and Guinevere exchange their first kiss (verses 127-137). The earliest commentators on the *Comedy* saw in this episode a moral condemnation of the Arthurian romances; it is certain that by the end of the fourteenth century, Dante's epic poem was considered a more lofty literary subject than Lancelot's adventures (see Sacchetti's *Trecentonovelle*, 114). In Dante's *Convivio* (4.28.7-8), Lancelot is evoked not for his chivalry or fidelity, but for his religious conversion.

See also Arthurian Material in Italy, Sacchetti, Franco; Tristan

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Land Tenure and Inheritance

A simple fact explains why tenurial practices in medieval Italy were so complex: land was essential to the existence of everyone, of whatever status. Men who controlled much land had power over those who controlled little or no land, the powerless. But "control" and "ownership" took many forms—individual, communal, institutional, kin-based, feudal—and all these levels could operate around one land parcel at one moment. It is no wonder that historians find tenure an awkward though fascinating matter.

Most medieval documents have not preserved much information about customary practices concerning land tenure; as a result, many texts may describe untypical situations. Most information appears in legal codes and charters, but both pose problems. In the laws of all periods, most passages discussing tenure refer to unusual and awkward tenurial situations, such as those caused by family disputes, widowhood, and entry into the church—particular cases that had been presented to the ruler or rulers for a decision. Such laws were not necessarily relevant to the way property rights functioned and developed in the wider world. Furthermore, there is little evidence that sophisticated late Roman distinctions between types of ownership, expressed in an almost obsessive desire to define terms, survived in

medieval property law before the twelfth century. The late Roman *potestas* and *dominium* occur in medieval laws and charters only as vague terms for "power" rather than as precise sorts of tenure, and it is likely that the late Roman distinction between "the right and the fact of control over a thing" (Levy 1951) was blurred because medieval state mechanisms for enforcing such niceties were not very effective. Romans soon learned that the technicalities of ownership often mattered little in the face of "barbarian" force.

The hundreds of thousands of charters surviving from medieval Italy seem to convey more "real" information than the laws because these charters represent the principal documentary form in which rights of tenure were written down. They include records of gifts, bequests, sales, and purchases, but also contracts of rent and render. Because the charters were most concerned with recording transmission of tenure, rather than defining that tenure precisely, it is not always clear from them what the terms of the tenure were. Even so, they provide the best chance of understanding land tenure.

The gap between the laws and the charters is sometimes usefully bridged by records of court proceedings, known as *placita*, involving instances of disputed land tenure. These reveal that tenurial rights seemingly fixed by laws or in charters could be challenged successfully in court, with reference to the testimony of local witnesses concerning customary practice. However, from the ninth century on, effective possession of a plot of land or a landed estate came increasingly to be associated with possession of a valid charter record concerning the transmission of the property to the current holder. To make the transaction legally valid, the alienator had to be the owner of the property involved (in Latin, the *auctor*) at the time the agreement, as recorded in the charter, was drawn up. This may seem obvious—and it is tacitly assumed in most charters dealing with the transfer of rights over property—but it was nonetheless vital, as the few cases where such rights are disputed between two or more parties demonstrate. Challenges could be brought in court against ostensible owners on exactly this point, and the documents that record these occasions come closest to revealing what ownership was thought to mean in practice. If an accused individual was not the *auctor* of a property at the time of alienation or transfer, the resulting transaction would be deemed

invalid. This may seem vague to us, with our very precisely defined concepts of ownership: clearly, it did not necessarily encompass outright ownership. An *auctor* was merely the person most entitled to alienate a particular property. But did the quality of being *auctor* require possession too? Or a period of residence? Could it be inherited? In the absence of explicit discussions in the texts, it is hard to be sure; and the fact that the issue could be raised in court cases suggests that nonexperts may have been confused too, as well as trying their luck.

Probably it was most desirable to hold land in outright ownership, as this gave the individual powers of totally free alienation; but for most of the Middle Ages such powers were rare, being confined more or less to kings or those associated with kings. Other individuals could and did own land, but they seem mostly to have been invested with powers over property by the extended kin group in a sort of loose communal ownership. This pattern was particularly common among the Lombards and was very tenacious thereafter in Italy; one thinks of the *consorterie* of the late medieval towns. Such "ownership" gave household heads considerable political, as well as economic, power but nonetheless put great constraints on alienability, for which the consent of all or some of the kin group was usually necessary. The possessor of this property right—the most considerable tenure to which most free males could aspire—was usually expressed as *auctor*, a term that often seems to have meant "alienator" rather than "owner," as it conferred some ability to dispose of land rather than the exclusive right to do so. So *auctor* seems to have included current notions of ownership and alienation, depending on the circumstances. Most family land was transmitted through the generations by inheritance practices that conflicted with the ability of the head of the household to do as he liked. But the need for the kin to consent to alienation was not the same as real ownership in common: subordinate household members had little say in this, as in most other important decisions.

Ownership conditional on the consent of kin was merely one type—a common and long-lasting type—of land tenure. Complementing it were a variety of leases (*libelli*), long or short (up to thirty years); other forms of renting; benefice arrangements (*beneficium*); and temporary ownership or use (*ususfructus*). All these were initially granted out to the possessor for a limited time span, and some were feudo-vassalic in

character. Not until the central Middle Ages did these tenures take on hereditary forms, often against the wishes of the original grantors. Thus, land held by these means came to take on some of the character of inherited family land.

The most straightforward transmission of property was by inheritance, at least notionally. Although inheritance practices do not get full treatment in laws and charters, it seems to have been usual throughout the medieval period for property to pass within the kin group from father to children, especially males, without many problems. Primogeniture, transmission to the eldest son alone, was slow to develop in Italy, where partible inheritance remained more common, as many local studies have shown. How or if such customs were regulated in the earlier period we cannot know in the absence of relevant documentation. Wills granting property to sons were rare because they were unnecessary. More often we have wills concerning daughters, widows, and sisters. The *testamentum* was in a sense a theoretical expression of bequest, a record of what its author thought desirable after his death, of what should happen to his property in an explicit way, sometimes but not always made with pious intent. It was necessary in such a context to be clear about which rights were being devolved, and to whom, in order to avoid, as far as possible, *post obitum* disagreements within the extended kin group.

From such testaments it is possible to learn a great deal about inheritance practice insofar as it concerned women and churches, whose interests were often very much opposed to those of local families; but it must be stressed that the information in them is not typical of how inheritance operated in earlier medieval societies. Occasionally there are incidental references to men who had inherited land from fathers, uncles, or brothers, much the most typical custom. Overwhelmingly, most inheritance was from father to sons. Further, this society probably assumed that men could defend their own property, whereas women and their kin would benefit from having their "rights" set down in a charter to guard against challenges from the husband or his children. Similarly, it was easier to intimidate a woman, and so persuade her to part with her property.

Women—as mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters—predominate in charters dealing with heritable property because they represented the

easiest means by which family property could pass out of family control, either by marriage, by remarriage, or by entry into a religious community. They also had crucial power over reproduction within the family. On marrying, women received gifts of land from their fathers and husbands; and although documents recording formal divisions of family property at the time of marriage do not usually survive until the later Middle Ages, the law codes are clear on what the customary portions may have been: widows could not hold more than a quarter of their husbands' properties, for example. In spite of all this, the chances that women had to inherit and to control property were not great.

Transmission of property by inheritance was only one of the methods by which property passed from person to person in medieval Italian society. In times of war or other unrest, some people came to possess property as a result of theft, forcible confiscation, and other techniques unnoticed in charters. But charters, because they were instruments recording property transmissions, are an important source of material concerning the gift and sale of land described in formulaic terms using phrases such as *dono* and *trado ac cedo*, which reveal little about the actual processes of transfer. Sometimes sales or gifts were followed up with a *vestitura*, which recorded a ceremony on-site that involved walking the bounds of the property, transfer *per columna de casa* (touching the entrance of the house) or picking up the soil, *de terra atramentate*. These events represented the transfer of property rights at its most public and provide a reminder that charters alone were not always enough to ensure that a transaction gained the approbation of local worthies.

It is unclear how important these methods of tenorial transfer were in comparison with customary inheritance. Alienation by such methods certainly left more room for individual choice, even if it remains unlikely that family property could be alienated outside of the kin group by such means. It may be that in the eighth and ninth centuries the charters, which were hardly very numerous at that point in most places, were indeed recording types of alienation which were not yet common. But it is necessary to be cautious here, for even though we have documentation that deals primarily with the church, there are many instances of property being bought and sold by laymen alone. Some historians have argued there was a market in land at given times

in given places, especially in the vicinity of the northern cities such as Milan and Pavia, during the later Middle Ages. It might be the case that in some places there existed a real market in land—land being bought and sold as a commodity—a process which was disrupting traditional tenurial patterns. However, we have to be careful about this, too, because we know that many transactions which appear to fall into this category were conditioned by other relationships, social or political, between buyers and sellers.

Much of this discussion has had a theoretical slant because written texts can easily convey a false sense of the powers that men had over land if formulas are treated too literally. The *placita* demonstrate clearly that charters could very often be ignored, that there were people who did not believe them, who confiscated land by force and who persisted in denying claims to ownership for long periods. In this type of society, tenure guaranteed in writing was not so very secure. By the fourteenth century many of these earlier medieval uncertainties had no doubt disappeared, but even then it is important to be aware that what a text may imply may never have happened.

See also Agriculture; Law: Roman; Lombard Law

ROSS BALZARETTI

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Landini, Francesco

Francesco Landini (c. 1325-2 September 1397) was a composer, organist, singer, instrument maker, and poet of the second generation of the Italian *Trecento*. He may have been born in Fiesole or Florence and was the son of the painter Jacopo Del Casentino (d. 1349), a cofounder of the Florentine guild of painters, Landini lost his sight after having smallpox as a child; as a result, he turned to music with a passion. He mastered several instruments, including the organ; worked as an organ builder, organ tuner, and instrument maker; and played, sang, and wrote poetry. As a scholar, he is recorded as following the teachings of William of Ockham, and he was knowledgeable in many areas of astrology, philosophy, and ethics. Landini was very active in religious and political events. His musical works indicate that he spent some time in northern Italy before 1370, probably in Venice. He was organist at the monastery of Santa Trinita in 1361; and from 1365 until his death he was *capellanus* at the church of San Lorenzo. His acquaintances included the Florentine chancellor of state and humanist Coluccio Salutati and the composer Andreas de Florentia. In 1379 and 1387, Landini was involved in building organs at the church of Santa Annunziata and at the cathedral of Florence. Giovanni da Prato, in *Il paradiso degli Alberti* (1389), a narrative poetic account of Florence, portrays Landini as an active musician and humanist, taking part in extensive philosophical and political conversations as well as singing and playing the organ. Landini died in Florence, in the church of San Lorenzo; his tombstone was discovered in Prato in the nineteenth century. A picture of Landini can be seen on folio 121v of the Squarcialupi Codex (I-FI 87). His fame continued well into the fifteenth century. The French musicologist Fétis rediscovered Landini's music in 1827.

Not only was Landini a very prolific composer, but the survival of his musical works attests to his popularity and importance. His extant works represent almost a quarter of the entire known repertoire of secular *Trecento* music. One hundred fifty-four works can be definitely attributed to Landini: ninety *ballate* for two voices, forty-two *ballate* for three voices, eight *ballate* that survive in two-part and three-part

versions, one French *virelai*, nine madrigals for two or three voices, one three-voice canonic madrigal, and one *caccia*. Works of doubtful authenticity include two or three *ballate* for two voices, and four motets with fragmentary single voices. More than 145 works by Landini are contained in the Squarcialupi Codex.

Landini's musical style is multifaceted; he wrote works ranging from simple dances to complex isorhythmic and canonic pieces. His compositional technique is often described as a synthesis of French and Italian musical influences. The melodic inventiveness of Landini's music is readily apparent. A special musical cadence—which musicologists call the Landini cadence—appears frequently in his music; it is recognizable at the end of phrases as a leaping upward by an interval of a third. Landini's music points toward the polyphonic imitation in fifteenth-century early Renaissance music.

See also Ars Nova; Squarcialupi Codex

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Lanfranc Cigala

The troubadour Lanfranc *Cigala* (d. 1258), a jurisconsult and councillor of the Genoese republic, appears in documents in 1235, 1239, 1240, and 1257; in 1241 he served as ambassador of Genoa to Raymond Berenger V of Provence.

Lanfranc's poetry consists of eight early love poems (written in the 1230s), four *cansos* in honor of the Virgin, two crusade songs, and eighteen poems on various other topics. Among these eighteen is a vehement *sirventes* (poem of blame) against Marquis Boniface II of Monferrat (the nephew of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's patron and friend), because of his continual maneuvering between the emperor and the pope. When, in 1245, Boniface again adhered to the party of Emperor Frederick II, Lanfranc (whose city, Genoa, was allied with the pope) accused Boniface of heresy, perjury, accepting bribes, and worse. During the same period (1244-1245), Lanfranc composed a crusade song admonishing the kings of France and England, the Germans and the Spaniards, the count of Provence, and even the pope to take up the cross; in the second *envoi* he turns to Frederick II: "Emperor, remember to lend your help, because God, thanks to whom every king reigns, asks it of you, and make peace here and succor there, since death does not spare emperors." Lanfranc's call would be answered a few years later by Saint Louis.

At one time Lanfranc celebrated his lady's smile—the sweet smile that brings *joi e alegria e vol amoros* ("joy and cheerfulness and amorous will")—and indeed was the best troubadour ever to sing of women's smiling lips. His cult of the ideal woman made him a precursor of the *dolce stil miovo*. Eventually, however, all that was gone, with nothing left except bitterness. Lanfranc then sang of and invoked only Mary, the lady of ladies, who represented for him the supreme feminine ideal.

See also Dolce Stil Nuovo; Italian Troubadours; Raimbaut de Vaqueiras

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Lanfranchi Da Pistoia, Paolo

The innovative lyric poet Paolo Lanfranchi (fl. second half of the thirteenth century) was born in Pistoia. We have few facts about his life. It appears that he was in Bologna on at least two occasions—in 1282 and again in 1283—and there is evidence that between the years 1283 and 1285 he resided at the court of King Peter III of Aragon. Six years later, as a penalty for stabbing a fellow citizen, he was exiled from Pistoia; and in 1295 he is reported to have been in Bologna once again.

Lanfranchi composed eight extant sonnets, including one in Occitan addressed to Peter III. Of his seven sonnets in Italian, two treat the theme of the wheel of fortune and five are concerned with the vicissitudes of love. The sonnets present a series of events that could, with a certain degree of imagination, be viewed as a small "*canzoniere*" in which the poet relates amorous adventures occurring in a dreamlike

state. On awakening from this idyllic state and finding himself confronted with harsh reality, the poet vows to become a heretic (a Patarine). Stylistically, Lanfranchi's sonnets are in the Siculo-Tuscan tradition. His sonnet in the *langue d'oc* (*Valenz senher, reis dels Aragones*) celebrates the life and deeds of Peter III and may be considered a sort of encomium, perhaps composed in the final days of Peter's life.

See also Italian Troubadours; Occitan Language in Italy

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Language, Italian: History and Development

In reference to the Middle Ages, we must first speak of Italian languages, rather than any single Italian language. Romance-language historians generally accept that in the early Middle Ages, the linguistic character of Romance-speaking Europe can be described as a web of cognate dialects directly descended from Latin, with mutual comprehension decreasing as distance between them increased. Eventually, and for different reasons in each area, individual dialects would be selected for refinement and promotion to the status of standard language for both literary purposes and practical affairs, but this process would not take root in Italy until after the medieval period, and the language now labeled "Italian" would not be the language of the majority of inhabitants of the peninsula until well into the twentieth century. The linguistic landscape of medieval Italy consisted of Latin as superordinate for written purposes, with local Romance as the spoken medium in ordinary communication.

It was once common to view the Romance descendants as beginning to emerge from the Latin parent during or even after the reign of Charlemagne (800–814), when attention is first paid to writing direct representations of the common spoken language. It is now recognized, however, that what emerged were texts, not the vernacular languages themselves. The first manifestation of writing in a Romance tongue in which orthographic conventions, syntax, morphology, and phonological structures are clearly intended to represent popular speech—the northern French *Serments de Strasbourg*—is from 842. The language used is fully emancipated from Latin, and comparison of the earliest texts from throughout the geographical continuum of Romance Europe shows that most local features which today distinguish one Romance language from another were already well developed. A lack of documentation precludes identification of the period of incipience of most changes, but they must have arisen much earlier than the texts in question, as is evident from the general observation that change in a language is typically a slow process.

It is safe to assume from both modern and historical evidence that during the early Middle Ages the Italian peninsula was characterized by

a collection of local languages generally quite similar to those of today—with the obvious exception that no intrusions from a supraregional vernacular standard would have been found, since such a language did not yet exist. With this background, it is clear that the concept of the "birth" of Italian, in the sense of linguistic generation, is an infelicitous metaphor. Florentine, which would supply the linguistic base for an eventual national language, was, at the millennium, one of the innumerable spoken dialects of the Romance area, the natural development of popular Latin in one location.

The standard languages of Europe are in each instance a result of selection or one local variety as a means of written communication, accompanied by the establishment of orthographic and grammatical norms. The case of what would become known as Italian is unique among the major Romance languages in that the preeminence of Florentine was based on the literary success of its first writers, rather than on the political prominence of its most influential speakers. Although the prestige of Florentine would later be reinforced considerably by the hegemony of Florence as a center of power and culture, the initial selection of the dialect as a linguistic model is attributable to the fact that medieval Florentine was the native language of Dante Alighieri, and that the norm he set in linguistic matters was easily approximated by the Tuscans Petrarch and Boccaccio, whose native speech forms were quite similar to those of Florentine.

It should be noted, however, that the written code has never been a truly faithful representation of Florentine speech in all its detail. The written language of *Tre corone* is an idealization on a Florentine base and thus is Florentine, or at least central Tuscan, in essence, but it is consciously purged of local features judged to be displeasing. Dante, in *De vulgari eloquentia* (1.13), made it quite clear that he felt that neither Florentine nor any other Tuscan variety was a fit vehicle for literary expression. From today's perspective his pronouncements are frustratingly vague in their lack of detail, but he ridicules Florentines, Pisans, Aretines, Siennese, and Lucchese for their speech, and although he judges that the Florentines Guido Cavalcanti and Lapo Gianni, and Cino da Pistoia from nearby Pistoia, managed to turn out excellent *volgare*, they are exceptional. Their success, in fact, is due to the

distance they placed between their genuine Tuscan and the language of their poetry. *Hoi polloi* and even most of the lettered are possessed of *turpiloquio*. In Dante's view, Guittone d'Arezzo, Bonagiunta da Lucca, Gallo Pisano, and Brunetto Fiorentino use language which he describes as not curial but municipal; thus their production cannot serve as a model for the *volgare illustre* which Dante seeks to establish.

To a certain extent, Dante did not follow his own prescription to establish the *volgare* as a language identifiable with no particular place, but rather as an amalgam of the best features of Italian speech types; in the end, he used the language he knew best. On the other hand, while it is not a true *koine*, the language of his *Commedia*, *Vita nuova*, and so on is definitely conventional and relieved of many local traits, quite likely not the Florentine of Dante's own everyday speech, and certainly not faithful to the speech of the people.

The details are missing—perhaps they were to have been presented in Book 3 of *De vulgari eloquentia*, which was either lost or never written—but a few facts concerning what Dante disapproved of are known, and others can be surmised. We can expect no phonetic detail, on two grounds. First, such detail is simply not part of a phonemic orthographic system, which the medieval Italian system was. Second, and less tautologically, low-level phonetic detail is all but universally missing from literary production of the time, for aesthetic reasons. Dante was breaking ground by composing in the vernacular, but his sentiments were conservative. Although his mention of phonetics is quite brief, and (as is to be expected) somewhat entangled in a discussion of orthography, he states outright that colloquial registers are to be avoided. The language of literature must be *illustre*, must be made to shine; and to shine it must be raised to a sublime level:

When we say *illustre*, we mean something that illuminates and shines in its luminescence. . . . And the vernacular we are speaking of is raised to the level of sublime by learning and by power, and in turn exalts its users with honor and glory.

(*De vulgari eloquentia*, 1.17)

To be made *illustre*, the vernacular requires a good bit of polish:

We see it made sublime by learning in that it is purged of the Italians' crude

words, of confused constructions, of defective pronunciations, of rustic accent; it is rendered noble, fluent, perfect, and elegant, as Cino da Pistoia and his friend [i.e., Dante himself] do in their poetry.

(*De vulgari eloquentia*, 1.17)

Dante has firm ideas regarding word choice, and in this realm he is fairly explicit (*De vulgari eloquentia*, 2.7). The elements of vocabulary can be childish, womanish, or mannish; and among the elements in the last category it is possible to distinguish country from urban. All but urban terms are to be avoided. Children's expressions such as *mamma* and *babbo* are not worthy of consideration; women's words are too soft; country terms are too crude. Even once the list is reduced to the manly and urbane, care must be taken to use only those words which are well groomed, or truly noble, not those whose substance goes up in smoke on reflection. Words consisting of three syllables or thereabouts are preferable, although there are two types of exceptions; certain unavoidable monosyllables are, of course, acceptable, such as *sù*, *no*, *me*, *te*, *se*, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u'*(from the Latin *ubi*); also admissible are the worthy ornate words, which (although incorporating what Dante feels are harsh phonic features such as aspiration or geminate liquids, containing unpleasant stress,

or

in principle excessively long) mix successfully with well-groomed terms to produce a harmonious effect: *terra*, *honore*, *speranza*, *gravitate*, *alleviato*, *impossibilità*, *impossibilitate*, *beneventuratissimo*, *inanimatissimamente*, *disavventuratissimamente*, *sovramagnificentissimamente*.

Although Dante found it impossible to live up to these standards in practice, it is clear that his writings do not reflect casual speech. Even with the relaxation in these strict constraints, which was inevitable in the production of vernacular verse, his purpose was lofty, and we hazard little in assuming that his works are unlikely to contain attempts at phonetic representation of popular speech. Thus, for example, although we cannot date the origin of the fricativization known today as the *gorgia toscana* (e.g. [*la hasa*] "the house"), we should not be surprised to find no sign of it in Dante's works; and it is to be expected

that he generally avoided popular distortions such as [sk] for etymological/st/ (*crischiano*, "Christian"). We can assume that his lexical choices tended to exclude anything he deemed ignoble, and though we have no direct statements on the matter, the restriction on monosyllables unless they were unavoidable may well signal intentional avoidance of such typical Florentine details as clitic subject pronouns. In sum, the poet's noble purpose and his considered judgment conspired to forge a linguistic code at some remove from genuine speech, yet it cannot be denied that the *Commedia* and other of Dante's vernacular works are most certainly written in language identifiable as being of a Florentine type.

The success of the Florentine model was such that, for all but the most rustic of speakers, numerous competing local forms elsewhere in Tuscany would eventually be ousted in favor of its prestigious norms. *Ogni* supplanted *ogne* ("each"); *mila* replaced *milia* ("thousands"); the vocalism that marked first-person plural subjects by verb class (-*amo*, -*emo*, -*imo*) gave way to -*iamo*. An interesting case of ongoing grammatical change in the Middle Ages is found in the fate of the masculine definite article. The Latin demonstrative *illu* and its inflected forms seem to have developed first into a compact quadripartite inventory *lo*, *li*, *la*, *le*. The first of these has two forms, however: *lo* following consonants (fossilized in today's *per lo meno*), and the reduced form [1], which is possible, though not absolutely required, following vowels. At this stage, *lo* is dominant: *per lo sole*, *lo sole*, *ove lo sole-ove* [/J *sole*. By Dante's time a third variant has arisen, with the addition of prothetic [i] to the form [1], though Dante is comfortable with both *il* and simple [1]: *ha fatto il sol tragitto* (*Inferno*, 34.105) and *temperava il novo giorno* (*Purgatory*, 28.3) alongside *e 'l sol montava* (*Inferno*, 1.38) and *avvegna che sia 'l mondo* (*Paradiso*, 20.60). It should be noted that the modern transcription 'l is somewhat controversial at this point. Before full incorporation of *il* it is misleading, as it suggests reduction of *il* rather than of *lo*, and we cannot be absolutely certain that Dante's *e 'l sol montava* represents aphaerized *il* rather than a remnant of apocopated *lo*. A second ongoing change that shows up in texts toward the end of the 1200s is a shift in the order of clustered clitic pronouns from the type *lo mi* to *me lo*. The enclitic possessive, now relegated to speech south of Tuscany, appears to be on its last legs

during this period: Florentine *mogliema* ("my wife") and *càsasa* ("his house," "her house"); Sienese *fratelma* ("my brother") and *cognátoma* ("my brother-in-law").

Further settling and selection of variants would follow from the late Middle Ages onward. Beginning in the 1500s—although presaged tangentially by Leonardo Bruni's muddled pronouncements on the origin of the vernacular and its relation to Latin—debate would rage over the character of the vernacular to be used. Known as the *questione della lingua*, this multifaceted mix of logical argument and impassioned polemic pitted supporters of Tuscan against more catholic anti-Tuscans; archaists longing for the glories of *Tre corone* against those who argued for more contemporary usage. In the end—notwithstanding foreign borrowings, penetrations from Latin, and acceptance of local forms from outside Tuscany—the language that is now known as Italian remained firmly Tuscan, specifically Florentine, in its essence.

See also Dante Alighieri; Latin Language; Ritmo Cassinese; Ritmo di Sant'Alessio; Sardinian Language,* Texts, Early Italian: Placiti Cassinesi; Texts, Early Italian: Ritmo Laurenziano

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Lapo Gianni

Lapo Gianni (fl. c. 1300), a poet of the *stil novo* tradition, has been tentatively identified as Lapo di Gianni Ricevuti, a judge and notary who appears in Florentine documents from 1298 to 1328, although there are a number of other very plausible candidates. The whole of Lapo's extant poetry consists of eleven ballads, three complete *canzoni*, one partial *canzone*, and a beautiful double sonnet, composed in the Provençal *plazer* style (*Amor, eo chero mia donna in domò*). Lapo belonged to a small circle of friends that included Dante Alighieri, Guido Cavalcanti, and Cino da Pistoia. Dante mentions Lapo affectionately in *Guido, i' vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io* (*Rime*, 52) and, even more significantly, counts him among those who knew best how to attain excellence in the vernacular (*De vulgari eloquentia*, 1.13.3).

Lapo's poetry displays an authentic psychological interest in the nature and origin of love, but a somewhat loose adherence to the principal tenets of the *stil novo* so clear in the work of Dante and Cavalcanti. In Lapo's verses, love can both torment and soothe its victim, without causing the more profound psychological anguish and despair present in Cavalcanti (e.g., in *Eo sono Amor, che per mia libertate*). The nobility of the heart that induces a lover to dedicate himself to his lady produces in itself an interior joy that, regardless of the accompanying distress, provides an agreeable source of solace. Thus, the suffering of the lover can never reduce him to the same misery that is common in the poetry of the other *stilnovisti*. Though Lapo's language is unpretentious and his tone occasionally seems excessively optimistic (as in *Q'uest'angela, che per di ciel venuta*), these characteristics do not diminish the artistic quality of his poetry.

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Cino da Pistoia; Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo

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Lateran Councils

See Councils, Ecclesiastical

Latin Language

As most of Italy slipped out of the Roman empire during the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, the majority language of the peninsula and its associated islands remained Latin. This Indo-European tongue had been spread by succeeding polities centered on Rome, first throughout much of Italy and later more widely in the western Mediterranean basin and beyond. By the end of the tenth century, with a few exceptions (some German-speaking Alpine areas; the Greek-speaking parts of today's Calabria, Basilicata, and Apulia; and Sicily, still partly Greek and now increasingly Arab), the majority language of Italy was one or another form of Romance: Italian for most of this area, and Sardinian, Occitan, Franco-Provençal, and varieties of Rhaeto-Romance in some peripheral regions. These tongues, like the other Romance languages (e.g., Spanish, French, and Romanian), developed out of a Latin that itself was far from uniform. In one sense, they are all varieties of Latin, a language that in this view (which de-emphasizes major perceived differences between Latin and Romance) is today spoken by nearly a quarter of the world's population.

The language we call medieval Latin was a continuation of the formal written Latin of the empire. This written Latin had become somewhat different from spoken forms of the language by the first century after Christ, and diverged even more noticeably by late antiquity, as the spoken language underwent increasing phonological and morphosyntactical change. These developments continued during the early Middle Ages. Although the divergence was largely due to the conservatism of the written language, that language was not entirely static.

In particular, the written Latin of late antiquity (part of the late Latin out of which both Romance and medieval Latin evolved) existed in several registers that differed in style, vocabulary, and syntax. Writing destined for popular audiences was by design closer to ordinary speech than were elite literary or governmental texts, and thus tended to be more open to new or newly common morphological and syntactical practices. Also, the spread of Christianity during the third century, and its preferential treatment by the Roman state during the fourth century, brought into being a specifically Christian literature with new terms (including many words imported from the first international Christian language, Greek) and new meanings for older terms. All these departures from the prevailing classical standard may be found in the Vulgate version of the Bible and in other texts that came to have a formative influence on Latin in the Italian Middle Ages.

The extent of literacy (in its various senses) in Italy during late antiquity is a matter of opinion. However, the higher literacy necessary to sustain literary culture seems to have declined toward the end of this period; it certainly fell off drastically during the upheavals of the sixth century. Thereafter, written Latin was perpetuated in extended or literary forms chiefly by, and usually for, educated elites within the church. Evidence from sources such as charters suggests that there was also a broader functionally literate population—that is, people with lower levels of literacy. The surviving Latin of the early Italian Middle Ages is primarily ecclesiastical, legal, and administrative; but it includes writings in other fields (e.g., grammar and medicine) where traditions of learning persisted or were soon revived. Like almost all medieval Latin, it shows considerable lexical innovation caused by altered circumstances. Prominent among these were changes in social and

political institutions, contact with other languages (especially Old High German in its Lombard form), and developments in trade and technology.

Stylistically, medieval Latin is usually a simplified version of the middle and lower registers of its late antique predecessors; in literary texts, imitations of and developments from older high-style writing also occur. Syntactically, it reproduces, with modifications, the norms prescribed by grammarians of late antiquity. Orthographically, there is considerable variation, as mechanisms of standardization were in general not strong. But the broad-scale phonological changes that were already under way during late antiquity (e.g., the loss of quantitative vowel distinctions) also gave rise to some fairly standard departures from previously accepted spellings, as well as to fundamental changes in rhythmic prose and verse (both became accentual rather than quantitative). These innovations continued to characterize most forms of Latin throughout the medieval period.

With the economic revitalization and population growth of the eleventh and twelfth centuries came a general increase in learning in western Europe. A spoken Latin based on written texts (whose pronunciation had been standardized in Frankish territories by the Carolingian reforms of the late eighth century and early ninth century) became widely diffused among educated people (who were now more numerous) and was promoted by the church of Rome as its medium of oral communication, both liturgically and internationally. Although the differentiation between Latin and Romance was effectively complete (or, in the view of some, soon would be), Latin was in most cases still the more prestigious language for anything that had to be written. A lay public that could read Latin developed gradually among professions such as notaries, and lay schoolmasters who taught more than formulaic Latin literacy began to compete with their monastic and clerical counterparts. As universities were formed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, their official language of administration and instruction was also Latin.

New, more specialized forms of medieval Latin based in different disciplines (e.g., law and medicine) also came into being. The discipline of letters proper (*grammatica*) fostered a style of usage based on the study and imitation of a wider range of ancient texts than had hitherto

been used in Latin education. (There had been an earlier movement in this direction under Charlemagne, but it was more limited and produced few lasting results in Italy.) Latin of this sort, including some quantitative verse, continued to be taught and written throughout the Middle Ages and was read by such figures as Petrarch and Coluccio Salutati, who in the fourteenth century promoted the more rigorous return to ancient Latin modes of expression that characterizes Renaissance humanism.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there evolved yet another form of medieval Latin, based on theology and philosophy: scholastic Latin. Thomas Aquinas and other Italians were to have a hand in shaping this new scientific idiom in its mature stages. Once its conventions were understood, scholastic Latin conveyed complex intellectual argument with a brevity and precision surpassing the perceived capacities of more traditional Latin discourse. It developed as the special vehicle of Christian Aristotelianism, rapidly permeated other disciplines, and became dominant in the universities, where it lasted well into the early modern period.

During the thirteenth century, an increase in urban populations, together with the existence of several universities, brought Italy to its greatest extent of higher literacy in Latin since antiquity. Latin—as the language of public record (for the most part), of canon and civil law, of theology, and of general intellectual discourse—was thought essential for the growing number of lay professionals and, in some places, for merchants. It was also a requirement for the new body of preachers who were expected to mediate between the written wisdom of the church and a general public largely ignorant of the learned language. Vernacular literacy also gained ground during this century and the next, and as this occurred Latin ceased to be the language of public law and secular administration. However, by the mid-fourteenth century Latin was still the primary language of the liturgy, of learning, of some forms of official record, and of diplomacy between governments. It also continued to serve as an international *lingua franca*—much as English does today, except that, unlike English, it was no one's native tongue. These uses were to outlast the Middle Ages.

See also **Latin Literature; Petrarca, Francesco; Scholasticism; Thomas**

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Latin Literature

The Latin-language literature of medieval Italy is extensive. It was centuries older than its Italian-language counterpart and was still being added to as the medieval period ended. Indeed, for all of this time, Latin was Italy's principal literary language. Even in the fourteenth century, when Italian was increasingly being used for literature, Latin retained its cachet as the language of tradition, permanence, prestige, and—to the extent that this mattered—comprehensibility abroad. The literature created in Latin encompassed, across a wide variety of genres (including some now thought of as nonliterary), writings whose qualities were considered valuable and distinct from the qualities of ordinary pragmatic discourse. Because

forms of Latin literature were taught as part of grammar and rhetoric, pertinent contributions in these allied disciplines are also included even when, as is often the case, they are themselves stylistically routine. Latin was international; it was used in many places besides Italy, and texts written in Latin could circulate widely. Thus, especially in the case of anonymous works, the ascription of an Italian origin is sometimes no more than probable. There is also uncertainty regarding dating and authorship. Titles could change and were often not auctorial: those in use today are frequently the choices or creations of modern scholars. Many texts are only incompletely preserved, and many (including some notable enough to mention here) have as yet no modern critical edition.

In late Roman antiquity (approximately from the crises of the third century to those of the sixth), literary styles and forms were transmitted across generations by processes of teaching and imitation that favored earlier written texts above the changing oral language. Beginning in the sixth century—which saw both the eastern Roman (Byzantine) war against the Goths and the Lombard invasion—and continuing into the eighth, economic conditions and overall levels of education in Italy were unfavorable to significant literary creation in any idiom, let alone in Latin, whose exemplars diverged considerably from current speech practices. However, at the start of this period, there were still some classically trained ancient-Latin authors. Among them were prominent figures from the Gothic kingdom, such as Ennodius (d. 521), an ecclesiastical poet and prose writer who was probably born in southern Gaul but was active mostly in northern Italy; the statesman and philosopher Boethius (d. 525 or 526); Cassiodorus (died c. 580), a high government official who later became a monastic; the elegiac poet Maximian (early sixth century); the hagiographer Eugippius (d. after 532); and the epic poet Arator (d. after 543).

The last writers of note in this tradition suggest the changes that were then under way. Venantius Fortunatus (c. 535—early 600s) inaugurated a long tradition of *kalians* who were active as authors wholly or mainly outside Italy. In 566, he moved to Merovingian Gaul, where he produced a sizable body of polished secular and religious verse, as well as hagiographic and other prose; at his death, he was bishop of Poitiers. The line of ancient poets writing in Italy seems to end with Marcus, the author, at Monte Cassino, of an elegy praising

Saint Benedict (c. 570). Pope Gregory the Great (c. 535 or 540-604) wrote (in a much lower stylistic register than Venantius) biblical commentaries, sermons, numerous prose letters, and the largely hagiographic *Dialogues*. The undemanding syntax and edifying content of these works made them popular in monastic circles for a long time. An even humbler, but well written, work is an account by "Anonymus Placentinus" ("Anonymous of Placentia," i.e., Piacenza) of a tour to the Holy Land and Egypt undertaken by a group of pilgrims from the author's city shortly before its fall to the Lombards in 570. Diverse as they were in education and attainments, none of these authors had immediate successors. A rupture had taken place and, from a literary standpoint at least, the Italian Middle Ages had begun.

From the seventh century through the twelfth, Latin literature was created and transmitted chiefly in monasteries and in urban episcopal centers. Its forms were usually derived, either directly or through more recent intermediaries, from ancient Christian writings available for imitation. Some non-Christian authors were also read and occasionally imitated. In addition to biblical commentary, sermons, letters, and hagiography, there were liturgical and other devotional texts; monastic, episcopal, and city chronicles; and narrative histories exemplifying divine providence. Educational needs gave rise to treatises in grammar and in other arts. There were also praises of cities and rulers, personal and civic lyrics, mnemonic verses, and displayed writings of a literary nature (e.g., verse inscriptions on the exterior of buildings or at burial sites inside a church). These forms and practices remained in use throughout the Middle Ages. Verse could be either "rhythmical" (accentual) or "metrical" (quantitative); both systems were inherited from antiquity, but metrical verse was more difficult to master because of an absence of spoken quantitative vowel distinctions. Accentual verse was ordinarily of the accentual-syllabic variety. Accentual templates of quantitative verse forms were also used. Most liturgical and other sung verse was accentual.

Little remains of medieval Latin literature during its infancy in the late sixth century and the seventh. From Rome, starting in the sixth century and continuing until at least 707, we have a series of brief papal epitaphs in verse, the longest being that for Gregory the Great. From Lombard centers in the north, we have a noteworthy letter from John—

the patriarch of Aquileia—to King Agilulf (605 or 607) and an epitaph in fourteen elegiac distichs for the bishop of Como, Agrippinus (d. 620). The founder of Bobbio, the Irishman Columban (died c. 615), wrote, during his Italian period, an elaborate letter and quite possibly two rhythmical poems and the thirteen sermons attributed to him. Not much later came Jonas of Bobbio (Jonas of Susa, c. 600–after 665), the biographer of Columban and his early successors, also active in Burgundy. Formal letters of some artistry, all having to do with monothelism and preserved in the acts of the sixth ecumenical council, were sent to Constantinople in 679 by the synod of Milan under the leadership of its archbishop, Mansuetus (this letter is sometimes ascribed to Damian, the future bishop of Pavia); and in 680 by Pope Agatho and by Agatho and the synod of Rome. Also from Rome are an epitaph in verse for the Anglo-Saxon king Caedwalla (d. 689) and the seventh-century lives in the papal chronicle *Liber pontificalis*. At the end of the seventh century, the monk Stephen composed for the Lombard king Cunincpert an awkward but linguistically interesting poem on the synod of Pavia (698). Some hagiographic texts (e.g., Audelaus's *Life* of Saint Fortunatus of Spoleto) could also be from these centuries; others that appear to originate in this period exist only in somewhat later versions.

Several literary authors of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries are prominent. Ambrose Autpert (d. 784)—who was born in Provence but was active at San Vincenzo al Volturno from c. 740—was a biblical commentator, spiritual writer, and local historian and hagiographer. Paul the Deacon (c. 720–c. 799) was one of the leading figures of the Carolingian educational reform and, during his retirement at Monte Cassino, the historian of the Lombards. Two other figures at the Carolingian court were the poet and grammarian Peter of Pisa (d. before 799) and the theologian and poet Paulinus of Aquileia (d. 802). Agnellus of Ravenna (c. 805–c. 855) was a historian. Anastasius Bibliothecarius (died c. 879), a papal secretary and translator, was the principal author of Pope Nicholas I's eloquent and forceful letters to Constantinople. A late ninth-century poet named Johannes composed a rhythmical version of the popular biblical parody *Cena Cypriani* (*Cyprian's Dinner*); Johannes is usually, though not certainly, identified with the Roman writer John the Deacon (Johannes Hymmonides, c.

825-880 or 882), the biographer of Gregory the Great. A Campanian poet, Eugenius Vulgarius (late ninth century-early tenth century), is notable for his figure poems and for his command of an unusually wide range of lyric verse forms. Two prose satirists and ecclesiastical authors are Atto of Vercelli (died c. 960 or 965) and Rather of Verona (c. 887—974). Rather was born and died in Lotharingia, but spent most of his career in Verona, as his name implies. Liudprand of Cremona (Liutprand, c. 920-after 971) was a gifted political writer and propagandist.



Francesco Petrarca, *De Remedii Utriusque Fortunae Libri duo*. Rotterdam: Ex Officina Arnoldi Leers, 1649. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

There are other writers as well from the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. Coronatus was the author of the prose *Life* of Saint Zeno of Verona (late eighth century). Alderic of Benevento (fl. c. 830) was a poet. The Veronese archdeacon Pacificus (d. 844) was a scribe and poet.

Three figures were associated with Monte Cassino during the ninth century: the grammarian and poet Hilderic or Ilderic (possibly two people of the same name), the abbot and poet Berthar (d. 883), and the historian and poet Erchempert (d. after 888). Two Neapolitan hagiographers were John the Deacon (late ninth century-early tenth century) and Peter the Subdeacon (fl. c. 919 c. 970). The Salernitan abbot John the Italian (Johannes Italus, Giovanni Romano; fl. c. 942) was the author of a *Life* of Saint Odo of Cluny. The scholar Gunzo (sometimes equated with Gunzo of Novara, one of Atto of Vercelli's correspondents), in 965 or shortly afterward, wrote a long, literarily informed letter of justification on a point of grammar to the monks of Reichenau in southern Germany. The writer known as Benedict of Mount Soracte (or of San Andrea) produced a chronicle (late 960s-early 970s) that is ungrammatical but notable for its narrative of Charlemagne in the east and its concluding lament for Rome, sacked by soldiers of Otto I.

Significant anonymous prose literature from this period includes the following works: a *Life* of Saint Syrus of Pavia (c. early eighth century); lives from the eighth- and ninth-century portions of *Liber pontificalis*; a *Life* of Saint Gaudentius of Novara (mid-eighth century to early ninth); the first *Life* of Saint Barbatius of Benevento (ninth century); a longer *Life* of Barbatius (late ninth century); a *Translation* of Saint Athanasius of Naples (whose modern ascription to the translator Guarimpot is uncertain); a *Life* of Saint Marinus of San Marino (ninth or early tenth century); *Chronicon Salernitanum* (left unfinished c. 975), covering more than two centuries in the history of the southern Lombard principalities; and a Venetian *Translation* of Saint Mark (usually thought to be from the tenth century, though it has also been assigned to the eleventh).

Noteworthy instances of anonymous verse from these centuries include the following: a fair number of epitaphs, some of exceptional quality (later eighth century onward); descriptive poems on Milan (early eighth century) and on Verona (between c. 796 and c. 805); a rhythmical *Life* of Saint Zeno of Verona and a technically similar poem on the nativity, *Audite omnes versum verum magnum* (late eighth century); poems celebrating King Pepin's defeat of the Avars (796) and lamenting the death of Charlemagne (814); "alphabetical" poems on the

destruction of Aquileia (c. early ninth century, dubiously attributed to Paulinus of Aquileia), against its restoration (mid-ninth century), and on Abbot Bobulenus of Bobbio (ninth or tenth century); some of the hymns in the central Italian collection once known as *Hymnarius Severinianus* (compiled in the late ninth or very early tenth century, and with a few later additions); *Carmina Mutinensia*, three poems of civic defense from Modena, including an impressive song for the watch on the city walls (late ninth century); *Lamentum refugae cuiusdam*, the plaint of a monk who has left Bobbio for Verona and wishes to return (late ninth or early tenth century); a sapphic ode to Bishop Adalard of Verona (875-915); the epic poem *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris* (*Deeds of the Emperor Berengar*, early tenth century); and *Carmen in assumptione sanctae Mariae* (*Poem on the Assumption of the Holy Mary*), composed for the Roman festivities of the year 1000.

Probably tenth-century, but possibly later, are a metrical *Translation* (to Benevento) of Saint Mercurius, an epitaph in verse for Abbot Aligern of Monte Cassino (d. 986), and the lyrics *O Roma nobilis* and *O admirabile Veneris idolum*. Two works are dated to c. 1000: the ballad *Foebus abierat* and a Roman *Life* of Saint Adalbert of Prague. Spanning the later tenth century and the early eleventh are a number of verse epitaphs from Rome, the Venetian chronicler usually identified as John the Deacon (d. after 1017), and the epistolographer and occasional poet Leo of Vercelli (d. 1026). (An epistolographer is a writer of letters—one of the most characteristic genres of medieval Latin literature.)

Eleventh-century authors and texts of note include the following: the musicologist Guido of Arezzo (c. 992-after 1033); the poet and prose writer Peter Damian (c. 1007–1072); the poem *Euge benigne* and other lyrics from the papal *schola cantorum* in Rome (some of these may be earlier); the anonymous sermon on the transit of Saint Constantius of Capri (early eleventh century); the so-called rhythmical *Life* of Hadrian III from Nonantola (c. mid-eleventh century), in metrical Leonine hexameters; the writer on rhetoric Anselm of Besate (fl. 1046-1054); the lexicographer Papias; *Chronicon Novaliciense* (*Chronicle of Novcllesa*, completed c. 1055), an imaginative and highly literary work; the historian Arnulf of Milan (c. 1000-after 1076); *Historia Mediolanensis* (*Milanese History*, consisting of three books) by "L." (often referred to as Landulf senior, fl. c. 1076); the imperial polemicist Benzo of Alba (d.

1089 or 1090); the hagiographers Andrew of Strumi (Andrew of Parma, fl. c. 1075—c. 1092) and John of Lodi (c. 1040-1105); *Heu, male te cupimus!* and *Sub vespere Troianis menibus* (c. later eleventh century), two verse laments for the Trojan hero Hector; *Versus Eporedienses* (*Verses from Ivrea*, c. 1080), an amatory poem sometimes ascribed to one Wido (Guido, the putative author of brief hymns in honor of saints); the poet, canonist, and writer on metrics Deusdedit (a French cardinal active in Rome; d. 1098/ 99); five prayers and the sermon *De cantata* (*On Charity*) by Anselm of Lucca (d. 1086); the bible commentator and spiritual writer John of Mantua (fl. c. 1082); a prose *Life of Anselm of Lucca* by the priest "B." (1086-1087, formerly ascribed to a canon named Bardo); *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, a poem recounting a successful raid by Pisans and others on the North African port of Mahdia in 1087; and narratives of the translation of Saint Nicholas of Myra by Nicephorus of Bari (1087) and John the Archdeacon (c. 1088).

An important center at this time was the great abbey of Monte Cassino. Among its authors during the eleventh century and the early twelfth century were the following: the poets and hagiographers Lawrence of Amalfi (Laurentius of Monte Cassino, died c. 1050) and Gualaifer (Waifer, later eleventh century); the historian and poet Amatus of Monte Cassino (born c. 1010); the poet and medical writer Alfano of Salerno (Alphanus, d. 1085); the abbot and hagiographer Desiderius (later Pope Victor III, d. 1087); the rhetorician, hagiographer, and poet Alberic of Monte Cassino (c. 1030-before 1106); the hagiographer and prose stylist John of Gaeta (later Pope Gelasius II, c. 1062-1119); and the chronicler and hagiographer Leo Marsicanus (Leo of Ostia, d. 1115). Tropes (small supplementary musical and verbal compositions) in Cassinese liturgical manuscripts of this period are unusual in their frequent and often elegant use of classical verse forms.

Other figures and works also possibly or certainly span these centuries. William of Apulia and Geoffrey Malaterra (both fl. 1090s) were, respectively, the epic poet and the foremost prose historian of the Norman conquest of the south. Adelfer of Trani and others recorded the life and miracles of Saint Nicholas the Pilgrim (d. 1094). Rangerius of Lucca (d. 1112) and Donizo of Canossa (d. after 1135) were poets. Gregory of Catino (c. 1060-after 1130) was the chronicler of Farfa.

Bruno of Segni (c. 1050-1123) was a theologian and homilist; his supposed authorship of the hymn *Quis est qui pulsat* is at best uncertain. Roughly contemporary works are *Novus Avianus* (*New Avianus*, verse fables), by a writer from Asti; a versified office from Venice for Saint Euphemia and her companions; the *Translation* of Saint Bartholomew from Lipari to Benevento by the priest and monk Martin; and the Beneventan *Life* of Leo IX, addressed to a venerable father, Landulf.

Liturgical drama, a genre characterized by local variations within larger conventions widely followed in Latin Christendom, is first recorded in Italy in the eleventh century. Its initial and most common manifestations are tropes or trope-like ritual texts involving small dramatic performances. Well-known examples with versions from Italy as well as abroad are the Easter and Nativity dialogues *Quem queritis* [*in sepulchrolin presepe*]. A related sequence (a liturgical song with internal responsions), *Quem queritis mulieres*, is probably of Beneventan origin. In the twelfth century longer forms also occur. From Sicily during the Norman period we have possibly the earliest surviving versions of the Easter play *Peregrinus*, as well as a version of the Epiphany play of Herod (*Officium stelle*). More ambitious works are the lengthy *Monte Cassino Passion Play* (mid-twelfth century, with one section in Italian), which is the first known drama on this subject in medieval western Europe; and the *Greater Carmina Burana Passion Play* (c. 1180, with many verses in German), which is now thought to come probably from Bressanone (Brixen) in the south Tirol. Another liturgical development during these two centuries was that the sequence, originally rhythmical prose or prose with some snippets of verse, was standardized as a rhymed verse form. Early verse sequences of Italian authorship are anonymous local additions to an international repertoire—for example, those in the Ravenna graduals of the eleventh century and early twelfth century and in the *Liber ordinarius* of the cathedral of Florence (compiled c. 1180).

Nondramatic literary authors and texts clearly of the earlier twelfth century include the following: a poem on the captivity of Paschal II (*Dum floret verno tempore*, 1111); Archbishop Landulf II of Benevento (d. 1119), who wrote a metrical *Passion* of Saint Mercurius and a narrative sermon for the vigil of the Twelve Brothers; a *Passion* of

saints Flora and Lucilla, in prose and verse, thought to have come from the monastery of that name near Arezzo; Adalbert of Samaria (fl. c. 1113), who was the early master of the *dictamen* or *ars dictaminis* ("art of letter-writing," a practical rhetoric); *Liber Pergaminus*, a laudatory poem on his native city by the grammarian and translator Moses of Bergamo (Mosè de Brolo, Mose del Brolo; d. after 1135, perhaps after 1156); *Liber Maiolichinns* (or *Maiorichinus*), an epic poem celebrating the Pisan expedition against Muslim-ruled Majorca in 1114-1115 and assigned either to the unknown Lawrence of Verona or to a local cleric, Henry of Pisa; Abbot-Bishop Maurice of Catania, who was the author of the *Translation* of Saint Agatha from Constantinople (1126) and probably of the verse epitaph for his predecessor, Abbot-Bishop Ansger; *Carmen de hello Mediolanensium adversus Comenses* or *Liber Cumarum*, a brief epic on the war between Milan and Como written after the destruction of Como in 1127; *Chronieon Vulturnense* (*Chronicle of [San Vincenzo al] Volturno*, 1124-1130) by the monk John; Abbot Peter II of Santissima Trinita at Venosa, who wrote *Vitae quatuor priorum abbatum Cavensium* (*Lives of the First Four Abbots of La Cava*, c. 1140, formerly assigned to his predecessor Hugh of Venosa); the hagiographer Atto of Pistoia (d. 1153); and the historians Alexander of Telesse (d. before 1143) and Falco of Benevento (c. 1072-c. 1144).

The Genoese chronicler Caffaro (1080 or 1081-1166) and the Cassinese hagiographer and chronicler Peter the Deacon (c. 1107—c. 1158) were active well into the mid-twelfth century. *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* (*Writing of the Golden City of Rome*) has been ascribed to Peter the Deacon; this work is a classicizing revision of the inventive guidebook *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (*Marvels of the City of Rome*, before 1144) in one of its early versions. The following are from the mid-twelfth century and a little beyond: Benincasa's *Life* of Saint Rayner of Pisa (c. 1160-1164, in very vernacular Latin); a rewritten *Life* of Saint Bassian of Lodi (c. 1163, in origin probably a tenth-century text); the rhythmical *L'lanctus Evandri de morte Pallantis* (*Encinder's Lament for the Death of I'alias*, undated and perhaps earlier than 1163), which was based on an event in Virgil's *Aeneid*, a poem on the translation of Saint Bartholomew from Benevento to Rome (*Militis alma Dei translatio Bartholomaei*, c. 1157-c. 1170); two poems arising from Frederick I Barbarossa's campaigns in Lombardy (the dialogue *De destructione*

civitatis Mediolanensis lamenting his punitive devastation of Milan in 1162, and the proimperial epic *Carmen de gestis Frederici I. imperatoris in Lombardia*, thought to have been written between 1162 and 1166); a history of contemporary Lodi by Otto and Acerbus Morena and their anonymous continuator (1153-1168); the papal historian and biographer Boso (d. after 1177); John Berard, the chronicler of San Clemente di Casauria (fl. c. 1175—c. 1180); Romuald Guarna (Romuald of Salerno; d. 1181), the putative author of medieval Italy's first universal chronicle; and the Sicilian historian Hugo Falcandus (fl. c. 1170—c. 1190).

Figures and works from the final decades of the twelfth century include: the poets Godfrey of Viterbo (c. 1125—after 1202) and Henry of Settimello (fl. 1193); a metrical fable collection, *Avianus Venetus* (*Avianus of Venice*); the Bolognese master Geoffrey (Gaufredus; sometimes identified with the Englishman Geoffrey of Vinsauf), whose dictaminal treatise *Summa de arte dictandi* is enlivened by sections in first-rate quantitative verse; *De Ierosolima a Saladino capta* (*On Jerusalem Taken by Saladin*), a poem associated with the abbey of Nonantola that recounts events of the Third Crusade; a variously titled longer work chiefly on the siege of Acre (1189-1191) during the Third Crusade, ascribed to a Florentine named Monachus who was later the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem; a rhythmical "hymn" on the victory of the Brescians at the battle of Rudiano (1191); the monk Alexander's chronicle of San Bartolomeo di Carpineto (finished 1194/95); the theologian and mystic Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135-1202); and Enverard of Verona, known for the introductory sections of his otherwise rather dull *Liber de divisionibus paludis comunis Verone* (*Book on the Divisions of the Marshland of the Commune of Verona*, 1199).

There were a number of essentially twelfth-century writers whose literary activity probably or certainly extended into the thirteenth century. They include the following: the poet Peter of Eboli (d. 1219 or 1220); the theologian Lothar of the Conti of Segni (later Pope Innocent III, 1160 or 1161-1216); the jurist and bishop Bernard of Pavia (d. 1213), who wrote a *Life* of his sainted predecessor in that see, Bishop Lanfranc (d. 1198); the grammarian, lexicographer, and theologian Uguccione of Pisa (Hugutio, d. 1210); and the Cistercian spiritual writer Oglerio or Ogerio of Trino (or of Lucedio, c. 1136—1214). Parts of Oglerio's *De laudibus sanctae Dei genetricis* (*On the Praises of the Holy Mother of*

God) were soon attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux and circulated with Bernard's works under the title *Planctus Mariae* (*Mary's Lament*). A number of hagiographic texts from Sardinia are also eleventh- or twelfth-century, though their precise dating remains elusive. Of particular note are a *Life* of Saint George of Suelli (twelfth century), the poem *Christe patris verbum qui regnum rite supernum* in honor of Saint Saturnus (Saturninus) of Cagliari, and the *Passion* of Saint Antiochus of the Sulcis in prose and verse.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Italy, more people than ever before were literate in Latin; accordingly, there were numerous significant authors who wrote in Latin. Major contributions were made by members of the new mendicant orders. Liturgical compilations of this period (and later) preserve a considerable quantity of anonymous religious poetry of Italian origin, some of it antedating the thirteenth century. The sequence underwent further development and was no longer exclusively liturgical in application. For the first time since antiquity, there were a substantial number of laypeople, especially judges, among Italy's Latin writers. There was a tendency toward works of great length, sometimes encyclopedic. The scholastics' drier, more "scientific" style of argumentation made great inroads into such traditionally literary forms as the treatise and the sermon,

With the thirteenth century came an outpouring of important spiritual literature in which Franciscans were especially prominent. To Francis of Assisi (1181 or 1182-1226) are ascribed a few rhythmical poems and other Latin writings with genuine poetic flavor. Clare of Assisi (1193 or 1394—1253) is considered the author of four Latin letters of somewhat similar quality, but just how far secretaries may have had a hand in shaping these is not easy to determine. Thomas of Celano (c. 1190-1260) wrote two *Lives* of Francis and *Miracles of the Blessed Francis*. The great sequence *Dies irae* is also conventionally assigned to Thomas. Another sequence, *Stabat mater*, has often been attributed to the Franciscan Jacopone of Todi (c. 1230-1306), who is better known today as a poet in Italian. However, both attributions are suspect: the poems are of unknown provenance, and each seems earlier than its supposed author. The theologians Bonaventure (c. 1217-1274), also a Franciscan, and Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274), a Dominican, spent much of their lives outside Italy; they either certainly (Bonaventure) or very

probably (Thomas) wrote distinguished religious verse. Bonaventure's literary talent is also clear in prose writings such as his *Journey of the Mind to God* and his two official *Legends* of Francis. (The term *legenda*, often used in titles, means "profitable reading matter.")

Other instances of thirteenth-century spiritual writing, broadly defined, are as follows: the devotional poetry of the Benedictine abbot Gregory of Monte Sacro (c. 1190-c. 1245), who was also the author of a major encyclopedic poem; the sermons of Anthony of Padua, the second major Franciscan saint (who was born and trained in Portugal and was active in Italy 1222-1224, c. 1227—1231); the first *Life* (*Legenda 'Assidua'*) of Anthony, written at Padua in 1232 or shortly afterward; the anonymous dialogue *Sacred Exchange between Saint Francis and Lady Poverty* (of uncertain date and perhaps not of Italian origin, though it has usually been thought so); the rhymed offices for Saint Geminian of Modena and for the Translation of Saint Agatha to Catania (also undated); the bull of canonization for Clare (1255); the hymns in honor of Clare ascribed to Pope Alexander IV (Rinaldo of the Conti of Segni, d. 1261); a prose *Legend* of Clare commissioned by Alexander (this is often ascribed to Thomas of Celano); a closely contemporary *Legend* of Clare in verse; the visionary epic *Anticerberus* of the Franciscan Bongiovanni of Cavriana (11. c. 1240); the ascetic poem *De recte vivendi doctrina* (*Doctrine of Correct Living*); the hagiographic collections of the Dominican Bartholomew of Trent (died c. 1250 or 1255); the *Golden Legend* and the sermons of the Dominican Jacobus da Voragine (James of Varazze, Jacopo da Varagine, c. 1226-1298); an Augustinian *Life* (c. 1257) of Bona of Pisa; *Stimulus amoris* (*Prick of Love*) by the Franciscan Jacopo da Milano (James of Milan, late thirteenth century); the *Liber officiorum* (*Book of Offices*) of the Milanese hymnographer Origo Scaccabarozzi (d. 1293, Franciscan); and the *Sermons* of the Vallombrosan abbot and mystic Humility of Faenza (c. 1226-1310).

Among thirteenth-century poets on secular subjects are two writers of elegiac comedy: Richard of Venosa (fl. 1228-1229) and James of Benevento (mid-thirteenth century). James was also the author of a didactic poem, *Carmina moralia* (*Moral Verses*). His Milanese contemporary Ardighino (Bellino) Bissolo left three such edifying productions. Another moralizing work is the fable collection *Novus*

Esopus (New Aesop) by an otherwise unknown Baldo. Probably also from this century, but not certainly Italian, is an early version (in some 300 lines) of a well known medical poem, *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* (Salerno's Rule of Health). Historical and civic poets include Quilichino of Spoleto (fl. 1236-1237), Urso of Genoa (fl. 1225-1245), Orfino of Lodi (c. 1195-c. 1251), Eustace of Matera (fl. 1270), Boniface of Verona (d. after 1293), and Stefanardo of Vimercate (d. 1297). The work of the occasional poet Bonaiuto of Casentino (fl. 1292-1300) is varied.

The following are notable instances of rhythmical verse for secular ends: *De colloquio celebrato ab imperatore cum Cremonensibus et Parmensibus et Papiensibus in loco Burgt Sancti Dompnini* (305 lines), on Frederick II's northern Italian campaign of 1226, transmitted in the *Annates Placentini* (CAnnals of Piacenza) of Giovanni Codagnello (died c. 1235); longer poems by Gerardo Maurisio of Vicenza and the notary Thadeus in Gerardo's chronicle of the brothers Ezzelino and Alberico da Romano (c. 1237); three so-called *Carmina triumphalia* celebrating Parma's destruction of the newly founded city of Victoria (1248); *Carmen de Ambrosio grarnmatico*, a colleague's extended lament for a Bolognese schoolmaster (after 1248); and Morando of Padua's jocular *Vinum dulce gloriosutn* praising wine and excommunicating water (c. mid-thirteenth century).

Formal Latin prose composition in medieval Italy reached a zenith during the thirteenth century. The following figures were prominent in this regard: the imperial protonotary Pier della Vigna (Petrus de Vineia, c. 1190-1249); his less famous contemporaries Terrisio of Atina (like many *dictatores*, also a poet in rhythmical verse) and Nicholas of Rocca (d. after 1256), who were both professors at the newly founded University of Naples; and the papal diplomat, dictaminal writer, epistolographer, and religious poet Thomas of Capua (d. 1239). Significant examples of works by others include the following: model speeches in a manual on city governance, *Oculuspastoralis* (*The Shepherd's Eye*, c. 1222-c. 1239); an epistolary contest (1260) between the papal notaries Jordan of Terracina and John of Capua; *Cronica in factis et circa facta Marchie Trivixane* (*Chronicles on and about the Doings of the Trevisan March*), by Rolandino of Padua (1200-1276), which is laden with letters and speeches; a revised version (between 1266 and 1293) of Matthew of Amalfi's early thirteenth-century

Translation of Saint Andrew from Constantinople; and a highly oratorical account by Thadeus of Naples, written at Messina in 1291, of the fall of the crusader capital Acre in the same year. Four major dictaminal writers who spent at least part of their careers at the University of Bologna (the leading center for the study of *ars dictaminis*) were Boncompagno of Signa (c. 1170–c. 1241), also the author of a history of the siege of Ancona in 1173; Bene of Florence (d. before 1242); Guido Faba (c. 1190–c. 1250); and Bono of Lucca (d. 1279). The Fleming James of Dinant composed his *Ars arengandi* (*Art of Preaching*) and a series of dictaminal works while he was active in Italy from c. 1280 to c. 1300.

Other thirteenth-century prose writers include: the southern historians Niccolò Jamsilla (or the author of the history that goes under this name, d. after 1258), Bartholomew of Neocastro (d. 1294 or 1295), and Saba Malaspina (d. 1297 or 1298); the chroniclers Tolosano of Faenza (d. 1226), Richard of San Germano (d. 1243 or 1244), and Salimbene of Parma (Salim-bene de Adam, b. 1221); the unknown author of the papal biography *Gesta Innocentii III* (fl. c. 1209–1215); the moralist Albertano of Brescia (d. after 1253); the eulogist Nicholas of Bari (fl. c. 1231 – 1248); the early ethnographer of the Mongols, John of Piano Carpini (d. 1252); the moralizing biographer of emperors and popes, Thomas of Pavia (died c. 1280); and the grammarian and lexicographer Giovanni Balbi (John of Genoa, d. 1298). Sometime between 1230 and 1255 William of Padua wrote, for the abbot of Lagrasse in southern France, *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam* (*Deeds of Charlemagne at Carcassonne and Narbonne*), in which an account of the founding of his abbey is encompassed in a narrative history drawn from the material of vernacular epics. In 1287 Guido delle Colonne (c. 1215–c. 1290, called Guido de Columnis by those who doubt that he was the vernacular poet of this name) finished his long and influential *Historia destructionis Troiae* (*History of the Destruction of Troy*), which drew on a well-known French romance. In 1300 or slightly earlier, the preacher Jacopo de Cessolis (James of Cessole, d. after 1321) completed *Libellus de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac popularium super ludo scacborum*, a moral allegory organized around the game of chess that came to be widely read.

Works and writers spanning the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

include the following: Bonvesin de la Riva (c. 1245-c. 1314), a vernacular poet whose best-known works in Latin are a eulogistic prose account of Milan (his home city), *De magnalibus Mediolani* (1288), and a didactic poem, *De vita scholastica* (*On Scholastic Life*, shortly after 1303); the *Book of Angela of Foligno*, consisting of Arnaldo of Foligno's *Memorial* of Angela—completed in 1296—and other texts added after her death in 1309; Giunta Bevegnati's *Legend* of Margaret of Cortona (d. 1297), completed in 1311; and the *Opus metricum* of Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi (c. 1260-1341), a long hexameter poem on popes Celestine V and Boniface VIII begun in the early 1290s and finished in 1315. Roughly contemporary are the great majority of the thirty-five or thirty-six Latin poems transmitted along with the Italian verse of "Anonimo Genovese" ("Anonymous of Genoa," late thirteenth century—early fourteenth century). Most of these would seem to be "Anonimo's" own work, although one is a lyric usually assigned to the Frenchman Philip the Chancellor (d. 1226) and another is also attested to elsewhere.

From the late thirteenth century (perhaps) and the earlier fourteenth century come sequences using or adapting the *ballata* rhyme scheme. These pieces often are called Latin *laude*, but their relationship to the Italian *lauda* is tenuous. The best-known are the thirteen songs for the nativity or for the Virgin recorded in a fourteenth-century antiphonary from Bobbio. One of these, *Vernans rosa*, is better preserved elsewhere and has been thought to be central Italian in origin; another, *Missus baiulus*, is notably dramatic. An important tradition of liturgical drama is represented by offices from Padua for the Annunciation and the Purification (later thirteenth century) and—from Cividale and from Aquileia or its vicinity—by an office for the Annunciation, a long *Planctus Mariae*, and the longest version of the widely disseminated lament *Flete, fideles anime* (fourteenth century). Also from the fourteenth century is *Officium quarti militis* (*Office of the Fourth Soldier*), the surviving portion of an elaborate drama from Sulmona on the Passion and the Resurrection,

The literature of the early fourteenth century resembles that of the thirteenth century in many ways. In 1303 and 1304, dictaminal manuals were written by Giovanni di Bonandrea (d. 1321) at Bologna and by Bichilino of Spello at Padua. In 1305, the Spiritual Franciscan Ubertino of Casale (d. after 1335) put together his partly apocalyptic *Arbor vite*

crucifixe Jesu (*Tree of Life of the Crucified Jesus*), a theological and political work with literary passages. Between 1304 and 1309, Pietro Crescenzi (died c. 1320) finished his *Liber ruralium commodorum* (*Book of Rural Goods*), a comprehensive agricultural handbook notable for the understated artistry of its expository prose. Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) was mainly a vernacular poet, but during the first two decades of the fourteenth century he wrote Latin treatises and prose letters in established styles. From at least 1311 to at least 1320, Giovanni de Matociis (John the Mansionary, d. after 1336) wrote biographical histories of the early popes and of the Roman emperors down to Louis the Pious. From 1318 to 1323, William of Tocco drafted and then revised a biography of Thomas Aquinas commissioned in support of Thomas's canonization. In 1330, William of Solagna gave written form to an oral account by the Franciscan missionary Odoric of Pordenone of his journeys in the Middle East and the Far East. The papal scriptor (scribe) Opicino de Canistris (1296–c. 1351), in exile at Avignon, wrote a well-regarded description of his home city of Pavia; Opicino was also the author of curious and sometimes marginally literary private texts and drawings. Between 1327 and 1340, an anonymous Celestinian recast earlier, more prosaic, but also more immediate, lives of Celestine V into a prose and verse biography of studied elegance and possibly broader geographic appeal.

In 1334, James of Acqui was writing his *Chronicon imaginis mundi*, a universal chronicle known both as the earliest surviving biography of the traveler Marco Polo and as a reworking of folkloric and other legendary material. Someone—probably Petrarch's teacher Convevole of Prato—composed a largely poetical miscellany, the so-called *Regia carmina* (*Royal Verses*), between perhaps 1320 and early 1338, but suspended work during most of the papacy of John XXII (1316–1334); *Regia carmina* was dedicated to the lord of Prato, Robert of Anjou, king of mainland Sicily. Between 1337 and 1340, Nicolò Speciale (Speziale, d. before 1343) produced a long history of insular Sicily from the Sicilian Vespers to the death of Frederick III. In 1340, Duccio (di Amadore) of Prato completed his *Cincturale*, a poem in 423 elegiac distichs celebrating a local relic, the "belt of the blessed Virgin"; and Boncore of Santa Vittoria finished his *Novus liber hymnorum ac orationum*, a versatile but pedestrian array of nonliturgical hymns (including a

noteworthy amplification of the *Dies irae*) and other poems in hymnic measures that he had written, or in some cases collected, as a cleric at Saint Peter's in Rome. From 1338 until shortly before his death in 1348, Simone Fidati (Simon of Cascia) composed his monumental *De gestis Domini Salvatoris*, a fifteen-book life of Christ replete with gospel commentary; Simone was also the author of Latin sermons and of other writings in Latin and Italian. Chronicle histories of differing literary character were written by Guglielmo Cortusi (c. 1285-after 1360) and by Dominic of Gravina (c. 1310-after 1350). Some of the letters of the Roman tribune Cola di Rienzo (d. 1354) have literary merit.

A concurrent development was the literature of humanism, a body of writing noted for its increasingly meticulous adoption of closely observed ancient literary forms and classical modes of Latin expression, coupled with a more general interest in aspects of antiquity. Its earliest phase, which goes back to the Paduan judge and poet Lovato Lovati (c. 1240-1309), begins with stylistically classicizing verse by writers of traditional prose. Typical in this respect are Pace of Ferrara (fl. 1299-1304) and Giovanni del Virgilio (d. after 1325), who were poets and commentators on Latin school authors. Together with Dante, Giovanni also revived the bucolic eclogue in hexameters, a literary form not known to have been practiced in Italy since the first century. Two early humanists who were considered important in their time but whose works have since largely perished are the poet Benvenuto Campesani of Vicenza (c. 1253-1323) and the epistolographer and satirist Geri of Arezzo (c. 1270-after 1339). The *Compendium moralium notabilium* (*Précis of Things Morally Noteworthy*) of Jeremy of Montagnone (d. 1320 or 1321), a collection of excerpts, marked a major step in literary history; it is stylistically unremarkable, but it distinguishes systematically between ancient and medieval authors, and Jeremy, like many humanists, focused on literature as a vehicle of moral and ethical authority.

The *Ecerinis* of the poet and literary theorist Albertino Mussato (1261-1329), the preeminent second-generation humanist, attempts both the meters and the manner of Senecan tragedy. Albertino's several histories use a Latin prose modeled on classical style. Such prose was also written, in one fashion or another, by the historian and poet Ferreto Ferreti (d. 1337), the orator and papal secretary Zanobi of Strada

(c. 1312-1361), and the papal scriptor and Roman antiquary Giovanni Cavallini (d. 1349). Other early manifestations of this movement are the grammatical writings of Bartholomew of San Concordio (the Dominican Bartholomew of Pisa, d. 1347), who preferred classical orthography; and the historical poems in epic verse by Castellano of Bassano (d. after 1332), James of Piacenza (died c. 1349), and Ranieri Granchi (Raynerius de Grancis, d. after 1356).

The most prolific fourteenth-century humanist was Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304-1374), who in a vast body of Latin texts attempted, with varying success, to write like the ancients; an emphasis on moral reform accompanies this stylistic choice. Especially noteworthy are his collection of brief dialogues *Remedies for Fortune Good Mid Bad*, the consolatory dialogue *Secretum*, the *Book without Name* (a collection of scathing letters on life at the papal court in Avignon), and an extensive personal correspondence both in prose and in verse. Also important are his unfinished epic poem *Africa* (on the exploits of the ancient Roman conqueror of Carthage, Scipio Africanus) and his Latin eclogues; his early comedy *Philostratus's Philology* is lost. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) wrote classicizing poems and prose letters in Latin. But his chief accomplishments in this literature lie in the learned treatise *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*, with its defense of poetry; and in the morally attuned biographical collections *On the Fates of Famous Men* and *On Famous Women*.

Younger humanist contemporaries of Petrarch and Boccaccio include the following: Antonio de Gaio or del Gaio of Legnago (c. 1350–1384), who was an epistolographer and the author of brief biographical portraits; the musician and poet Francesco Landini (c. 1325–1397), who delended Ockham's logic; the historian and literary commentator Benvenuto of Imola (d. 1387 or 1388); the poet and literary commentator Peter of Moglio (Pietro della Retorica, d. 1383); the poets Moggio Moggi (c. 1330-after 1388), Domenico Silvestri (born c. 1335), and Giovanni Quatrario (1336–1402); the Florentine chancellor, epistolographer, and mythographer Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406); and the epistolographer and moralist Giovanni Conversini of Ravenna (1343-1408). Provisionally, *Carmen medicate* (*Medical Poem*, some 240 hexameters with a prefatory prose letter) may be placed in this period. It is supposedly by one Crispus, who is otherwise unknown and may be

fictitious; at one time he was incorrectly identified with an eighth-century archbishop of Milan. Though the issues of its date and tone have not been fully resolved, *Carmen medicale* could be, as has been argued, a fourteenth-century parody drawing on ancient and medieval collections of remedies in verse.

The now widespread literary use of Italian and the onset of the new, philologically informed humanism together heralded the demise of older, typically medieval styles of Latin literature. For a while, though, these older styles retained their vitality, particularly in the religious orders. The very popular and influential manual *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, ascribed to the Franciscan John (Johannes) de Caulibus, is now thought to have been written sometime between the mid-1340s and the mid-1360s. In 1360 the Augustinian Bono Stoppani of Como finished his collection of prose fables moralized for preaching, *Fabule rnistice declarate*. From at least 1353 to at least 1361, Michael of Piazza (who is thought to have been a Franciscan) was writing an oratorically colored chronicle of mid-century insular Sicily. In 1366 the Dominican Raymond of Capua (Raimundus de Vineis, c. 1330-1399) completed his *Legend* of Agnes of Montepulciano. Although a relatively recent attempt to credit Raymond with the sequence *Vernans rosa* is unpersuasive, he was the author of a very traditionally crafted office for the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin. His masterwork, the *Legend* of Catherine of Siena, was finished in 1395. The Franciscan Bartholomew of Pisa (Bartolomeo da Rinonico, died c. 1401) is famous for his *Conformity of the Life of the Blessed Francis to the Life of the Lord Jesus*, composed between c. 1385 and 1390 and often called the *Book of Conformities*. Bartholomew was active as early as the 1370s; his other surviving work includes two collections of sermons and a *Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, the latter completed in 1382. Not until the fifteenth century would humanistic Latin challenge established practices in liturgical poetry, homiletics, and spiritual biography.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Humanism and Protohumanism; Latin Language; Petrarca, Francesco

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Lauda

The *lauda* (plural, *laude*)—also spelled *laude* (plural, *laudi*)—is a canticle or hymn of praise. Either a musical-literary or a purely literary form, the *lauda* is a nonliturgical devotional song, usually in praise of the Virgin Mary, Christ, or the saints, although in the Renaissance, *laude* with secular themes were also composed. Etymologically, the term *lauda* is believed to have derived from the praise psalms in the Vulgate, which are replete with variants of the verb *laudare* ("to praise").

The prehistory of the *lauda* is controversial, with experts having diverse agendas, and thus offering different interpretations. It is likely,

however, that originally the *lauda* was a paraliturgical rhythm (*ritmo*) in Latin. Still, the most famous *lande* were written in the Italian vernacular, primarily by persons whose identities are unknown. The medieval *lauda* functioned either as a sung prayer (of joy or penance) or as a sung homily. The early, complex history of the *lauda* is closely linked to the growth of lay religious practice.

Some scholars consider the most illustrious vernacular *lauda* to be *Laudes creaturarum* ("Praises of God's Creatures"), also known as *Cantico delle creature* ("Canticle of the Creatures") or *Cantico del Frate Sole* ("Canticle of Brother Sun"), composed in 1224 or 1225 by Saint Francis of Assisi (1182–1226). The *Cantico*, a simple but profoundly moving hymn of praise written in the Umbrian dialect, thanks God for, or through, all elements of creation, which Francis refers to as members of his family. Thus, Francis praises God for Brother Sun, Sister Moon, Brother Wind, Sister Water, Brother Fire, Mother Earth, and—significantly—Sister Earthly Death, *da la quale nulla homo vivente po scappare* ("from which no living person can escape"). Francis wrote his hymn of praise in assonanced verse, which calls to mind the performance of liturgical chants.

An episode that took place in 1233 greatly influenced the evolution of the vernacular *lauda*. The chronicles of Salimbene and Riccardo da San Germano tell us that during this so-called "year of the hallelujah" (*anno dell'alleluia*) the Franciscans and their fellow mendicants, the Dominicans, led great processions of psalm singers along the highways of Umbria. The official purpose of these marches was to call for peace between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, and between the Lombard communes and the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II. As the demonstrators marched, they intoned *laude* in the Umbrian dialect, some of whose words have been recorded in the above-mentioned chronicles.

Inspired by this unprecedented display of religious ardor, men and women organized lay confraternities, which subsequently spread like wildfire, first through Umbria and then beyond. The purpose of these companies was to draw the laity back to orthodoxy and away from heretically-leaning movements. One important confraternity that was created in 1233, as a direct outgrowth of the participation of its members in the religious marches of that year, was the Florentine Servi

or *Serviti della Beata Vergine* (Servants of Mary). During these years, the *lauda* repertoire was irregular in form and related thematically to Marian devotion. The confraternities themselves existed in a preinstitutional form, functioning on the streets in an ad hoc manner.

The year 1260 marks another critical moment in the history of the *lauda*. Joachim of Fiore had promoted the belief that this year marked the end of the world and the coming of the empire or kingdom of the Holy Spirit. In 1258, the friar and mystic Ranieri Fasani—motivated by this belief, which was shared by many—left his remote hermitage and came to Perugia to help its citizens prepare for the last judgment. To this end, Fasani founded the confraternity of *Disciplinati di Gesù Cristo* and begged his fellow Christians—men, women, and children—to glorify God publicly through song, to repent, and to purge themselves of sin through weeping and self-flagellation. Other hermits joined Fasani in leading processions of flagellants, and soon the roads and towns of Umbria, and subsequently those of contiguous regions, were reverberating with the laments of the *disciplinati* (also called *flagellanti* or *battuti*). The flagellant movement soon spread to other parts of Italy and beyond—to Provence, Burgundy, Germany, and Poland.

In the wake of this movement, more confraternities of *disciplinati* were formed; in Perugia alone perhaps more than forty existed during this period. The salient point with regard to the development of the *lauda* is that around 1267 the *disciplinati* began to accompany their self-flagellation with, in Salimbene's words, *laudes divinas ad honorern Dei et beatae Marine Virginis*—i.e., the chanting of songs of praise to God and the Madonna. Later, the *laude* of the *disciplinati*—whose primary purpose was to imitate the suffering of Christ—also focused on darker themes, such as earthly evils, penance, disease, dying, and death.

Another type of lay confraternity, the *laudese* (plural, *laudesi*), also came into existence after 1260. The *laudesi* were confraternities of deeply religious men (and sometimes women) who sought to express their piety by assisting at mass (sometimes on a daily basis) and through confession, good works, and the singing of *laude*. The themes of their *laude* are praises of Mary, Christ, and the saints. Many *laudesi* were formed primarily between 1270 and 1290 in Florence, one of the largest and richest cities of Europe. The influential presence in Florence of the mendicant friars (both Dominicans and Franciscans) also

stimulated the growth of these companies.

The *laudesi* and the *disciplinati* were either newly formed or derived from previously existing Marian companies. Although both the *laudesi* and the *disciplinati* were institutions that grew out of mendicant spirituality, the *laudesi* focused primarily on praise and the *disciplinati* focused primarily on penance. Another distinction between the *laudesi* and the *disciplinati* is that the actions of the *laudesi* tended to be public, whereas the meetings of the *disciplinati*, in keeping with their penitential purpose, were held mostly in private. Additionally, the members of the *disciplinati* tended to be upper-class males, whereas the membership of the *laudesi* was more heterogeneous and included people of the mercantile and lower classes.

Apparently, at this point in the history of the *lauda*, the form of the secular ballad was adopted for what the contemporary chronicler Salimbene called *laudes divinas ad honorem Dei et beatae Mariae Virginis*. The stanza was sung by a soloist or group and the refrain by a chorus. By adopting the secular ballad form, the religious *lauda* actively—and successfully—competed with its secular counterpart for the attention of the public.

The two ballad forms that were adopted in this period were the *ballata maggiore*, which consisted of seven- and eight-syllable lines (*settenari* and *ottonari*), alternating with hendecasyllables (the rhyme scheme of the refrain being abbx and that of the strophe ababbccx); and the *zagialesca* strophe of ancient Hispano-Arabic origin, which consisted of a quatrain having the same rhyme throughout—i.e., aaax, bbbx, etc. The *ballata maggiore* form of the vernacular *lauda* may have been introduced by Guittone d'Arezzo (c. 1230-1294). Although Guittone wrote complex and abstruse love poetry in his youth, later in life he joined the Cavalieri di Santa Maria (Knights of Blessed Mary) or Frati Gaudenti ("jovial friars"). At this point he began to compose religious *laude* in the vernacular, which were more successful than his secular poetry. The *zagialesca* form of the *lauda* may have been introduced by a certain Garzo or by the early Franciscan mystic and poet Jacopone da Todi. Garzo is identified with the notary Garzo dell'Incisa di Valdarno, the paternal great-grandfather of Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304-1374); four of Garzo's *laude* are preserved in the famous collection of *laude* known as *Laudario cortonese*, which

dates from approximately 1270-1280.

Of the known writers of vernacular *laude*, Jacopone da Todi (Jacopo dei Benedetti, c. 1230-1306) is the most famous and most prolific. His *laudario*—which is personal and intended for the use of the order, not collective and for the use of the confraternities—consists of more than 100 highly emotional poems of great power and originality, written in the Umbrian dialect. They express tremendously contrasting subjects and moods: vehement asceticism and self-humiliation, enraged criticism of other sinners, embittered satire, and mystical ecstasy. Jacopone's most important *laude* are *O iubelo del core*; *Senno me par e cortesia*; *Povertade ennamorata*; *Plange la Chesia, plange e dolora*; *0 femmene, guardate a le mortal'ferute*; *Quefarai, Pier dalMorrone?*; *Que farai, fra Iacovone?*; *O papa Bonijazio*; *Quando t'aliegre, omo d'altura*; *Donna de Paradiso*; *Omo, mittete a pensare*-, *Frate Ranaldo, do' si' andato?*; and *Sopr'onne lengtia Amore*. Jacopone is also the reputed author of the Latin sequence *Stabat mater dolorosa*.

In sum, more than 200 *laudari*—collections of *laude*—have preserved many individual *laude*, the majority of which are anonymous. For the most part, these collections are organized according to the liturgical calendar (i.e., the calendar of proper feast days) and date from a fairly late period in the tradition. The oldest *laudari* come from Perugia, Assisi, Arezzo, Borgo San Sepolcro, Gubbio, and Fabriano. Two *laudari* are unique in that they preserve the musical notation: the thirteenth-century Cortona *laudari* (Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune; MS 91), discovered in 1876; and the fourteenth-century codex Magiabechiana (Mgl), Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, manuscript II I 122 (Banco Rati 18). In both manuscripts the music is monophonic and closely linked to the syllabic stress of the text. Some of the most important *laude* in the Cortona collection are *Venite a laudare*; *Ave, Vergene gaudente*; *Alta Trinità beata*; *Oimè lasso e freddo lo mio core*-, *Chi vol lo rnondo d&prezzare*, and *Amor dolze senza pare*.

Another important aspect of the *laudari* is the fact that they document the evolution of the *lauda* from a lyric to a dramatic genre. The dramatic *lauda* contains monologues or dialogues among a number of characters and is the nucleus of the Italian miracle or mystery play, the *sacra rappresentazione*. The most famous example of the dramatic *lauda* is Jacopone da Todi's *Donna de Paradiso* ("Lady of Paradise"), also

referred to as *Pianto della Madonna* ("Lament of the Madonna"), which relates in touchingly simple language the passion of Christ. This *lauda* consists entirely of dialogue, with no descriptive or narrative discourse. The dramatic *laude* were presented first in churches, then in porticos, and finally outdoors in city squares, with or without elementary sets. Typical themes were episodes from the gospels, the last judgment, saints' lives, and so on; the aim of the dramatic *lauda* was to educate a largely illiterate public in these aspects of the faith.

The *lauda* continued to flourish in the fourteenth century in the hands of such authors as Ugo Panziera da Prato (1265-1330), Bianco di Sand da Siena (c. 1350-1410), and Giovanni Dominici (c. 1357-1419). The genre thrived again in the fifteenth century, and it was during this period that the polyphonic *lauda* developed. Nevertheless, during the fifteenth century the prevalent form was the literary *lauda*, written by professional men of letters such as Feo Belcari (1410-1484), Girolamo Benivieni (1453-1542), Lorenzo dei Medici (1449-1492), and Leonardo Giustinian (1388-1446). In their *laude*, these authors characteristically used the *ottava rima* of the chivalrous epic popular at the time to treat ancient subjects in a folkloristic manner, also introducing fantastic or realistic elements. The poems of the fiery religious reformer and Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498) were very different; they seem to have been inspired by an authentic *furor divinus*, although they conformed stylistically to the Belcarian model. Musically, the *lauda* of the sixteenth century represents an important step in the development of the oratorio. The *laudari* of the secular Congregazione dell'Oratorio, founded by Saint Philip Neri (d. 1595), have fortunately survived. The *lauda* remained an important element of Italian devotional life until the nineteenth century.

See also Guittone d'Arezzo; Italian Literature: Religious; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Jacopone da Todi

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Law: Canon

Canon law is the legal system developed by the medieval Christian church and still maintained in some branches of the Christian tradition today. The term "canon" stems from a Greek root meaning "rule" or "measure" and was used from a very early period to describe the rules and regulations of the Christian community. The canons covered a broad range of topics: e.g., they detailed the rights and obligations of clerics, monks, and laypeople; prescribed the proper conduct of liturgical observances; regulated morality and personal conduct; established norms for marriage and family life; and dealt with church property and other economic issues.

The canons stemmed from many sources. A few were drawn from the scriptures; others were enacted by church councils—especially the general or ecumenical councils, which served as legislative bodies for the entire church; and still others were established by local councils and synods, which framed rules for particular regions but whose canons might be adopted elsewhere, outside the place where they originated. The decisions of bishops—particularly the bishops of Rome, who often intervened to resolve disputes in the churches of other bishops—frequently acquired the force of law and were treated as authoritative precedents in determining similar cases.

Early Medieval Canon Law

Since the sources of canon law were so numerous and so varied, from an early period bishops and other church authorities who faced concrete problems or disputes turned for guidance to collections of

canons drawn up for that purpose. The earliest such collection, *Didache*, or *Doctrina duodecim Apostolorum*, dates from the late first century or the early second century. This brief collection of moral precepts, liturgical rules, and regulations for the conduct of church business was soon followed by numerous other collections, such as *Didascalia apostolorum* and the *Apostolic Tradition* ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome, which supplemented and amplified earlier prescriptions.

Among the numerous collections of canonical rules from the fifth and sixth centuries, the church in Gaul produced *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* and the Aries Collection; Spain yielded a set of canons that constituted the core of the somewhat later collection known as *Hispana*; and in Italy the Scythian monk Dionysius Exiguus (fl. c. 497-526) compiled the set of canons known as *Dionysiana*, perhaps at the command, and probably with the encouragement, of the papacy. *Dionysiana* became the nucleus of several later canonical collections, the most influential of which was *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, which Pope Hadrian I sent to Charlemagne as an authoritative statement of the canons recognized by the church of Rome.

During the Carolingian period, several collections incorporating forged canons also appeared. The most famous is the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, produced in northern France in the mid- ninth century. These canons were apparently the work of reformers who hoped to bolster the case for their programs by cloaking them in the guise of letters by early popes and decrees from councils and synods of bygone days. Although a few contemporaries suspected that all was not quite right with these productions, they passed for centuries as authentic, and canonists of later generations often relied on them as guides to the discipline and doctrine of the early church.

Between the late sixth century and the mid-eleventh century, another kind of canonical literature became prominent: the penitentials. These manuals were designed to guide confessors in dealing with moral offenses. Penitentials prescribed the acts of reparation and devotion that their authors deemed suitable both as punishment and as remedies for the sins committed by the penitents who consulted them. The penitentials thus served both a spiritual and a punitive role. As spiritual manuals, they suggested to confessors the kinds of devotional exercises that seemed appropriate for different sins; in their punitive aspect they

were something like sentencing manuals that indicated the punishments merited by various offenses.

Penitentials originated in Ireland, and the earliest was ascribed to Finnian—probably Finnian of Clonard (d. 549), or perhaps Finnian of Moville (d. 579). Other Irish penitentials soon appeared, notably those of Columbanus (d. 615) and Cummean (d. 662). They were followed by further penitentials of Anglo-Saxon origin, such as those of Theodore of Canterbury (c. 602-690), Bede (672 or 673-735), and Egbert of York (d. 766); authors on the continent began to produce similar works somewhat later. Only a few penitentials, notably the Bobbio Penitential and the Penitential of Monte Cassino, originated in Italy, where this type of literature seems not to have been as popular as it became in northern Europe.

Among the dozens of canonical collections that survived from the ninth century, *Collectio Anselmo dedicata*, compiled by a northern Italian cleric toward the end of that century, was particularly influential. The eleventh-century church reform movement stimulated the study of canon law, and reform-minded clerics during the eleventh century produced a flood of new canonical writings. Especially important were the *Decretum* of Bishop Burchard of Worms (written between 1008 and 1012); the *Collection in Five Books*, which circulated widely in Italy; the *Collectio canonum* of Anselm of Lucca (written c. 1083); and Bonizo of Sutri's *Liber de vita Christiana* (which dates from the pontificate of Urban II, 1088–1099). Also during the 1090s, Bishop Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040–1115) compiled further canonical collections; his *Panormia*, a relatively brief, convenient, and well-arranged compendium, became a widely used canonical manual.

Gratian and His Successors

About 1140, a Bolognese canonist named Gratian completed an epoch-making work that he called *Concordia discordantium canonum*, although later generations usually called it *Decretum Gratiani* (*Gratian's Decretum*). Gratian's work soon became the standard textbook of canon law in the western church, and it remained the foundation for the study of canon law among Roman Catholics until

the codification of the law in the twentieth century (the code of Benedict XV appeared in 1917; it was superseded by the code of John Paul II in 1983).

Gratian's book differed from earlier canonical collections in several important ways. It was, for one thing, more comprehensive than its predecessors. Even more important, Gratian not only reproduced the rules enunciated by earlier authorities, but he also analyzed the sources and distinguished carefully between them, so as to resolve their contradictions and differences. Gratian thus provided his readers with rational guidance through the forest of regulations that had accumulated during more than 1,000 years of Christian rule-making and legislation. This made his book an indispensable tool for teaching the law, and it also gave judges and other ecclesiastical officials guidelines for analyzing legal problems, so that they could differentiate between similar situations and find the most appropriate rules to apply to the cases that came before them. Gratian's work also enabled church officials to conduct their business with greater certainty, because his guidelines gave them a reasonable basis for anticipating the legal results of their actions and policies. His book, while far from perfect, gave bishops and other officials, judges, lawyers, and ordinary litigants a more secure starting point than they had previously had for conducting their business and dealing with matters that concerned the institutional church.

The scope of Gratian's work was very broad. He dealt, of course, with the structure and organization of the church itself, and he defined the powers of various church officers and the limits beyond which they could not legally go. He described in considerable detail the rights and obligations of clerics, monks, and nuns in their relations with one another and with the laity. Gratian also dealt with the law concerning church buildings and ecclesiastical revenues, with tithes and other exactions that the church imposed on the faithful, and with the norms for the proper management of the church's property. He devoted some space at the beginning of his work to theoretical questions concerning foundations of law and the relationship of canon law to other categories of law—human, natural, and divine. But the greater part of his book dealt with more immediate and practical issues. Naturally, he gave attention to technical problems of procedure and the limits of the

jurisdiction of courts and officials at various levels of the church's hierarchy. A quite substantial part of Gratian's work dealt with marriage, divorce, and family law—matters of special concern to the laity—while other major sections treated problems related to wills and testaments, war and violence, penance for sins, usury, simony, and criminal offenses, which concerned both laymen and clerics. The concluding section dealt with the sacramental law of the church: times and places for saying mass, conferring holy orders, baptizing children and converts, anointing the sick, and related topics.

The *Decretum Gratiani* quickly became the leading textbook in the schools where canon law was taught, and it contributed substantially to the growth and maturation of canon law as an academic discipline during the second half of the twelfth century. As law teachers composed lectures on the *Decretum* and devised exercises to train the student in the intricacies of applying the law that he learned from Gratian to the problems he would face in real life, they spawned several new genres of legal literature. Systematic commentaries on Gratian's text often took the form of the *Summa decretorum*, of which the earliest example was the one written before 1148 by Paucapalea. This was soon followed by numerous other canonistic *summae*, such as those of Rolandus and Rufinus; the anonymous *Summa Parisiensis*; and above all the great *Summa* of Huguccio (completed c. 1188), which was widely popular. Brief notes on the meaning and application of particular words and phrases in Gratian's text took the form of glosses; and shortly after the beginning of the thirteenth century a German canonist who taught at Bologna, Johannes Teutonicus, compiled a massive gloss apparatus that covered the whole of the *Decretum*. This *Glossa ordinaria*, or standard exposition of Gratian's text, was completed by 1216 and was revised by Bartholomew of Brescia c. 1245. Other academic expositors drilled law students through *quaestiones*—formal debates on legal issues that arose from cases, real or imaginary—and the *quaestio* likewise soon became a standard genre of the rapidly growing legal literature.

Gratian's book not only provided church judges with a firm basis for dealing with all these matters, but it also encouraged litigants to bring their disputes before ecclesiastical courts for resolution. The result was a surge of business in the canonical courts, as well as a need for new

law to deal with contingencies where existing legislation did not apply or where existing remedies seemed unsatisfactory. In consequence, a flood of new rules materialized in the closing decades of the twelfth century and continued during most of the thirteenth century. This in turn vastly enlarged the scope of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and greatly increased the power and importance of canon law.

Some of the new law was the work of general councils, such as the Third Lateran Council (1179), the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the First Council of Lyon (1245), and the Second Council of Lyon (1274). Much more of the new law, however, originated with the popes and took the form of decretal letters—letters in which the pope enunciated a decision in a particular case and, at the same time, set forth a rule of law applicable to all other cases which were of the same type or in which the same issues arose. Decretals were in some ways rather similar to decisions of the Supreme Court in the legal system of the United States.

Systematic collections of decretals had begun to appear by the closing decades of the twelfth century, and they soon became a subject of academic exposition and analysis in the faculties of canon law. The expositors of the new law are known as decretalists, in contrast to writers on Gratian's book, who were known as decretists. Decretalist writers adapted the literary forms that the decretists had developed to the study of the new law and spawned their own *Summae decretalium*, glosses, and *quaestiones*. In 1230 Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227–1241), who had himself been trained as a canon lawyer, commissioned an eminent Catalan scholar, Raymond of Penyafort (c. 1180 or 1185–1275), to compile a collection of the new law since Gratian's time. In 1234, when Raymond had completed the task, the pope formally published this collection, known as the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, or alternatively as *Liber Extra*, and dispatched a copy to the faculties of canon law at Bologna and Paris, with orders that it be taught as an official lawbook, alongside the work of Gratian.

The *Liber Extra* thus joined Gratian's *Decretum* as one of the two central texts for the training of canon lawyers. Like the *Decretum*, the *Liber Extra* also became a subject of glosses, lectures, *summae*, *quaestiones*, and commentaries of various kinds that academic canonists produced as a by-product of their teaching.

The making of new law did not cease with the publication of *Liber Extra*. Popes continued to issue decretals, councils continued to adopt legislation, and canonists continued to compile unofficial collections of new laws to supplement the established texts. In 1298 Pope Boniface VIII issued a further official collection to be appended to the *Liber Extra* as its *Liber Sextus* (*Sixth Book*). In 1317 Pope John XXII added to the growing body of canon law a further official collection, known as the *Constitutiones Clementis V* (*Clementine Constitutions*, or the *Clementines*) because it comprised principally decrees of Pope Clement V, together with the decrees of the Council of Vienne (1311-1312). Both the *Liber Sextus* and the *Clementines* immediately joined their predecessors in the legal curriculum. Zenzelinus de Cassanis compiled another brief, unofficial collection c. 1355—*Extravagantes Johannis papae XXII*—and this too soon augmented the course of studies. At the very end of the fifteenth century, printers began to add a further private collection, *Extravagantes communes*, compiled by Jean Chappuis, to the standard batteries of canonical texts that they published. This addition was formally recognized in 1582, when Gregory XIII included it in the official Roman edition of the *Corpus iuris canonici*.

Courts and Procedure

One weakness of early medieval canon law was that it had no well-defined procedures and no effective array of courts to implement its prescriptions. True, bishops from the time of Constantine (d. 337) enjoyed the right to judge offenses against the canons and to impose penalties enforceable by public authorities; and under the late Roman empire they adapted for their own use some elements of the procedures current in the civil courts. However, when the political fabric of the western empire began to crumble in the late fourth and fifth centuries, church courts had to accommodate themselves to the new polity of the west; and in the process they gradually assimilated practices—such as compurgation and the ordeal—that were current among the Germanic settlers with whom they now had to deal.

A specifically ecclesiastical procedural system and court structure gradually began to emerge toward the end of the twelfth century. At

the apex of the hierarchy of church courts were the papal courts in Rome. Until the beginning of the thirteenth century, the popes often presided in person and spent a large fraction of their time dealing with judicial business. Beginning with the pontificate of Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), however, the popes began to delegate all but a few critical cases to members of their entourage. By the mid-thirteenth century, more or less full-time judges and a battery of specialized tribunals had begun to appear at the Roman curia. The *Audientia litterarum contradictarum* dealt with claims to church offices and benefices; the Rota handled much of the papacy's matrimonial jurisdiction, as well as much other contentious litigation; the Camera dealt with financial disputes; and the Penitentiary concerned itself with indulgences, dispensations, and other types of cases involving the pope's spiritual jurisdiction.

Likewise, bishops in the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth century began to appoint officials—principal, commissary judges, and other officers to handle most of their judicial business. At the local level, the court of the archdeacon dealt with many routine complaints and the less serious disputes that litigants brought to church courts for resolution.

At about the same time, canonical procedure began to become more sophisticated and increasingly complex. The procedures that emerged in the ecclesiastical courts were modeled on late Roman *cognitio extraordinaria* and became in turn the model for the procedural system of the *ius commune* that was used by the end of the Middle Ages in civil courts throughout Italy, and indeed throughout most of continental Europe. This system in turn set the procedural pattern followed by civil law courts in Italy and elsewhere in the continent to this day.

See also Canon Law Collections and Ordinary Glosses; Gratian; Uguccione da Pisa

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Law: Criminal

Criminal law in medieval Italy varied by region and period, retaining elements from each historical development. Law went through an Ostrogothic-Byzantine period (480–740); a Lombard period (586–800); a period of a kingdom of Italy, with underlying feudal and customary law (800–1100); and a communal statutory and *ius commune* period (1100–1450). Law in Italy was often substantially affected by developments in ecclesiastical law, which sometimes followed and sometimes anticipated developments in civil law, or Roman law. Venetian law was outside the system of Roman law and therefore differed from the law of other northern and central Italian city-states. Southern Italy was often a political unit separate from the kingdom of Italy (the northern and central parts) and was affected by different legal influences.

Byzantine Period

The barbarian invasions of the western empire brought the Ostrogoths under Theodoric to Italy, where they set up a kingdom with their capital at Ravenna. Ostrogothic law was similar to other Germanic laws. However, Theodoric saw himself as vicar of the Byzantines, or the leader of the west. He redacted the *Edict*, consisting mainly of criminal law and procedure, for the Roman and Ostrogothic populations c. 500. Lawlessness was rife in this kingdom, and the settling of the warlike tribes was a challenge to the nascent kingships, as was corruption in judicial offices. The *Edict* was a thoroughly Roman law enactment, taken from the *Sententiae* of Paulus, earlier Roman codes (such as the

Gregorian and Hermogenian codes), and the Theodosian code. It established the Theodosian code as the primary Roman law code used in the west in the early Middle Ages. Whatever was covered in the *Edict* was governed by this Roman law for Ostrogoths and Romans; and whatever was not covered was governed by the custom of each people separately.

The Byzantines reasserted their power in Italy militarily by defeating the Ostrogoths in destructive wars conducted from 533 to 555 by the eastern emperor, Justinian, through his able generals Belisarius and Narses. The laws of the Ostrogoths appear to have been abolished, and the Ostrogoths were required to pledge obedience to imperial law. The Byzantines ruled through *tribuni*, who were nominal appointees of the Byzantine viceroy, the exarch of Ravenna, but were really major landowners who possessed great local power that became hereditary. During this period the great Justinianic code was promulgated, but it was little used in either the east or the west. In the east, it was replaced in 740. The barbarian west did not achieve the level of sophistication necessary to make use of this skilled piece of legislation and judicial thinking. Only the *Institutes*, the simplified part redacted as a textbook for the law school, and abridgements of the *Codex*, the decrees of emperors before Justinian, were used. The Germanic people, when they redacted laws for the Roman population, used mainly the Theodosian code. The real impact of the Justinianic code was felt in the revival of Roman law in the twelfth century. The Byzantines were driven out of northern and central Italy in 751.

Lombard Period

When the Lombards invaded Italy in 568, taking over two-thirds of the country, they were filling a power vacuum left by the destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom at the hands of the Byzantines and the subsequent inability of the Byzantines to hold the northern and central parts from a distance. The Lombards' customs remained more purely Teutonic than those of other tribes, because the Lombards had migrated into the empire later (from southern Jutland) and had had only limited contact with the Roman world before migrating. In fact, they were one of the

last tribes to migrate, reaching Lombardy in 568 after renouncing Odin and becoming Arian Christians. They did not become Catholic until 618. Both Romans and Lombards lived under Germanic constitutional law, with some Roman personal law, until the mid-eighth century, when they were conquered by the Franks. The oldest Lombard code is the *Edict of Rothari* (643), which sought to preserve premigration customs. Additions to this code were made by Rothari's successors Grimbold (688), Liutprand (Luitprand, 712), Ratchis (745), and Aistulph (749). Liutprand made Lombard law conform to church law and instituted reforms based on Roman law.

The Germanic peoples had their own institutions and laws, which were very different from Roman law and were concerned with the vendetta, group (familial) liability, and the personality of the law (as opposed to territoriality). After contact with the empire, Germanic law was profoundly influenced by both Roman law and Christianity. Christianity introduced ideas of personal liability and intent, based on the model of individual accountability for sins. Contact with the empire solidified political structures where there had been none, other than the popular assembly, and created kingships—albeit weak ones—which after Charlemagne acquired additional validity from a perception that they had been established by divine will as well as by popular acclamation. Roman law brought a stronger monarchical figure who could legislate. The Christian idea that the king and the state had a duty to uphold the order and morals of the people was put into effect. Even the act of writing down custom in the form of statutes was a response to Roman written law. The main subject of these ordinances was Germanic criminal law.

The vendetta was the primary legal institution of the Germanic peoples because it required no state to enforce the law: crime—especially a personal offense—was seen as a strictly private matter between two families. When the tribes settled and began farming, such private warfare became disruptive, and thus unsuitable, and the kings attempted to control it and to find other institutions to deal with crimes. These attempts were often seen by the disputants as unjust interference. The law also resided in the people—their usages, their morals, and their common sense—through longtime practice. Thus no one, not even the king, could legislate—but everyone, especially the old

and venerable, could declare law. Old law was more valid than new law in the customary system. Even the king was subject to the law. In practice, this situation changed as the influence of Christianity made monarchy more elevated and more independent. The Lombard codes were distinct from all the other Germanic codes in being strongly monarchical instead of popular. The monarchical character of the law was the key to its successful blending with Roman law, and thus to its longevity when other Germanic codes were forgotten.

Vendetta occurred when a person from one clan offended a member of another clan, perhaps wounding or killing him. All the members of the offended family would then seek to kill or wound any member of the offending family. This was group action, because each clan conceived of itself as a "spirit pool" and felt that, as a practical matter, its own protection depended on maintaining its numerical strength. To kill a member of a clan was to diminish its spirit pool and to hurt all its members. This sense of group liability carried over into the time of compurgators, when a defendant's proof in court depended on the *number of* witnesses, largely family members, that he could summon to attest to his character. Efforts to control the vendetta were aimed not at disallowing it, but simply at limiting it, in deference to the honor and ethics of the clans. Revenge could not be taken on an entire clan but was restricted to the principal party—the offender—who could then himself be offended with impunity. Also, a scale of compositions, or money payments, was devised whereby one clan paid the other clan not to carry out the vendetta. A pecuniary compensation called a *wergeld* was substituted for the blood feud. The victim, or the victim's family, could either retaliate or accept money from the culprit, the amount usually being determined by the crime committed, the status of the culprit, and the status of the victim. The right to compensation was equal to the obligation of retaliation or payment. The compensation consisted of the capital, or *manwyrð*, which restored the value of the man (or property) destroyed; the *faida*, an equivalent sum to pay the opposed party for giving up its right to retaliation for the crime; and a payment to the state for breaking the peace.

Most of the barbarian tribes had pecuniary punishments by the time of the written laws; in fact, the written laws consisted mainly of levels of payments by class and crime. Crimes were increasingly considered

breaches of the public peace, and therefore a responsibility of the state. In Lombard law, the vendetta remained vigorous for an extended period, leading Rothari to raise the amount of the compensations in an effort to make them more attractive, judicial proceedings supervised by the state became more and more obligatory. Charlemagne established the principle that those who did not come to court when summoned lost all their property. Among the Salian Franks, property could not be seized without the intervention of a judge.

The attempt to restrict the vendetta caused some breakdown in the kin group. Retaliation was commuted to money, and no one was needed to carry out the vendetta, so the difference between active and passive loyalty began to disappear. Each person was treated individually before the law, not in the context of his family, so whole family was no longer held responsible for the crimes of one of its members. The Burgundian code observed, "In such cases let all know this must be observed carefully, that the relatives of the man killed must recognize that no one can be pursued except the killer; because just as we have ordered the criminals to be destroyed, so we will suffer the innocent to sustain no injury." The idea of a family spirit pool was also being destroyed by the Christian idea that everyone is accountable for his own actions before God.

The change in the understanding of crime from being a private matter to being a public matter was by no means complete during the Germanic period. In Lombard law 74 of Rothari, the king encouraged judicial proceedings because they were more durable, but he actually forbade vendetta only in cases of involuntary murder or involuntary damage—the law went on to say that the vendetta was allowed in every other case. This distinction between voluntary and involuntary crime was not Germanic, but Roman and Christian; previously, the vendetta had been exercised in cases of involuntary as well as voluntary offenses. However, the law that a person caught in the commission of a crime did not need a trial was a borrowing from Roman law. For some crimes, it was established that the culprit would be given in slavery to the offended party, who then would serve as a substitute for incarceration by the state. The state's resources for hunting down criminals were extremely limited, and the responsibility for apprehending criminals was incumbent on everyone in society. The

reporting of crimes was mandatory, and all strangers were looked on with great suspicion. Considerable self-help remained allowable; for instance, a man who caught his wife in the act of adultery could kill both parties.

German courts usually lacked good evidence pertaining to crimes. The institution of oath-takers, or compurgators, was a Germanic means of determining cases and deciding culpability. Compurgation was the practice whereby a defendant's innocence, or the truth of a plaintiff's claim, was determined not on the basis of objective evidence but by summoning a sufficient number of oath-takers to swear to his good character. Swearing an oath was a sacred duty (a false oath-taker would fear the wrath of God) and showed a significant commitment to the defendant, as well as to the obligation of the vendetta. Oath-taking was an original German institution that was adopted and used by the Roman population. As German law became regularized, so did the institution of oath-taking. A set number of oath takers were required for specific crimes: for instance, six of the defendant's kin chosen by the pursuer plus five more free men, chosen by these seven. Severe penalties were exacted for false oaths; thus external coercion was replacing moral suasion. The oath was a set formula, and if the swearer faltered in saying it, the trial was over: God had interceded to prevent the person from saying the oath. The church co-opted the oath, in that the swearing took place in church or on a relic instead of on the customary arms.

Trials by battle, ordeal, and torture were used as alternatives to compurgation; that is, if no oath-takers were available, there would be trial by battle or ordeal. The ordeal was originally a pagan practice in which the offender was sacrificed to appease the gods. This too was co-opted by Christianity, so that the ordeal became a trial decided by God. The main ordeals were the cross, boiling water, and a hot iron. (In the ordeal of a hot iron, a defendant would be made to carry a red-hot metal bar a certain distance; his hands would then be bandaged for a week and then unwrapped. If the wound had festered, the defendant was judged guilty; if it had healed, he was judged innocent.) By the time of Rothari, faith in the ordeal and battle had diminished considerably; and Rothari himself believed that these measures should not be used in important matters. In the Fourth Lateran Council (1215),

Pope Innocent III forbade the clergy to participate in trials by ordeal. Torture was typically used only against slaves, who could be put to torture in order to extract information or a confession. However, if a reasonable amount of evidence had been presented against a freedman, he too could be tortured to obtain a confession. Whereas the *Edict of Rothari* of 643 used irrational proofs such as judicial duels and compurgation, the codes of Liutprand (713-744) and Ratchis (744-756) also instituted some rational proofs, such as witnesses, inquests, and written documents.

Kingdom of Italy

Charlemagne decisively defeated the Lombards and ended the independent Lombard kingdom in 774. From then until 1100, law in Italy was formulated from the Lombard laws and Carolingian capitularies, and a legal school developed at Pavia in the tenth and eleventh centuries expounded these two sources. In 802, Charlemagne allowed each tribe subject to the Carolingians to retain its personal law, but he exercised the capitularies as territorial law over all the people. Throughout this period, northern-central Italy was organized in the kingdom of Italy, with its capital at Pavia. The king of Italy was usually also the Holy Roman emperor, as Charlemagne was. There was some centralization in the kingdom of Italy, with a royal law court at Pavia and state courts in many cities. The jurists of Pavia codified the law, making it a more coherent system; certain state institutions survived; and some knowledge of law and procedure seems to have been common.

However, it is a mistake to exaggerate the uniformity of the law. Local customs continued to be an important source of law, especially in areas remote from the state courts. The period from 800 to 1100 was also the period of feudalism in Italy; courts came under the supervision of local counts, who were great landowners. These counts had been empowered as representatives of the Carolingian government, and when the Carolingian central administration disintegrated they were left with land, military strength, and administrative and judicial powers. Feudalism faded much faster in Italy than elsewhere, because

there were some administrative survivals in the cities; thus there was a basis for the nascent communes during the economic revival that began in the tenth century, and feudal law was ignored during the first phase of formation of the law school at Bologna. Nevertheless, feudal law was being studied at Bologna by the twelfth century, because it remained in practice in many places. In the 1150s, Obertus de Orto wrote *Libri feudorum*, which was based on imperial legislation in the kingdom of Italy, decisions by feudal courts, Lombard customs, and extracts from the writings of the school of Pavia, recognizing that much custom was still in practice. Feudal law blended very well with Germanic customs and clan ethics and helped perpetuate them. Feudal law mainly concerned itself with land, but it also treated crimes; in criminal law, feudalism perpetuated Germanic customs. We should also note that bishops, who were often great landowners, had legal and administrative powers, not because of ecclesiastical jurisdiction but because of a lack of state powers.

The Period of the City-States

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, an economic upswing caused by technological improvements, better agricultural techniques, and an increase in population led to the resettlement of cities in Italy. This stimulated the creation of two kinds of law. One kind, necessitated by the growth of the cities, took the form of the collection and writing of custom and municipal law—the statutes. The other kind took the form of production of the *ius commune* and included a revival of Roman law associated with the University of Bologna. Statute law and *ius commune* were closely linked and interacted continually in the formation of legal judgments.

Ius commune was a fusion of Roman, canon, and feudal law that formed a common jurisprudence in Europe from 1100 to 1800. The *Florentine Digest*, a sixth-century copy of the *Digest of Justinian*, was found in Pisa by the twelfth century and was stolen by the Florentines in 1406. This revival of Roman law affected criminal law mostly by introducing inquisitorial procedures, rather than by changing the actual substance of criminal laws. William Durantis wrote an important book

on criminal procedure, *Speculum Iudiciale* (*Mirror of Procedure*), and Albertus Gandinus wrote one on evidence and procedure, *Tractatus Maleficorum* (*Treatise on Crimes*). The commentator Angelo Aretino wrote another *Tractatus Maleficorum*, which was arranged according to the order of a trial and represented the final accommodation of Roman law to practice.

In many of the northern and central Italian city-states, the court systems were headed by the *podestà* and the *capitano del popolo* (captain of the people). The various city-states were similar in this regard because many of them had experienced similar communal movements in which various segments of the population, sometimes including the guilds, banded together to form the government. Administration of the cities often passed from the bishops to groups of consuls, who later chose the *podestà* as their head. Originally, the executive officials had both executive and judicial powers; but as administration and law became increasingly complex, each acquired its own officials. The *podestà* and the *capitano* lost their executive powers and became strictly judicial officials. Because factionalism and the arrogance of certain families were the salient problems of the nascent communes, the *podestà* and *capitano* of a city-state had to be foreigners—that is, from another Italian city-state—so that they would be objective. This requirement evolved into a system in which foreign rectorors—that is, the *podestà* and the *capitano*—traveled from city to city bringing with them their own judicial officials, including civil judges, criminal judges, a police chief, law enforcement officials, and pages. This cadre of officials would spend a few weeks reading the statutes of the city and then began their work.

During the late medieval period in Italy, the criminal law systems of the various states adopted inquisitorial procedure as their trial method. In this method, the court system conducted most of the trial; either all the proceedings—initiating, gathering information, compelling witnesses, weighing evidence, sentencing, and executing sentences—or all except initiation. The court system conducted investigations to establish objective substantive facts and had the power to initiate and prosecute cases *ex officio*. This state control of trials was new, and it was possible only because of the growth and increasingly public nature of the communal governments: in the early fourteenth century, fiscal

exigencies led the communes to terminate many privileges, immunities, and usurpations, changing many aspects of government from private to public.

Earlier, accusation—whereby the accuser named the defendant and provided the evidence—had been the principal method of bringing crimes to the attention of the court system and initiating cases. Even after inquisition became common, accusation continued for a while to be the ordinary and favored way to initiate a case. However, an accuser who did not prove his case had to pay all court fees, fines, and a set fee for every day that the defendant spent in prison, and by the late Middle Ages these liabilities tended to drive would-be accusers from the courts. At first, in cases initiated by accusation, the judge acted only as an orchestrator of the trial, with the two litigants doing all the work themselves, almost as if the case were a private matter. Gradually, though, court systems became more interested in ensuring that crimes coming to their attention through accusation were properly and fully prosecuted. As a result, accusation-initiated cases were increasingly handled like inquisition initiated cases. There was still some deference to the private nature of accusation, in that before the case could be initiated *ex officio* the judge was required to ask the logical accusers to make allegations. However, public initiation came to be permitted for all serious crimes. Court officials thus had greater responsibility over the conduct of all parts of the trial, and this new independence from private accusers encouraged the transition of crime from a private to a public matter.

Likewise, in the proof stage of the trial, inquisitorial procedure fostered the development of methods of independent investigation, such as sending out routine police forces with appointed rounds, gathering information and attaching witnesses at the scene of a crime, and compelling those witnesses to appear in court. Some of these independent means of collecting information involved hearsay and torture. Hearsay was the collecting of information concerning a crime from people who had no direct knowledge of it, but merely attested to what had been rumored in a neighborhood and in public places. Hearsay could initiate cases, and it could also provide proof when individuals came forward in sufficient numbers to constitute an *inditium*, a piece of prior evidence or proof that allowed torture.

Apparently, hearsay was considered an almost necessary component in trying crimes of a public nature or serious crimes. Public fame was also used in the ecclesiastical courts and was a significant mechanism in a great variety of court cases. Pope Innocent III adapted the Roman law equivalent of hearsay, akin to *notorium*, to its much more useful medieval form. Today, hearsay evidence is deprecated, but before modern technology for gathering and analyzing evidence had been developed, the neighborhood was undoubtedly considered a valuable source of information—often the only source. Torture was frequently applied to exact confessions; *inditia* (prior information) was sometimes but not always required for torture. Torture became important and desirable because the *ius commune* set a high standard of proof for a conviction: two eyewitnesses or confession. In reality, in order to convict anyone at all, various strategies were adopted, such as the addition of partial proof. (In Venice, a half-proved crime was punished with a half-penalty.) Also, defendants were convicted in absentia if they were contumacious—that is, if they had fled instead of appearing in court. This was a departure from the *ius commune*, which forbade conviction in absentia.

Criminal cases could, then, be initiated through private accusation, denunciation by minor judicial officials, hearsay, or ex officio by judges and foreign rectors. Cases that were initiated ex officio could be crimes interrupted *in flagranti*—i.e., in the act of commission—or any other crimes of which the rectors gained knowledge. In such cases, reports by law-enforcement officials became increasingly important, and these officials served as witnesses in the courts. Sometimes when the culprit was unknown, a general inquest was set up concerning the crime; this inquest turned into a specific inquest when a defendant was named. In all cases, a great deal of the information probably came from the logical accusers, even if they were reluctant to take on the liabilities of accusation.

Once a case was initiated, the defendant was cited three times, as specified by the *ius commune*; either at his home (if he had one) or at the parish church and in public *piclzze* if he had no home. Citation was seen as part of divine law; therefore, it was difficult to omit this step and proceed directly to an arrest, despite the fact that citation gave defendants plenty of time to leave town, as they frequently did.

Defendants, innocent or guilty, were likely to flee a court system in which judicial torture was used. From the statements of private accusers, logical accusers who did not accuse, hearsay accusers, witnesses to the crime, and police reports, a document of accusation or inquisition was redacted. When cited, the defendant was expected to come to court to respond to the charge as expressed in this document. He could respond to the citation in one of four ways: deny the charge, confess, pose an exception, or flee. If he came to court to deny or confess, and if the crime was a serious one entailing corporal punishment, he was detained in prison. But if the crime entailed only a pecuniary penalty and if he provided oath-swearers, he could be released.

There were several kinds of exceptions that the defendant could pose: dilatory exceptions, which only delayed the trial; exceptions that changed the severity of the charge; and exceptions that put the whole proceeding aside and stopped the trial. One kind of dilatory exception was brought by another person: a claim that the defendant was out of town and could not respond to the citation until he returned. An exception affecting the severity of the crime might, for example, be a claim that the crime had not been committed at night, and thus was not subject to the double penalty of nighttime crimes; or that the crime had not been committed near a church or public *piazza*, and thus was not subject to the double penalty of place. Another such exemption involved a claim that an assault had not left a lasting scar or had not disabled a limb; doctors would then be sent to investigate. An exception that put the trial aside might involve a claim that an instrument of peace had been drawn up between the victim and the defendant; private peaces were allowed to abrogate public trials, for the sake of conflict resolution. Another claim of this nature was that the victim had not paid his taxes and so should not be protected by law; still another was that the accuser could not bring a case on his own because he was not emancipated from his father. If the defendant never came to court at all, he could be exiled. This meant that after a certain period of time had elapsed he was declared contumacious and, therefore, guilty (being declared contumacious was considered the same as a confession). If the crime was serious, a person who had been exiled could be offended by anyone with impunity; if an exiled person was captured, he was

delivered to the court.

A defendant who came to court could confess or deny rather than pose an exception. A confession was sometimes motivated by an incentive such as a reduced fine, but confessions might also be extracted by torture. Judges found it desirable to exact a confession because this was considered clear proof. The decisions of judges were reviewed in a process called syndication, and some portion of a judge's salary was withheld if he did not adhere to the law. Therefore, judges were concerned with condemning only with sufficient proof, and torture became very important. A defendant who confessed under torture had to repeat the confession at the bench in order for it to be valid. These confessions were said to have been given spontaneously, even though they were exacted through torture. Accusers could also be tortured to make them retract false accusations, and witnesses could be tortured to make them admit that they had given false testimony.

If a defendant came to court to deny his guilt, the denial started a process called a contested litigation. The defense and prosecution were then given a short period to prepare their cases. The prosecution created a new document, much more conservative and exact, called a *capitula*, which stated what the prosecution actually intended to prove. At first, interrogations were based very strictly on these *capitula*, but gradually the judge acquired greater latitude to ask other questions he considered pertinent. After the examination of the witnesses, both parties made their allegations before the judge. For most crimes, a set amount of proof was necessary to condemn; but in practice, proofs varied and some combinations of proofs were usual. The amount of proof necessary was based not only on the seriousness of the crime, but also on other factors, such as the difficulty of acquiring proof or the desire of the court system to convict. Thus, less proof was required for crimes of a secretive nature, such as sodomy, and for crimes in which a conviction was desired, such as political crimes.

Condemnation or absolution had to be reached within twenty-five days from the response. Judges and rectors usually conferred to decide cases. Penalties could be either corporal or pecuniary. Most penalties were pecuniary, but if the culprit could not pay he was imprisoned until he completed payment. Those who could not pay in the first place rarely could pay after they were imprisoned. However, after several

years, criminals who had been in prison for nonpayment were released as oblations, offerings to God. These oblations were a necessary part of the system, because otherwise the prisons would keep filling up and would never empty.

Venice

Venice developed very differently from the other Italian city-states because it had been founded during the barbaric period, when the social fabric was disintegrating. Moreover, it never had a feudal class, because it had no mainland, or *terra firma*, possessions until the fifteenth century (although it did have landed possessions abroad); it never went through a communal period; and it never gave much political power to its guilds. Venice consciously rejected Roman law in order to thwart imperial aspirations aimed at limiting its independence and extending imperial jurisdiction and regalian rights. Venice used *ius proprium*, or Venetian custom, in its courts. Customary law in Venice at first borrowed much from surviving Roman law; but by the time the Venetians collected their statutes in the early thirteenth century, Roman law had been purged. Venice was never part of the traveling *podestà* system; rather, the Venetians judged cases in councils that had judicial and executive authority, such as the Council of Forty. As a consequence of the *serrata* of 1297—which limited membership in the major council to certain aristocratic families—the government and the court system, including both the policing bodies and the judicial officials, were dominated by aristocrats. In 1310, the Council of Ten was added to the traditional court system. Its purpose was to prevent conspiracies and try political crimes. In 1320, "the Ten" got its own police force; thereafter it could proceed from arrest to execution without external checks if the case was a threat to security. The Ten accepted autonomous accusations.

The first redaction of criminal law was the short but important *Promissio*, a section of Doge Iacopo Tiepolo's statute compilation of 1232. It consisted partly of a scale of severe sanctions for theft. Venetian law was generally characterized by the greater *arbitrium*, or discretion, given to the judge. Judges had important powers of discretion to decide

cases by analogy and to use their own common sense instead of following principles in the writings of jurists. Cases were often initiated by a *querela*, an accusation not burdened by the usual heavy liabilities. Torture was frequently used in the proceedings. Self-help was encouraged by rewards for bringing in or killing exiled persons.

The *avogadori* were advocates for the state, public prosecutors who presented cases before the Council of Forty. The *avogaria* was entirely manned by amateur nobles who gained experience of the law through practice. This office usually fell to the highest nobles. Originally, the *avogadori* were defenders of the fisc (treasure) and protectors of the goods and rights of the state. As crimes came to be seen as offenses against the state, the *avogadori* gained criminal jurisdiction. A law of 1289 stated that because the *avogadori* were often targets of private vendettas, they were permitted to bear arms. The *avogadori* could receive cases from the Council of Forty or from the policing groups—the *cinque alia pace* and the *signori di notte*. After the *avogadori* received an accusation, they initiated an investigation that mainly involved taking testimony from the witnesses and the defendant. The defendant was usually interrogated by an *avogadore* in the presence of the council. Judicial torture was often used. The evidence was compiled by the *avogadori* in the *intromissio*, the statement of the prosecution's case. The *intromissio* was presented in front of one of the councils, usually the Forty, accompanied by an oral debate between the *avogadori* and the defendant's lawyer. Then the council voted on guilt or innocence. Penalties could be suggested by the *avogadori*, the doge, or the council, but the actual penalty was decided by the council.

Southern Italy

Because southern Italy was under Byzantine control for a long period, it was very familiar with the Justinianic code and the codes of emperors Leo III (r. 717–740), Basil I (r. 867–886), and Leo VI (r. 886–912). The manuscript of the *Digest* known as the *Florentine* came from southern Italy. In the late eleventh century, various Norman bands conquered parts of the south from the Byzantines, Muslims, and Lombards. In 1130 Roger II consolidated these pieces into the kingdom of Sicily, including

both Naples and Sicily. The cities in this region had been using their own customs in their courts, and they petitioned for this privilege in their treaties of surrender. Although Roger II agreed, he violated these treaties and forced judges to rule according to the laws of the kingdom, the *assisiae*. He created the justiciarship, which linked royal and local government, and began royal legislation with the assizes of Ariano in 1140. However, cities such as Bari retained customary usage and redacted their customs, one part being based on Roman law and one on Lombard law. The legal traditions of the south were affected by Lombard law, Byzantine law, Norman law, feudal law, canon law, and the Roman law at Bologna. Southern jurists were interested in both the revival of law centered in Pavia and the revival of Roman law in Bologna.

Frederick II began to rule Sicily in 1220, repressing local freedom and autonomy and promulgating the *Liber Augusta lis* or *Liber Constitutionum* of 1231. In this compilation, Frederick mandated that royal law be followed first; then, failing this, municipal customs; and finally, failing that, *ius commune*. Frederick tried to impose peace on a violent society. He compelled the attendance of plaintiff and defendant in court. The *Constitutions* gave a privileged place to the nobility: higher penalties were attached to offenses against nobles, and greater weight was given to oaths taken by nobles, especially in cases involving debt. In southern Italy the barons were adamant in their wish to be permitted a trial by peers. Underneath royal legislation there always remained a layer of custom and municipal, Roman, and feudal law.

See also Crime and Punishment; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Law: Roman; Lombard Law; Venice

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Law: Germanic

See Lombard Law

LAW: ROMAN

Roman law was the system of law developed in ancient Rome and subsequently revived during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Medieval Roman law, together with canon law, became the ancestor of the civil law systems still used on the European continent today.

During its classical period (between c. A.D. 100 and 250) ancient Roman law reached a level of sophistication and precision unmatched anywhere in antiquity and not often rivaled since. Its achievements were primarily intellectual rather than institutional, growing principally from the analytical insights of jurists, whose work informed subsequent innovations by legislators.

In the period following the Germanic invasions of the western Roman empire during the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ, Roman law gradually ceased to be taught systematically, although courts that dealt with disputes among the descendants of the old Roman population of the west continued to use simplified Roman law principles and procedures for centuries after Roman political power had vanished from the west. Meanwhile, in the eastern Roman (or

Byzantine) empire, Emperor Justinian I (r. 527—565) engaged in a monumental effort to bring order into the enormous mass of law that the Roman state had produced over the course of a millennium and more. In 528, Justinian appointed a commission to review the accumulated mass of Roman legislation and purge it of obsolete and inconsistent material. Although the commissioners produced a codified collection of statutes about eighteen months later, Justinian was not entirely satisfied with their work, and in 530 he appointed a fresh codification commission, headed by a scholarly and energetic jurist named Tribonian. Within just three years Tribonian and his fellow commissioners reviewed and reduced to manageable proportions the enormous mass of Roman juristic commentaries and pronouncements. This second commission presented the emperor in 533 with the *Digest*, or *Pandects*, a vast anthology of fifty books containing excerpts drawn from a whole library of juristic treatises and commentaries, arranged and cataloged by topics for easy reference. Justinian officially promulgated the *Digest* and directed his judges henceforth to use its doctrines as the official guide to the interpretation and application of the law. In 534 the commission presented Justinian with a revised codification of the statutory law in twelve books, replacing the earlier anthology, and the emperor at once abrogated all earlier statutes and officially promulgated the new collection under the title *Codex Justinianus* (the *Code*). This new *Code* thus included all Roman legislative enactments that were still effective in Justinian's time, and it remained the fundamental statute book of the Byzantine state for nearly 1,000 years.

Tribonian and his assistants also produced in 533 an introductory textbook, the *Institutes*, as a guide to the law contained in the *Digest* and the *Code*. This *Institutes* was in effect a revised and updated version of a classic Roman law textbook, the *Institutes* of Gaius, which had long been used as an elementary introduction to legal studies.

Lawmaking did not, of course, stop dead in 534 with the promulgation of the second version of the *Code*. Justinian himself created numerous new laws, and these laws, together with those of his immediate successors, were compiled as a supplement to the *Code* not long after his death. The supplementary collection, known as the *Novels* (or *Novellae leges*), soon came to be accepted as an integral part of the

revised Roman law and was studied in Byzantine law schools, together with the *Digest*, *Code*, and *Institutes*, as the core of the legal curriculum.

These developments made little immediate impression in the west. There, Justinian's codification was known only in those few scattered areas, mainly in Lombardy and the region around Ravenna, that remained subject to Byzantine rule. Elsewhere, Roman law was known and used during the early Middle Ages only in simplified and vulgarized texts, many of them derived from an earlier experiment in codification, the *Codex Theodosianus* (438). Knowledge of Roman law never entirely disappeared in the west, and a few writers throughout the early medieval period occasionally showed some slight acquaintance with Roman legal texts; but the work of the jurists, the most sophisticated and creative component of Roman law, remained virtually unknown until the mid-eleventh century.

Then, under circumstances that are still not fully understood, there occurred a sudden revival of interest in and knowledge about the doctrines of the classical jurists. One solitary manuscript of Justinian's *Digest*, written late in the sixth century (and now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence), was somehow rediscovered by judges and teachers of law in Italy. One of the men involved was an otherwise obscure judge named Pepo, who cited passages from the *Digest* in decisions that he handed down in the 1070s. Another, and more significant, figure in the juristic revival was a law teacher named Irnerius (Guarnerius, c. 1055-c. 1130). Irnerius was employed at various times as a judge and legal adviser by both Countess Matilda of Tuscany and the German king and emperor Henry V (1086-1125). Of greater lasting importance was Irnerius's work as a teacher and writer. Irnerius taught Roman law at Bologna and was apparently familiar with the entire text of Justinian's codification. He is credited with the authorship of numerous glosses—explanations and commentaries on individual words and passages scattered throughout the text of Justinian's codification—which he apparently read and commented on systematically with his students. It was especially significant for the development of a revived Roman legal science that Irnerius introduced his pupils to the *Digest*—the most difficult, but in many ways also the most important, part of the codified Roman law—since it was from the

Digest that both he and his students learned to use the analytical tools that classical lawyers had devised to construct a coherent intellectual system out of the rules, regulations, and procedures that the law furnished.

Irnerius was evidently an inspired and inspiring teacher, able to imbue his students with a lively interest in the law both as a tool for the orderly management of practical matters and as an intellectual instrument for the investigation and analysis of government, transactions between people, and the institutions of public and private life. The best-known of Irnerius's students were the "four doctors"—Martinus Gosia (died c. 1160), Bulgarus de Bulgarinis (d. 1166), Hugo de Porta Ravennate (died c. 1166 or 1171), and Jacobus de Porta Ravennate (d. 1178)—who advised Frederick Barbarossa in his negotiations with the Lombard cities at the Diet of Roncaglia (1158) and obtained from the emperor privileges for themselves and for the law students they taught at Bologna. These "doctors," like their master, taught law as well as practiced it and helped train a third generation of jurists in the intricacies of Roman jurisprudence. The pupils of Irnerius's pupils included such talented lawyers as Rogerius (died c. 1170), Johannes Bassianus (died c. 1190), Placentinus (d. 1192), and Vacarius (d. 1198). Thus, by the end of the twelfth century a tradition of legal studies and teaching centered on Roman texts had become established at Bologna, where indeed it has continued to the present day. The fourth generation of law students at Bologna included one of the greatest medieval Romanists, Azo (d. 1220), whose *Summa* on Justinian's *Code* became a classic of medieval legal literature and continued to be studied and cited for centuries. In the following generation, one of Azo's students, Accursius (d. 1263), compiled from the scattered writings of his predecessors a standard commentary, the *Glossa ordinaria*, on the entire body of Roman law as codified by Justinian. This *Glossa ordinaria* became a staple of the legal curriculum, not only at Bologna but also at the other centers of juristic studies that had begun to spring up elsewhere in Italy and France in imitation of the Bolognese law school.

The Roman law texts that these teachers expounded to their students were difficult to grasp: despite the efforts of Tribonian and the other codification commissioners, the texts were often inconsistent with one

another, and their meaning was frequently obscure. This was especially true of the *Digest*, where authors who dealt with the same topic had sometimes written about the law at different stages in its development, with results that could be very confusing indeed. The *Code* also presents numerous difficulties, and even the *Institutes*, which was designed to explain the basic rules and assumptions that underlay the other texts, did not always succeed in articulating them clearly or unequivocally. Medieval expositors of Roman law, especially during the first three generations following the revival, accordingly spent a great deal of effort attempting to clarify the meaning of enigmatic texts, reconciling inconsistencies between them and identifying principles that would link disparate texts with one another. Once some of these basic problems had been dealt with, later generations of jurists in the medieval law faculties were more inclined to concentrate on identifying ways in which the ancient texts and principles could be applied or adapted to current problems in their own societies.

The questions that most interested medieval glossators and commentators on Roman law were typically problems of private law and centered on relationships between individuals, rather than on public law issues concerning the powers and organization of government. They were intrigued by the conceptual and practical problems that arose from the ownership and transfer of property, as well as the rights and limitations that attended its possession. Contractual relationships, partnerships, and associations furnished them with further intriguing problems, as did commercial transactions, for which they found instructive and useful models in the ancient texts. Personal status likewise raised important and perplexing issues, for which the ancient texts required significant adaptation. Roman jurists were much concerned, for example, with slavery, which was not especially common in medieval Italy, but whose principles could be selectively adapted to deal with and explain the rights and obligations of serfs, bondsmen, and indentured servants, who were much more numerous. Likewise, medieval law teachers sought to adapt Roman procedures for resolving disputes to situations in their own societies and to frame rules for litigation and arbitration that were consistent with the ancient models but responsive to contemporary needs.

Bolognese jurists and their counterparts elsewhere (most of whom

received their legal training at Bologna) accordingly applied devices and techniques used by contemporary rhetoricians in order to resolve conflicts and inconsistencies between their ancient texts and the realities of medieval Italian life. The most characteristic of these devices was the dialectical distinction, which the jurists used to isolate basic, underlying principles from the mass of Roman laws that dealt with the changing and variable details of ancient social problems. Once a jurist had identified a general rule to his satisfaction, he then sought to apply it to problems and situations current in his own society. Legal analysis, as medieval jurists practiced it, thus involved both a search for the durable principles of the ancient Roman legal system and an effort to fit the realities of contemporary life to those principles. The study of law, as they conceived it, was thus both a speculative science concerned with defining the essential principles of an orderly, stable, and fair society and a practical science that sought ways to apply those principles to concrete problems and situations in everyday life.

Given the speculative character of the medieval study of Roman law, it is scarcely surprising to find that writers and teachers often differed from one another on important issues both of principle and of application. Medieval law teachers characteristically analyzed for their students not only the content of the ancient texts but also the differing views about them current among their contemporaries, and they described the probable consequences of adopting one view or another. The medieval law student accordingly learned by precept and example how to analyze conflicts of opinion and how to resolve opposing views of a problem. It was due to these skills, as much as to their detailed knowledge of legal rules and techniques, that men trained in law were considered useful, and eventually indispensable, advisers and counselors by medieval rulers, ecclesiastical administrators, and merchants.

This in turn made the study of law a profitable enterprise. As early as the twelfth century, John of Salisbury complained that students were deserting the liberal arts for the lucrative science of the law, and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux advised Pope Eugene III to take a whip and drive the Roman lawyers from his court, as Christ had driven the money changers from the temple. By the thirteenth century, however, men trained in Roman and canon law were not only advisers to church

officials and secular rulers, but they were beginning to receive appointments to positions of power and authority in large numbers in their own right, as bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and popes. Men trained in law increasingly dominated the church in Italy and elsewhere during the High and later Middle Ages, and legal skills were also becoming an essential qualification for governors, podestats, and other high-ranking officers of civil administration. Contemporaries often complained about these developments: theologians lamented an ascendancy of law over their own discipline, and social critics denounced the delays and expense that, they claimed, greedy lawyers introduced into the legal process in order to fatten their own profits. But neither the harshest critics nor the most ingenious divines could burke the fact that the knowledge and analytical skills of trained lawyers were becoming indispensable in dealing with the realities of increasingly urban and commercial societies.

Italian legal scholarship dominated the writing and teaching of law from the revival of the study of Roman law in the time of Irnerius to the rise of humanist jurisprudence in the sixteenth century. The early generations of learned civilians (as writers and teachers of Roman civil law were often called) focused on the problems of understanding the meaning of the Roman texts, exploring relationships between different parts of the texts, and identifying the principles on which classical jurisprudence had worked. The early civilians characteristically wrote in the form of glosses—brief explanations and references often placed in the margin of the text on which they were commenting, so that text and commentary could be read side by side. Hence these early civilians are sometimes referred to as glossators.

Later civilians, after the generation of Accursius, cast their legal writings in different forms. They produced commentaries—voluminous expositions that usually followed the order of a text but were written and studied separately from it. The commentaries usually focused primarily on the application and adaptation of Roman law to current problems and concerns. Legal writers in the later Middle Ages also produced numerous monographs, which treated a single type of problem or a single branch of the law in exhaustive detail, and *consilia*, which were formal opinions on the law applicable to a specific case or situation. Major Italian writers among the civilians of this period

included Odofredus (d. 1265), Cino da Pistoia (1270-1336), Baldo degli Ubaldi of Perugia (1327-1400), Paolo di Castro (d. after 1441), and Alessandro Tartagni (d. 1477). The greatest was generally reckoned to be Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1313-1157), whose magisterial *Commentary* strongly influenced all subsequent legal writers in the Italian tradition down to the nineteenth century.

The Italian style of jurisprudence (*mos italicus*) was challenged in the sixteenth century by the new humanist jurisprudence, cultivated particularly by French writers and accordingly known as the French style, or *mos gallicus*. Writers in the new French style scorned the practical and applied concerns of their Italian rivals. The French jurists concentrated instead on using Roman legal texts as tools for historical investigation that would enable them to understand more accurately the society and civilization of the ancient world, rather than as tools for the fair and orderly management of contemporary issues and problems. Despite the great prestige and popularity that *mos gallicus* achieved in the early modern period, writers in the Italian style of jurisprudence continued to flourish and to exert considerable influence on the practice of law down to the period of the French Revolution.

See also Bartolus of Sassoferrato; Bologna; Cino da Pistoia; Glossa Ordinaria: Roman Law; Irnerius; Justinian I; Law: Canon; Universities

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Legenda Aurea

Legenda aurea was the most famous medieval anthology of readings about the saints and major festivals of the church. It was originally compiled in Latin by the Dominican friar Jacobus da Voragine (Jacopo da Varazze), probably during the 1260s, and entitled merely *Legenda sanctorum*—i.e., "material to be read about saints." Evidently, it was designed as a reference book for students and preachers of Jacobus's own religious order, though it eventually reached a much broader audience. Jacobus originated little if any of the material; rather, he borrowed selectively from earlier legends and works of church history, choosing memorable stories and useful information that he abridged according to his own priorities and arranged in some 180

chapters, following the order of the liturgical year.

The *Legenda* had two Dominican forerunners and models: *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum*, by Jean de Mailly; and *Epilogus in gesta sanctorum*, by Bartholomew of Trent. They had obviously achieved some currency; about twenty manuscripts of each have survived. But these earlier abridged legends were completely overshadowed by the great success of Jacobus's book. The *Legenda*, which soon acquired the honorific adjective *aurea* ("golden"), survives in more than 900 Latin manuscripts, many augmented with chapters on additional saints. Jacobus's book also gave rise to numerous translations and adaptations in medieval vernaculars, and its popularity lasted more than 200 years. In the late fifteenth century it was still in such demand that it became a best-seller for the new printing industry, which issued at least eighty-seven Latin editions and sixty nine vernacular editions between 1470 and 1500.

In the sixteenth century, the status of the *Legenda* fell dramatically. Strict Protestants considered it idolatrous because it promoted the cult of saints and images, and it was also attacked by prominent Catholic scholars such as Juan Luis Vives, Georg Witzel, and Melchior Cano, who objected both to its Latin style and to its content, which they found less trustworthy than older sources on saints and church history. By 1600 the book's reputation had sunk so low that it tarnished the very word *legend*, which came to mean an unreliable story. Virtually no one published the *Legenda* again until the nineteenth century, when antiquarians revived and promoted it as a forgotten medieval classic.

Scholarly study of the *Legenda* was rare until the 1980s, when three books appeared in quick succession: a major literary-critical analysis by Boureau (1984); a more historical study by Reames (1985), the present author, who attempted to understand the Renaissance reaction against Jacobus's book by defining its particular theological and political biases; and the proceedings of an international symposium (Dunn-Lardeau 1986) at which some twenty additional scholars described their own research on the Latin *Legenda* or its vernacular offshoots. More important publications followed in the 1990s, including such essential research tools as Fleith's inventory (1991) of surviving Latin manuscripts, Maggioni's study (1995) of manuscript variants, the first reliable translation into modern English, and the first critical edition of

the Latin text. As shown by the proceedings of a symposium in Geneva in 1999 (Fleith and Morenzoni 2001), research continues on many aspects of the book and its influence.

See also Jacobus da Voragine; Saints' Lives: Italian Hagiography in the Vernacular

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Legnano, Battle of

In January 1176, Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa's negotiations with the Lombard League of northern Italian communes and Pope Alexander III broke down. Frederick decided to create a giant pincer that would

militarily isolate the leading city of Milan from the Lombard League. His marshal, Christian of Mainz, would advance northward from Apulia, while an army of German knights would gather near Lake Como and press southward to join an army of loyal Pavians around Milan. Frederick's forces—though they were infamously abandoned at Chiavenna by Henry the Lion, duke of Bavaria and Saxony—would be considerable. For its part, the Lombard League had been injured by the loss of several cities, but its rectors quickly assembled an army in Milan with contingents from several member communes.

On 29 May, some 1,200 horsemen and assorted infantry units accompanied the Milanese *carroccio* (standard-bearing cart) northward to thwart Frederick before he could link up with the Pavians south of Milan. Seven hundred cavalymen of the Lombard League attacked a vanguard of some 300 imperial horsemen near Legnano, about 18 miles (24 kilometers) north of Milan. Frederick and 2,000 cavalymen came to the rescue of the vanguard, and the imperial assault was soon unleashed along the length of the League's line. The fighting then centered on the Milanese *carroccio*, which was stoutly defended by pikemen and the Company of Death, men sworn to die sooner than accept defeat. Frederick himself charged the *carroccio* and went down in the melee. Many German lords had also fallen, and the German troops, disheartened by the apparent loss of Frederick, broke off and fled. Many were slaughtered in the pursuit, and the imperial baggage train was sacked.

Frederick, however, was only wounded. He limped into Pavia and began to sue for a settlement. Through the peace of Venice (1177) he obtained a six-year armistice with the Lombard League (ratified by the peace of Constance, 1183); and under the peace of Anagni he agreed to recognize the legitimacy (since 1159) of Pope Alexander III and of the city of Alessandria. In Italy, Frederick thus lost imperial dominance but gained political stability through a shift to feudal overlordship.

See also Alexander III, Pope; Carroccio; Constance, Peace of; Frederick I Barbarossa; Lombard Leagues; Milan

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Lemmo Orlandi Di Pistoia

See Orlandi di Pistoia, Lemmo

Leo I, Pope

Pope Leo I (saint; c. 400–461, r. 440–461) was called "the Great." He was an able and energetic pope, dedicated to promoting the primacy of the bishopric of Rome and combating heresy. He was both admired by his contemporaries and revered in later centuries. Leo's vigorous leadership in Rome, and in the church as a whole, helped lay the foundations for the spiritual and temporal authority of the medieval papacy. His surviving sermons (ninety-six) and letters (143) are important sources for the history of the early medieval church.

Very little is known about Leo's early life. His parents were probably Tuscan, and he may have been born in Rome. He was an archdeacon under popes Celestine I and Sixtus III, and an influential adviser to both of them. His reputation appears to have spread beyond Rome: in 430, Bishop Cyril of Alexandria sought Leo's support in an attempt to prevent Jerusalem from being made a patriarchate. At the time of his election to the papacy, in August 440, Leo was in Gaul on a diplomatic mission for the imperial court. He returned to Rome and was consecrated on 29 September.

As pope, Leo considered himself the heir not only to Saint Peter's bishopric but to Peter's universal authority over the entire church. In describing the scope of his authority, Leo introduced the concept of "plenitude of power": the pope's fullness of power in religious matters, as opposed to the partial power of other bishops. Although Leo's claims were not readily accepted in the east, he was able to obtain an imperial rescript from Valentinian III confirming his authority over the western portion of the empire. Leo exercised his power most actively in Italy, intervening in local dioceses to settle disputes and enforce uniform practices. His advice and decisions were also sought by the bishops of Spain and Africa, despite the traditional autonomy of the latter. Leo also took pains to maintain the papal vicariate in Illyricum in the southern Balkan peninsula, although that territory was in fact part of the eastern empire. In Gaul, Leo came into conflict with Bishop Hilarius of Aries, who appeared inclined to act independently of Rome. Leo confined Hilarius to his diocese and later divided authority over the Gallic bishoprics between Aries and Vienne.

Leo was an ardent opponent of heresy, a concern which was evident even before his election to the papacy. He was involved in the events that led to the condemnation of Nestorianism by Celestine I in 430, and he encouraged Sixtus III to reject an appeal by the Pelagian bishop Julian of Eclanum. In 445, Leo persuaded the secular government to revive earlier legislation against the Manichees, and in 447 he advised the Spanish bishops on combating Priscillianism. He also preached against all these heresies, as well as against remnants of Roman paganism. His greatest success as a promoter of orthodoxy, however, was in a debate surrounding the teachings of Eutyches. Eutyches was an eastern abbot who had been condemned and deposed by Bishop Flavian of Constantinople in 448 for teaching Monophysitism—the belief that Christ's divine nature had completely absorbed his human nature at the incarnation. Eutyches appealed to Rome, but Leo upheld his condemnation in a letter to Flavian. In this letter, generally called the *Tome*, Leo set forth the orthodox position that divine and human nature coexisted in Christ, inseparable but distinct and unmixed. Despite this agreement between the patriarchs of Constantinople and Rome, the Byzantine emperor, Theodosius II, convened a council to settle the matter. The council, which met in Ephesus in August 449, spurned Leo's

letter, upheld Eutyches's teachings, and condemned Flavian. Leo in turn rejected the council, describing it as a *latrocinium* ("violent robbery") and calling for a new council. Theodosius's successor, Marcian, summoned such a council in 451. Meeting at Chalcedon, this Fourth Ecumenical Council accepted Leo's *Tome* as presenting the orthodox teaching on Christ's natures and once again condemned Eutyches.

Although Leo's Christology was received with respect at Chalcedon, his claims of papal primacy were not: one of the canons passed at the council, number 28, gave the see of Constantinople the same status as the see of Rome. As a result, Leo delayed his approval of the council; he waited until March 453 to endorse it, and even then he rejected canon 28, arguing that it contravened the canons of the Council of Nicaea. Although the Council of Chalcedon effectively ended the debate over Christ's nature in the west, Leo's successors were forced to contend with a resurgence of Monophysitism in the east.

Although Leo did maintain ties to the east after the Council of Chalcedon, even establishing a papal nuncio in Constantinople, most of his energy was devoted to events in the west. Italy suffered two major invasions during the 450s, and Leo took an active role in protecting the people of Rome. In 452 Leo met with Attila the Hun at Mantua and persuaded him to spare Rome and withdraw from Italy. When the Vandals attacked Rome in 455, Leo was able to persuade their leader, Gaiseric, to moderate their violence against the city. Leo's actions helped partially fill the power vacuum left by the ineffective western emperors and foreshadowed the wider social and political role that later popes would play in Rome and central Italy.



Pope Leo I. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*).
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Leo was one of the most influential of the early popes. His declarations on papal authority, episcopal elections, and other topics were incorporated into medieval canon law. His statements on Christ's natures and person in the *Tome* became the standard for orthodox Christology, at least in the west. It should be noted, however, that Leo was not responsible for the so-called *Leonine Sacramentary*, which was probably compiled outside Rome in the sixth or seventh century. In 1754, Pope Benedict XIV declared Leo a doctor of the church. His feast is celebrated in the west on 10 November (formerly 11 April) and in the east on 18 February.

See also Attila the Hun; Councils, Ecclesiastical; Gaiseric the Vandal; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Monophysite Controversy;

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Leo III, Emperor

Leo III (Conon; c. 680—741, r. 717—741) was a Byzantine—i.e., eastern Roman—emperor. In older works he was mistakenly called "the Isaurian," but research has now established that he was from Germanicea (modern Marash or Maraş in southeastern Turkey). His native tongue was Syriac or Arabic, and as regards religion he was most likely a Jacobite (Syrian Monophysite).

Conon probably changed his original name to the more "Roman" Leo and became religiously orthodox when he joined the Byzantine army. As a young man he became a protégé of Emperor Justinian II during Justinian's second reign (705-711), and he continued to rise during the short reigns of emperors Philippicus (711—713) and Anastasius II

(713-715). When Theodosius III (715-717) deposed the latter, Leo marched on Constantinople to avenge Anastasius. With a large Arab land and naval force also approaching Constantinople, Theodosius voluntarily handed Leo the throne.

Leo's greatest achievement was to thwart the Arab siege of Constantinople in 717-718. Although the Arabs continued to be a threat, they never again endangered the existence of the empire. Also important was his promulgation of the *Ecloga*, the first Byzantine legal collection since the *Corpus iuris civilis* of Justinian I.

Leo's espousal of Iconoclasm, which condemned religious art, in 726 caused a revolt in those portions of Italy still under imperial control (Sicily had already shown signs of resistance early in Leo's reign). Tax increases imposed by Leo may also have been a factor in this revolt. Pope Gregory II—who lacked sufficient resources to withstand the Lombards and thus was still dependent on the Byzantines' military power—urged the Italians to exercise moderation, even though Leo (probably at about this time) removed parts of Illyricum from papal jurisdiction. Pope Gregory III, who was less conciliatory, also continued a limited cooperation with the empire; but by this time the popes were allies of the empire rather than its subjects. Leo may have caused some immigration to Italy from the empire's heartland, though this mainly occurred during the reign of his son. Refugees, many of them monks, augmented the existing Italo-Greek population—especially monastic communities—in Rome and central and southern Italy. Iconoclasm seems to have been little enforced in Byzantine Italy.

See also **Arabs in Italy; Byzantine Empire; Iconoclasm; Lombards**

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Leo III, Pope

Pope Leo III (saint; d. 816, r. 26 December 795–18 June 816) was involved in a dramatic episode that began in April 799. The ambitious nephews of the previous pope, Hadrian (Adrian) I, and their supporters attacked Leo in Rome, attempting to tear out his tongue and blind him. Though injured, Leo recovered and fled to Charlemagne at Paderborn. In November 800, Charlemagne arrived at Rome to investigate the matter. The charges against Leo are murky, but he was acquitted. He had taken an oath to prove his innocence—whether voluntarily or not is also unclear.

Charlemagne remained in Rome after Leo's trial. On Christmas day

800, Leo III crowned his supporter as "Roman" emperor in Saint Peter's church. The meaning of this ceremony is disputed. Charlemagne was a Germanic tribal chief—albeit a powerful one—not truly a Roman emperor. It is likely that he wanted to receive the imperial title from the Byzantine (eastern Roman) emperor, not from Leo, because coronation by the pope implied that Charlemagne was dependent on the papacy.

Leo again visited Charlemagne beyond the Alps in 804, perhaps to discuss the imperial succession. After Charlemagne's death, new plots broke out against Leo, but he succeeded in suppressing them.

Some historians consider Leo III a pitiful weakling; others consider him a decisive and farsighted statesman. His pontificate was undoubtedly characterized by close cooperation with Charlemagne on both religious and secular matters. Leo, who was a generous benefactor and builder, was canonized in 1673.

See also **Charlemagne; Holy Roman Empire**

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Leo IV, Pope

Pope Leo IV (saint; d. 855, r. January 847-July 855) had been cardinal priest of Santi Quattro Coronati and was famous for his oratory and his piety. Leo was one of the most assertive popes of his century. "Clever as a snake and innocent as a dove" (according to *Liber pontificalis*), determined to preserve Rome from hostile incursions and maintain the authority of the papacy, he molded ninth-century papal policy.

Christendom had been shocked by an Arab raid in August 846, when Saint Peter's and other sites outside the Aurelian walls were sacked. With financial help from Emperor Lothar I, who considered the Muslims a divine retribution for the empire's moral decadence, Leo organized the fortification of the suburb around Saint Peter's (finished by 853). The area became known as the "Leonine city," and its walls, modeled on Aurelian's third-century circuit, still stand. Leo also restored existing fortifications and churches in and around the city; planted an early-warning colony at the Tiber estuary; and in 854 inaugurated a new city, Leopolis, inland from Civitavecchia, which had been devastated. His ambitious building was encouraged when a Tyrrhenian coalition achieved a naval victory against Arab raiders in 849.

Leo's vision of the universal responsibilities of the bishop of Rome—a vision that is suggested by the range of his surviving correspondence—led him to confront Archbishop Hincmar of Reims. He cowed Hincmar, but not Anastasius, leader of a Roman clerical faction favoring subordination of the papacy to the empire. Anastasius, who was repeatedly excommunicated for canonical faults and was suspected of scheming to become pope, found refuge with Emperor Louis II. Leo intervened personally in places as far away as Ravenna to defend papal rights in the patrimony, which were endangered by insubordinate officials and clerics.

Leo's relations with Carolingian rulers were strained. He had been consecrated without the requisite imperial assent, and he tried to emancipate the papacy from Carolingian tutelage. But Leo was the first pope of his century to have an able imperial interlocutor—Louis II—resident in Italy, and this novelty affected his policies. Rumors that Leo planned an alliance with Byzantium brought Louis to Rome. After having reaffirmed the alliance between the papacy and the Carolingians, Leo died in July 855. The succession proved problematic. Leo's sanctity was upheld soon after his death, and *Liber pontificalis* lists his miracles.

See also Arabs in Italy; Frankish Kingdom; Rome

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Leo IX, Pope

Pope Leo IX (Bruno of Egisheim, saint; 1002-1054, r. 1049-1054) was born to a noble family in what is now Alsace-Lorraine. He became a canon at Toul in 1017. Although he was a deacon, in 1026 he commanded troops on behalf of his kinsman Emperor Conrad II (r. 1024-1039). In 1027, he was chosen bishop of Toul, where he promoted reform in the monasteries under his influence, particularly at Moyennoutier, Remiremont, and Saint Die.

In 1048, when Pope Damasus II died, Emperor Henry III (r. 1039-1056) promoted Bruno's election as Pope Leo IX. Bruno, who was at Worms when he was chosen, went to Rome dressed in pilgrim's garb and was canonically elected and enthroned there in 1049. In his entourage, he brought reformers to assist him, many of whom were from his home region of Lorraine. They included Frederick of Liège (later Pope Stephen IX), Hugh of Remiremont, Humbert of Moyennoutier, Udo of Toul, Halinard of Lyons, and Hildebrand (later Pope Gregory VII). As opportunity permitted, he appointed them cardinal bishops or cardinal priests of the Roman church, thus gradually strengthening the position of the reformers. Traditionally, the cardinal bishops had been primarily liturgical figures, helping popes carry out

the heavy burden of liturgy in Rome. Leo contributed to a process by which the cardinals became the chief assistants of the pope by using them as legates, officials, and advisers. Within a generation, the cardinal bishops—joined by the cardinal priests and cardinal deacons—had become a central organ of papal government. The more efficient governing structure helped to free the papacy from the long-standing control exercised by the Roman nobility and the German kings.

Since the tenth century, church reform had been stirring in several independent European centers, spurred by some monks, canons, bishops, and lay rulers, but their efforts were uncoordinated and spasmodic. Leo's accession to the papacy in 1049 had important consequences for the reform movements. Leo was an active member of the reform party, and during his pontificate he set the papacy on a new course of vigorously supporting, indeed leading, the reforms that were so prominent in the eleventh century. Leo's pontificate was energetic and focused on three main issues: the moral reform of the clergy, the protection of papal territory from the Normans in southern Italy, and the relations of the papacy with the Byzantine church.

Leo had an exalted concept of papal authority, but he was on amicable terms with his patron, the pious young German ruler Henry III, who also supported the moral reform of the clergy. Leo's reforms were directed primarily at the clergy and generally did not threaten the interests of lay rulers. Unlike his generally sedentary predecessors, Leo traveled widely in Italy, France, and Germany, and even as far east as Hungary; he spent only about six months of his pontificate in the city of Rome. Under Leo, the papacy—which for more than a century and a half had been a distant and relatively passive, though revered, institution—became a more active force in church affairs. Leo summoned about a dozen synods to condemn simony, clerical marriage, and other practices offensive to the reformers.

Since the early eleventh century, adventurers from Normandy had been invading southern Italy, seizing Saracen, Byzantine, Lombard, and papal territories. Leo hoped for an alliance of the papacy, the German empire, and the Byzantine empire to check the Normans' expansion. Before he could arrange such an alliance, he and his small band of troops were defeated by the Normans in June 1053 at Civitate, and he was held in honorable captivity for about six months. Leo's aggressive

policy toward the Normans failed; when it proved impossible to dislodge the Normans, succeeding popes changed course and made alliances with them.

The revival of the papacy led to a growing insistence that all Christians, including those in the east, acknowledge the preeminent position of the pope within the church. Leo sent Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, one of the more radical reformers from Lorraine, as a papal legate to Constantinople to arrange an alliance with the Byzantines against the Normans. Humbert was an ardent supporter of papal claims to primacy over the entire church, and he insisted that the Byzantines acknowledge this primacy as well as papal territorial claims. Michael Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople, was a committed opponent of papal authority, and a clash was inevitable. Humbert excommunicated Cerularius and his supporters on 16 July 1054, and in the same month Cerularius excommunicated the papal legates. The mutual excommunications opened a schism between the Roman and Byzantine churches that lasted until the twentieth century. Leo IX had already died, however, when this break with Constantinople occurred.

Leo was a pivotal figure in the history of the church. With his election, the reform party gained control of the papacy, and during his pontificate reformers solidified their position within it. He was an activist who won for the papacy a position of leadership in reform. Within two decades, Leo's proposals for the moral reform of the clergy had widened into an ambitious effort to free the church at every level from lay control—the so-called Gregorian reform, identified with Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085).

Leo IX died on 19 April 1054 and was buried in Saint Peter's basilica. He was canonized in 1087 by Pope Victor III.

See also Conrad II; Gregory VII, Pope; Humbert of Silva Candida; Normans

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Lewis of Bavaria

Lewis (Louis, Ludwig, Emperor Louis IV; c. 1282 or 1287-1347) was the son of Duke Lewis II Wittelsbach of upper Bavaria and the Habsburg princess Mechthild. The younger Lewis defeated a Habsburg invasion of Wittelsbach territory at Gammelsdorf in November 1313 and claimed victory in an irregular election for the German kingship against his cousin Frederick Habsburg in 1314. Lewis was crowned in Aachen—by an untraditional party, the archbishop of Cologne, and with bogus insignia—on 25 November 1314. This dispute resulted in an eight-year war, which ended with Frederick's defeat on 28 September 1322 at Muehldorf, and his subsequent imprisonment.

Secure in his imperial claim, in 1323 Lewis sent his marshal, Berthold von Neiffen, to Italy to assert his authority there. Both the claim and this action angered the Avignonese pope John XXII, who had been

supporting the Guelfs' efforts against the Ghibellines in Lombardy. Berthold aided the Milanese Visconti and the della Scala of Verona; John responded by charging Lewis with presuming powers and authority and aiding heretics (the Visconti), and demanded his presence in Avignon. Lewis defended his actions and authority, refused to attend the pope, and was excommunicated on 23 March 1324. On 11 July, John solemnly deposed Lewis, who decided that Italy and the imperial crown were the keys to outmaneuvering the irascible and hostile pope.

In January 1327, after two years of careful preparation in Germany, Lewis met with Ghibelline leaders in Trent. As Lewis proceeded toward Milan, Pope John demanded that he leave Italy and excommunicated several of Lewis's attendants, including the radical philosopher Marsilius of Padua. In Milan on 31 May, two excommunicated bishops crowned Lewis king of the Lombards. Dissatisfied with the rule of the Visconti in Milan, on 7 July Lewis deposed Galeazzo Visconti and imprisoned him and his brothers Marco and Luchino. Milan received a new government under an imperial vicar and made a "gift" of 50,000 gold florins to the king. Lewis also granted Castruccio Castracani control over Lucca, Luni, Pistoia, and Volterra, but denied him the lordship of Pisa.

Lewis entered Rome on 7 January 1328 and, probably under the influence of Marsilius, played grandly to the Roman people. On 17 January, two excommunicated bishops consecrated Lewis, and Sciarra Colonna, a representative of "the people," placed the diadem on his head. Lewis formally declared John a heretic and presumed to deprive him of all his ecclesiastical offices (14 April), and on 12 May Lewis himself crowned the Franciscan Pietro Rainucci as the antipope Nicholas V. According to the chronicler Villani, the new antipope recrowned Lewis emperor on 22 May. The Avignonese pope—John—again formally condemned the emperor and supported Castruccio's takeover of Pisa. Neapolitan Guelf troops captured Anagni and Ostia, near Rome, and on 4 August 1328 Lewis and his antipope left Rome in the midst of a jeering crowd.

Moving north, Lewis unsuccessfully attacked Grosseto but wisely avoided the Guelf stronghold of Florence. He returned to Pisa and ousted the Castracani from there and from Lucca. Lewis renewed his "sentence" on John and named Azzo Visconti vicar of Milan. Azzo soon

turned on Lewis, who left Pisa (11 April 1329) to attack Milan. This attempt failed, and Lewis confirmed Azzo, although Azzo—along with the d'Este and the Pisans (who soon incarcerated the antipope, Nicholas)—supported John. The emperor then abandoned Nicholas but gave the vicariate of Mantua to Luigi Gonzaga in an attempt to strengthen the Lombard Ghibellines. December found Lewis in Trent, and in February 1330 he recrossed the Alps.

Although on at least two occasions Lewis threatened to return to Italy, he never did so. The emperor continued to struggle with the Avignonese popes and their allies the French kings, eventually supporting Edward III of England in the Hundred Years' War. Lewis died while hunting near Munich on 11 October 1347 and was buried in Munich, but his remains have since disappeared.

See also Castruccio Castracani; Ghibelline; Holy Roman Empire; Marsilio of Padua; Milan; Visconti Family

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Liber Pontificalis

Liber pontificalis—"pontifical book"—is the name now universally given to a series of papal biographies spanning the history of the see of Rome from Saint Peter to the fifteenth century. This name first appears in ninth-century manuscripts of the text, but it was little used until Duchesne (1886) adopted it in his celebrated critical edition. Originally, the list of popes' lives went by other names, if any: *The Episcopal*; the *Catalogue*, or *Order, of the Popes*; and *Gesta* (i.e., "achievements") *of the Bishops of Rome*.

Abbot Duchesne's Herculean toils made the first reliable text of *Liber pontificalis* available to scholars in the 1890s. Unlike earlier editors (the *editio princeps* dates to 1602), Duchesne examined a large number of manuscripts. Even Mommsen, whose incomplete edition (1898) appeared shortly after Duchesne's, said that he was only confirming the validity of Duchesne's readings. The assorted texts that are today considered "the *Liber pontificalis*" never circulated as a coherent book presenting an uninterrupted papal history until Duchesne's edition. The present *Liber pontificalis* is thus virtually Duchesne's creation.

Duchesne also initiated scholarly discourse on *Liber pontificalis*. The introduction to his edition remains an indispensable guide to the text. Duchesne's reconstruction of how the *Liber* was composed still holds the field, especially outside the German-speaking world (where Mommsen's early seventh-century date for the first redaction finds some favor). Following Duchesne, most students believe that the first redaction of the *Liber* was written just after 530 by someone with firsthand knowledge of the events described after 496. The compiler of c. 530 used older lists of pontificates, on which he embellished. His writing was a retort to the enemies of Pope Symmachus (d. 514), who had generated a papal history hostile to Symmachus (part of it survives as the "Laurentian fragment").

Whether a new papal biography was appended to the redaction of 530 at each pope's death thereafter is less certain; Mommsen thought not, suggesting that the custom of updating the *Liber pontificalis* after each pontificate caught on late in the seventh century. Arguments on the contemporaneity of the biographies between 530 and 687, and on the dating of later redactions, are inconclusive. They are complicated by the garbled manuscript tradition; this seems to bifurcate around 640, when a new edition of the text may have been divulged. From the pontificate of Conon (d. 687) to that of Stephen V (d. 891), contemporaries wrote the biographies, some of which (such as the life of Gregory II) circulated before the protagonists had died. After 891 only brief notices were written, generally not long after the death of the pope. In the twelfth century various authors added to *Liber pontificalis*, fleshing out the post-1073 biographies. The many continuations written in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries were not "official" biographies by nameless papal bureaucrats; rather, their authors, whose

identities are known, often were private researchers, tenuously connected with the papacy.

Between the sixth, and ninth centuries the *Liber pontificalis* was a living text, regularly updated and presenting an almost official account of papal affairs. However, some biographies are fuller and more reliable than others, and several ninth-century lives were left unfinished. In general, the anonymous compilers were familiar with the popes they described. These compilers were educated, well-informed Lateran officials, though not men of the highest rank with access to all the secrets of the *patriarchium*. Their concerns were Roman and clerical; seldom do non-Roman or even secular Roman affairs receive notice in *Liber pontificalis*.

From the sixth century to the ninth, the sources of the successive biographers included eyewitness accounts and Lateran gossip, material which the writers integrated with the written sources also available to the later continuators or to the author of 530. Among the written sources were inscriptions, hagiography, liturgical and canonical texts, archival records, and account books. The biographers doctored their data, presenting a politically viable version of the popes' deeds in skillfully chosen words. The careful phrasing of certain biographies reveals that they were amended, sometimes heavily, after the original redaction, as political expediency dictated. Such correction was not always possible, however; the life of Benedict III (d. 858) contains information damaging to Anastasius, who worked on *Liber pontificalis* in the mid-ninth century and was hence well placed to alter the text. Anastasius's failure to amend the text indicates that by the mid-ninth century the diffusion of *Liber pontificalis* was swift enough to inhibit would-be censors.

The Latin of the biographers was restrained and standardized, but some added picturesque touches to the narrative and used a more colorful vocabulary. The authors of *Liber pontificalis* followed fairly rigid compositional rules during the period of its heyday (530-891) and even in the twelfth century. The recipe first used c. 530 became normative, so a proper papal biography proceeded with an orderly listing of each pope's name, number, family, origin, date and length of pontificate, special deeds, disciplinary decrees, patronage distributed, ordinations conferred, time of death, and burial place. The length of the

subsequent vacancy also was recorded. The formulaic nature of the biographies did not prevent their compilers from including much individualized detail (though there was less such detail in the seventh century). These details permit the reconstruction not only of each pontificate's peculiarities, but also of Rome's economic, social, cultural, and topographical development; they also illuminate Roman politics during various otherwise murky periods. The original function of *Liber pontificalis*, instead, may have been as a reference manual of local church history, or as a textbook for neophyte officials within the Lateran. It was also used as an instrument of papal propaganda abroad.

Begun during the sixth -century revival of the classical genre of biographical series, the *Liber pontificalis* enjoyed great popularity throughout the Middle Ages, when the genre was less in vogue. Both Gregory of Tours and Bede seem to have known the text (or parts of it), but the wide diffusion of the *Liber* came only during the Carolingian age. Numerous Italian and European bishoprics then provided themselves with lists of episcopal biographies, loosely imitating the Roman model. None of these episcopal *Gesta* had the longevity of *Liber pontificalis*; they were composed once and for all and were not updated thereafter. The *Gesta* resembled the *Liber* in form and in their attempt to create the impression of an unbroken, continuous series of episcopates reaching back to apostolic times, linking the present to a glorious local past.

See also **Chronicles; Papacy**

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Liberal Arts

As the principal system by which knowledge is organized and transmitted through education, the liberal arts remain among the most durable contributions of antiquity to western civilization. The Greeks first delineated propaedeutic training designed to prepare the individual for participation and competition in a society where education provided an initiation to cultural ideals. Although components of a coherent body of knowledge intended to organize human experience of the world were to vary with time and place in Greco-Roman antiquity, the *artes liberales* would remain the philosophical core of the educated mind. The term *ars* (Greek *tekne* or *techne*) indicates that techniques or skills are associated with each area of cognition; it likewise implies an individual's ability to pursue activities of the mind liberated from physical labor and ignorance. Defined perhaps as early as Pythagoras, and subsequently refined by Dionysius Thrax, Varro, Boethius, and Cassiodorus, the *artes* were divided into two major groups: those concerning the acquisition, correct usage, and expression of language in oral and written communication; and those related to calculation and quantification. Grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic made up the trivium; arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music made up the quadrivium.

Although the liberal arts in medieval Italy retained their Hellenistic formulation, their evolution differed—significantly in some instances—from that in other parts of Europe. As one of the final triumphs of Greek science, *an grammaticae* was naturally the first course on any curriculum. The earliest Latin treatise may be attributed to Varro; but the *Ars Major* and *Minor* of Donatus and the *Institutiones grammaticae* and *Praeexercitamina* of Priscian were most widely disseminated until the late twelfth century. In Martianus Capella's transitional *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, acclaimed as the foundation of the medieval

trivium and quadrivium, Lady Grammar carries an elaborate box containing the tools of her art, explaining that in the past her instruction was limited to reading and writing correctly, but she must now also teach textual comprehension and analysis. Claiming to share the latter two with philosophers and critics, Lady Grammar distinguishes between the active skills of reading and writing and the more contemplative nature of analysis and interpretation.

Medieval grammar, of considerably greater breadth and depth than its modern counterpart, began with instruction in letters, syllables, parts of speech, pronunciation, orthography, etymology, morphology, and syntax. In early Christianized Italy, a child's introduction to the liberal arts typically began around age seven, often, though not necessarily, under the direction of a cleric. Throughout the Middle Ages, there was more secular education in Italy than elsewhere. In a culture whose principal authority was "the Word" and "the Book," the liberal arts provided an introduction to the study of philosophy, considered the highest realm of human learning. Thus, grammar courses involved extensive experience with Christian texts. Lessons were frequently based on passages from scripture and proceeded from detailed examination of the *littera* to exegesis and exercises in composition. Essentially utilitarian in its methods, such pedagogical grammar is distinguished from the more scholarly approaches of speculative, theoretical grammar associated with modern linguistics and philosophy of language.

Questions concerning the propriety of exposing ingenuous minds to non-Christian *anctores* varied with time and place; the final resolution favoring inclusion followed the recovery and translation of Aristotelian texts, the significant influence of Arabic learning in Italy, and the Thomistic reconciliation of ideologically opposed cognitive systems. In Padua, the first of the proto-university *studio*, based on the Bolognese model, masters of grammar are in evidence from the early twelfth century. Rolandino—Padua's first major historian and a student of Buoncompagno da Siena—taught grammar and rhetoric from the establishment of the *studium* in 1222 for more than fifty years; in the period 1222-1350, more than thirty masters of grammar and rhetoric taught in Padua, where the more recent texts of Alexander da Villa Dei and Eberhard de Bethune were probably in use.

Ars rhetoricae (from the Greek orator') assumed a mastery of correct Latin usage; this discipline taught oral and written expression heightened in effectiveness by persuasive eloquence. A tripartite generic division (fourth century B.C.) remained in use: judicial, for forensic argumentation; deliberative, for determination of action where opposing options were under consideration; and epideictic-demonstrative, for expression of praise or blame. Although rhetoric flourished in Roman Italy with Cicero, the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Horace, and Quintilian, among others, its functions in medieval Italy were largely associated with the study of law, the *ars dictaminis*, arts of poetry, and *ars praedicandi*.

The Justinian codification of Roman law and the revision of law school curricula were early indications of the prominence of legal study in Italy from the founding of the first *studium* in Bologna (1135) to schools in Modena, Reggio, Vicenza, Arezzo, Vercelli, and Piacenza, among thirteenth-century sites in the region. Independent at their establishment, the faculties of law generally retained administrative autonomy from other arts faculties. For the *genus iudiciale*, rules prescribed most organizational aspects of legalistic discourse, beginning with Aristotle's five-part division: invention, disposition, diction, delivery, and memory.

Ars dictaminis played an important role in the development of Italian rhetoric. It developed within an ecclesiastical and political culture where elegant epistolary expression was highly regarded, and its early masters were Buoncompagno da Siena (c. 1165-c. 1235), Bene di Firenze ((1. 1220), and Guido Faba (c. 1190-c. 1240). Guido's *Summa dictaminis* is more practical than theoretical, offering a large selection of readily adaptable models on a variety of subjects. Such tracts typically focus on organization, the importance of lexical choices, levels of style, and types of ornamentation (*colores rhetorici*).

Whatever the context, an *exordium* should render the audience docile, i.e., teachable; it should also please and stir the emotions. The latter two methods of persuasion—pleasure and emotion—were controversial for Augustine and other Christian rhetoricians; in addition to extensive Augustinian discussion, Fulgentius's *De continentia Virgiliana* is among the first instruction manuals on Christian rhetoric. After his conversion, Augustine was to deplore his

career as a professor of rhetoric, proposing modesty of style with an authorial and oratorical emphasis on substance; but Fulgentius represents another kind of early medieval rhetoric in his allegorization of the *Aeneid* as a narrative depicting the trajectory of human life. With John of Garland, Matthew of Vendome, and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, treatises on the art of poetry became central to medieval rhetoric. Geoffrey, in Rome during the papacy of Innocent III, published his *Poetria nova* c. 1210. Central to the case for vernacular rhetoric is Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*.

Wherever persuasive language is required, dialectic provides essential techniques for the structuring of argument. As the third art of the trivium significantly indebted to *translatio studii*, logic (and its derivative art, dialectic) became increasingly important in medieval Europe, especially in Paris following the recovery of the remaining texts of Aristotle's *Organon*. Boethius, who was central to the commentary tradition and the transmission of ancient texts, identifies dialectic as one branch of logic intended to produce probable, though not necessary, truth in problems and propositions. Applicable to all the other arts and to virtually any subject, the dialectical syllogism and *quaestio* became primary instruments of medieval *disputatio*. Aquinas honored dialectic as *ars artium* ("the art of arts"); his *Summa theologiae* is considered the culmination of the scholastic tradition, particularly where he offers a five-part proof of the existence of God. To the quodlibet whether the libera! arts should be taught relative to such worldly activities as commerce, Aquinas responds that the essentially spiritual nature of the arts must be respected by those who teach.

All die arts of the trivium are inextricably interrelated and are a preparation for the mathematically based quadrivium, whose four ways lead to comprehension of order in the universe (numerology is likewise related to medieval aesthetics). *Ars arith- metica*, unlike its modern counterpart, addressed primarily theoretical aspects of number, unity, equality, ratio, and proportion. Nonetheless, some instruction would be useful, if not necessary, to the merchant, artist, sculptor, and architect, and even the mason. Early Pythagorean concepts of arithmetic were maintained throughout the Middle Ages, with a distinction being made between arithmetic and arithmology, pertaining to mystical properties of numbers. According to the *De arithmetica* of Boethius:

It is prior to all not only because God, the creator of the massive structure of the world, considered this first discipline as the exemplar of His own thought, and established all things in accord with it; or that through numbers of an assigned order all things exhibiting the logic of their maker found concord; but . . . because whatever things are prior in nature, it is to these underlying elements that the posterior elements can be referred.

Addressing number theory, called "separable multitude," Boethian arithmetic developed a cognitive methodology that proceeded from number in itself to relativity between two numbers and, finally, between three numbers.

The recovery of Aristotle's *Physics* and *Metaphysics* stimulated research and teaching in disciplines applicable to medicine and law, whose Italian university faculties were known throughout the world. Also critical was the introduction of sources such as Al-Khwarizimi's *Treatise on Calculation with Hindu Numerals*, translated c. 1143; its computational system provided the basis of algorism, leading to the Italian treatises of Alexander Villa Dei and Sacrobosco in the following century. Sacrobosco's *Algorismus vulgaris* was the first text to introduce practical mathematics to the university curriculum; a commentary on it by Peter of Decia appeared in 1291 and remained in the standard arithmetic curriculum for centuries.

The court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen and the first university established by civil charter, which he founded in Naples, brought together scholars and translators from virtually every known cultural tradition. Treasures of Arabic, Hebrew, and Hindu knowledge were translated by men such as Burgundio of Pisa and James of Venice. Under Frederick's decree, a medical student was required to have three years of logic before concentrating on the mathematical sciences. A notable case is Thomas Aquinas, who began his study of liberal arts at Monte Cassino and later pursued logic and the natural science in Naples. By the thirteenth century, Greek mathematical tracts stimulated important work by Jordanus Nemorarius and Leonardo Fibonacci da Pisa, among the most outstanding mathematicians of the Middle Ages.

According to a mnemonic poem, *Ar numerat* while *Ge ponderap*. it literally, at least, measures the earth. Thus, Martianus Capella's *Lady Geometry* carries a ruler or compass in one hand and a globe in the other. Euclid and Archimedes remained primary sources throughout the

medieval period, although no complete translations of Euclid were available until after 1150, and translations of Arabic texts contributed significantly to medieval geometry. In its most developed form, a geometrical proposition bears a more than passing resemblance to its dialectical counterpart: enunciation of the problem, statement and specification of the problem, construction of argument, proof, and conclusion. As a transmitter of Euclidean geometry, Varro remained the primary authority until Boethius and the late Latin encyclopedists Cassiodorus, Martianus, and Isidore; the translation by Campanus di Novara (thirteenth century) circulated widely. Hugh of Saint Victor's *Practica geometriae* differentiated between theoretical and practical approaches; Hugh then subdivided practical geometry into *altimetria*, measurement of height and depth; *planimetria*, measurement of plane surfaces; and *cosmimetria*, measurement of the world itself. The combined theories of Hugh and Dominicus Gundissalinus formulated three areas of geometry: theoretical-mathematical, taught in liberal arts schools using tracts by Jordanus Nemorarius; practical, likewise a school subject but used also for surveying and measuring; and constructive, useful in the building projects that proliferated in Italy from the eleventh century on. Among later medieval efforts to apply Euclidean geometry to philosophy, as well as to practical uses, Leonardo Fibonacci da Pisa should be noted.

Although astronomy had been the most highly developed of the sciences in Greece, it was of less interest to the more pragmatic Romans, and thus was transmitted to the Middle Ages incompletely and often incorrectly. Much of later medieval astronomy drew on Greek sources recovered through Arabic scholarship. Of Platonic theory, only the *Timaeus* survived. The Euclidean theory of spheres was adapted and modified by Aristotle in his *Metaphysics* and *On the Heavens*. Fourth among major theorists for the Latin Middle Ages, Ptolemy of Alexandria formulated the most widely recognized systemization of the *ars astronomiae* in his *Almagestes*, transmitted partially by Macrobius (*Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*), as well as by Calcidius (who was also a translator of and commentator on the *Timaeus*) and Martianus Capella. Partly owing to the praise of Copernicus, the eighth book of Martianus's *De nuptiis* was widely taught until c. 1000; it is of particular interest for its claim (not original) that the earth was not at

the center of the sun's orbit.

The connections between astronomy and other *artes liberales* made it of primary importance to many quadrivium scholars: to cite but two examples, a new genre of astronomical tract known as *computus* appeared in the seventh century to calculate the date of Easter; and the astrolabe, reintroduced through Arabic transmission, served for centuries to determine celestial altitude, tell time, and measure depth and height. A respected work on the astrolabe was written by Gilbert de Rheims, who became Pope Sylvester II and was known for his erudition in all seven arts. At the universities of Bologna and Padua, astronomy flourished, partly owing to Averroistic works such as the *Expositio super theoricam planetarum* of Taddeo da Parma (fourteenth century). Controversy arose concerning Pietro d'Abano, who had studied in Constantinople and Paris; in his *Concililator* and *Lucidator* he developed a philosophy of medicine linked to astrology, claiming that illnesses of the microcosmic human body cannot be adequately treated without reference to Ptolemaic cosmology.

Music—last in the canonic medieval configuration of the liberal arts—was conceived from early Pythagorean theory in terms of measurement and order (Plato had said that the soul of the universe is united by musical concord). For the Greeks, it was principally a *techne* of numerical laws, whose major divisions were harmonics and rhythm. Theorists until the Christianization of Italy reiterated similar concepts. In Boethius, music was defined as the science of skillful modulation involving reason and the senses; Augustine and virtually all subsequent medieval churchmen emphasized the unique ability of music to arouse emotion. A passage in Augustine's *Confessions* (10.33) expresses his ambivalence even toward music set to sacred texts: "I feel that by those holy words my mind is kindled more religiously and fervently to a flame of piety because I hear them sung than if they were not sung." In Martianus's *De nuptiis*, Lady Harmony demonstrates the dual capacities of music: she appeases the dissonance threatening the celebration and restores order by leading Mercury and Philology to the bedchamber.

The study of arithmetic and at least some acquaintance with geometry and astronomy were appropriate prerequisites for the medieval student; even a rapid overview of Martianus's text reveals the complexity of music theory as it entered the Middle Ages. For

centuries, *skolae cantorum* apparently assumed the principal tasks of teaching. The first official schools on record were established in Saint Gall and Metz. An indication that the more practical aspects of performance were worthy of consideration can be found in an important tract by Guido d'Arezzo (c. 990-1050), whose solmization system facilitated instruction in plainchant melodies. In the early fourteenth century, treatises by Johannes de Muris and Philippe de Vitry introduced *an nova*, which was later to influence Italian *nuova musica*. By 1324, the Avignonese papacy, concerned by the influence of this new music, issued a decree restricting the presentation of music in churches; this document has been seen as a stimulant to secular troubadour-*trouvère* compositions, which were already proliferating. Until the fifteenth century, Avignon was to remain the central source of liturgical polyphony.

See also Ars Nova; Buoncompagno da Signa; Cicero; Dante Alighieri; Education; Guido d'Arezzo; Guido Faba; Macrobius; Numerology; Pietro Abano; Universities

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Libri Carolini

The *Libri Carolini* was the response of Charlemagne's court to the decisions of the Council of Nicaea (787), summoned by Empress Irene to legislate the end of Iconoclasm. Having received the council's acts in a Latin translation sent by Pope Hadrian I, whose legates had participated in the council, Charlemagne commanded Theodulf of Orleans, advised by others at court, to prepare a rebuttal. The treatise amassed an array of authorities to demonstrate that the council's position on the use of images represented dangerous doctrinal innovations and to define what tradition had established as orthodox teaching. Interspersed with the theological discussion was a wide-ranging polemic against the claims of the imperial office to define orthodoxy and the legitimacy of the council's ecumenical status without representation from the Frankish church. The *Libri Carolini* marked an important step in the growing consciousness at Charlemagne's court of the role of the Franks as God's chosen defenders of Christendom.

See also Charlemagne; Frankish Kingdom; Hadrian I, Pope; Iconoclasm

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Licosa, Battle of

The battle of Licosa took place in 846. Southern Italian states had begun employing Islamic mercenaries against each other in the 830s. These mercenaries often took to independent looting and kidnapping, creating permanent bases (*ribat*) on the Italian mainland. In the 840s the diminished threat from rival cities such as Benevento and Salerno, and an intensification of Muslim raids, enabled the dukes of Naples to form a coalition of states against the marauders. This "inspired alliance" (*Vita Sancti Antonini*) among Amalfi, Sorrento, Naples, and Gaeta sought to protect the shipping of the Tyrrhenian ports. In the spring of 846, a mopping-up operation directed at Muslim bases on the Campanian coast culminated in the allies' capturing the stronghold on the promontory of Licosa. The benefits for Campania proved transitory—after 851 the pirates returned to looting the divided south—but the league that Naples led at Licosa (and in other naval operations as late as 849) demonstrated the potential of the maritime city-states acting in unison, even without aid from the Byzantines.

See also Amalfi; Byzantine Empire; Naples

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Linen

See Fustians

Lippo Memmi

See Memini, Lippo

Lippo Pasci De' Bardi

Lippo Pasci (or Paschi) de' Bardi (late thirteenth century-early fourteenth century) was a Florentine poet, and perhaps a musician, who wrote four sonnets (contained in the Vatican Codex Lat. 3214) and to whom Dante addressed a sonnet, *Se Lippo atnic se' tu che mi leggi*. Virtually nothing is known about Lippo's life, although he has been proposed (Di Benedetto 1941) as the possible author of the allegorical poems *Il Fiore* (long attributed to Dante) and *Intelligenza*. On the basis of stylistic similarities, Lippo has also been identified as the anonymous "Amico di Dante" ("Friend of Dante"). From archival documents, we

know that Lippo was active between 1292 and 1312 and died before 1332.

Lippo is best-known through the sonnet addressed directly to him by Dante. In this sonnet of correspondence, Dante refers to the accompanying stanza of an ode (probably *Lo meo servente core*) as a *pulcella nuda* ("unadorned maiden") which he is sending to Lippo in order that Lippo might "clothe it" (*La rivesta*). However, Dante's intention is unclear: he may want Lippo to set it to music, or to provide a commentary for it, or simply to copy it in more elegant handwriting. Recent philological criticism has argued that there is confusion between Lapo (Gianni) and Lippo in the textual tradition of *Guido, i' vorrei che tu e Lapo* [or *Lippo*] *ed io*, a well-known sonnet by Dante. If this is the case, major questions of interliterary relations in the late *Duecento* will have to be reconsidered and revised.

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Dante Alighieri; Intelligenza; Lapo Gianni

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Liturgy

More than perhaps any other European country, Italy was the home of rites and Uses in great number, some of them quite local and exhibiting

considerable differences. Comparative studies of these different uses have barely begun, and no methodology for accomplishing the task has been established. Complicating the process, too, is our incomplete knowledge of many of the Uses known to have existed, even though some of them are of great importance. The gaps are unlikely to be filled, because either the books are lost or they are late and heavily Romanized to eliminate their idiosyncracies.

Certain kinds of books seem to have survived (perhaps for reasons other than liturgical), whereas those that could inform us more generally about liturgical texts and practices are scarce. This state of affairs is especially true before the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the drive to exert the influence of Rome and to establish some conformity of tradition grew in force. Evidence for liturgies before this time must often be gleaned principally from sacramentaries, ordines, gospel books, *legendae*, and specialized documents such as *exultet* rolls. Only in liturgies such as the Benevantan and Ambrosian do books of other kinds survive in greater quantities. Books for the mass, missals, and graduals and their prototypes are about twice as common as books for the offices.

Even in the later Middle Ages, liturgical books in Italy seem scarcer than those in England, France, and Germany, perhaps as a result of the humanists' disdain for all things medieval and of the suppression of ecclesiastical institutions—and perhaps also because the notoriously inaccurate or inadequate cataloging of liturgical books has hardly been addressed in Italy. In addition, surviving books of the later periods seem different in character from those elsewhere. Large books for the choir, *chorali*—often preserved, one imagines, only because of their beautiful art-work—exist in Italy (and to some extent in Spain) in much larger quantities than in more northern countries. A further difficulty lies in the often widely discrepant dates for some of the major sources of Italian liturgy, where differences of a hundred years or more are not uncommon. It is hard to know how to assess the importance of these obvious differences and defects in the source material.

The bibliography for most of the topics to be discussed is huge, often relatively dated, and usually quite specialized. The most recent work from which a synthesis can be extracted is musicological: some of the following summary is abstracted from Hiley (1993), which, although

dealing with chant across Europe, makes possible to some extent the isolation of Italian trends and deals to some extent with nonmusical books, Hiley's work also contains a vast bibliography in which the important works are recorded. Other recent musicological work has also illuminated the problems of Old Roman and Roman usage, and of the Ambrosian and Beneventan rites. Many of the sources most easily accessible or best-known are chant books. Reliance on information oriented toward chant research is obviously no substitute for comprehensive evaluation, although each of the musical studies is careful to place its repertoire within the general liturgical context as far as possible.

This general survey of Italian medieval liturgy will address the topic from a variety of aspects and will begin with a chronological overview of the political developments, in which the role of Rome will be prominent. A review of the liturgical influences on Rome, including the role of the popes and papal rites, will then be discussed; following are briefer sections organized by geography.

The Development of Liturgy in Rome

For the first two centuries of the Christian era, the bishops of Rome were Greek-speaking, and Greek was the language of liturgy up to the fourth century. But "nothing survives of the Roman liturgy of the first five centuries. . . . There was considerable liturgical activity but we have no way of evaluating either its extent or its results" (Vogel 1986). From the fourth century on, with a few exceptions during Holy Week, the language was predominantly Latin, although in the seventh century the liturgy was again partly bilingual because eastern Christians were flocking to Rome (between 638 and 772, nine of the twenty-five popes were eastern). Eventually, the influence of the reforms of the Frankish church in the eighth and ninth centuries established Latin as the principal language.

The authority of Rome was variously circumscribed until the very late Middle Ages, often as a result of political rather than ecclesiastical circumstances. Byzantine rites held sway in the south. As a center in the early period, Rome was less important than Constantinople, or even

than Milan or Ravenna—Ravenna being the capital of the Byzantine exarchate from 540 to 751. Except in the north, the writ of the bishop of Rome ran in much of the rest of the peninsula until the Lombard invasions of the late sixth and seventh centuries. The Lombards were in the south by 570, confining the Byzantines to Calabria and Sicily and isolating the coastal region from Rome to Naples. In the eighth century, the conquest of northern Italy and Ravenna by the Franks changed the political situation yet again, further diminishing the influence of Rome.

The period from the sixth century to the eleventh century was one of decadence and decline in which Roman traditions lost their power. The center of influence had moved to Gaul and Germany. During this period, the liturgy of the city of Rome and the papal court was systematized, and there was a gradual mixing of Frankish and Roman uses.

Several factors contributed to the recovery, beginning in the tenth century and more strongly in the eleventh century. The first was the introduction into Rome, almost certainly during one of several visits there by Emperor Otto I from 951-972, of the Roman-German Pontifical (liturgical book). This is said to be one of the major events in liturgical history. Other changes came about as a result of the foreign popes who were installed when Emperor Otto III was trying to reform the papacy around the turn of the tenth century: Gregory V (r. 996-999) was German; Sylvester II (r. 999-1003), French. German clerics—from Augsburg, for instance—were appointed to Italian churches, especially in the north. Gregory V demanded a regular supply of liturgical books from the *scriptorium* at Reichenau: like the Roman-German Pontifical, these would have been German in character. Gregory VII is reported to have said *Teutonicis concessum est regimen Ecclesiae nostrae*.

Perhaps the most significant political change was a result of the Norman invasions of Sicily and the southern mainland in the eleventh century. The city of Bari was captured in 1071, and eventually the kingdom of Sicily controlled by the Normans extended up the peninsula and along the eastern coast beyond Rome. Although the liturgical implications for the region are by no means clear, it seems likely that the Normans' predilection for monastic patronage allowed Monte Cassino again to play a leading role in the renewal of Roman liturgical practice.

Eventually, Rome seized the initiative, trying to end German control of ecclesiastical affairs. Although its influence remained strong for some time, the Roman-German Pontifical eventually became an *Ordo Romanus*: it was adapted to Roman use, and unnecessary rituals such as royal coronations were removed, along with archaic rituals and the luxuriant overgrowth of German texts. This process was one of simplification in which the substance of the services was unchanged.

Evidence of a renewal of political authority came with the Lateran Council of 1123. But the first evidence of a distinctive liturgical authority appears only in the thirteenth century as a result of the reforms of Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216). The exile of the papacy in Avignon in the fourteenth century rendered Rome once again impotent as a liturgical center, until the fifteenth century.

Liturgical Influences on Rome

In the broadest terms, some liturgical developments influencing Rome and the liturgy originated in the fifth century. Monastic communities of this period attached themselves to basilical churches such as the Lateran and Saint Peter's. These perhaps played a role in the formation of the rule of Saint Benedict. That rule, also influenced by earlier, less well-developed compilations, was put together in the early sixth century for the community of Benedict at Monte Cassino. It enables us to reconstruct fairly comprehensively monastic liturgies from that time. Nothing similar exists for secular liturgies until the seventh century, and as far as can be determined, the distinction between monastic and secular use was not clearly defined in Rome. But churches of Rome were staffed by monks in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Various popes during these centuries are credited with liturgical reforms or additions to the liturgy. Gelasius (r. 492-496) perhaps introduced the Kyrie to the mass; Symmachus (d. 514) perhaps added the Gloria. Gregory I (r. 590-604), although no longer credited with the composition or even the compilation of plainsong (both of which attributions are of much later date), was probably responsible for reorganizing liturgical administration and regulating liturgical use. Masses for the Thursdays of Lent were arranged during the pontificate

of Gregory II (r. 715-731). Numerous other popes or abbots are said to have edited or ordered the cycle of chants for the church year. Apel (1958, 38-42) gives convenient tables summarizing papal reforms and documentary evidence up to the eighth century. Vogel (1986) has many useful tables showing the sources and their relationships.

Sacramentaries and Ordines give us glimpses of what the Roman liturgy was like in these centuries: although many were written for and used in Gaul and elsewhere, to some extent they represent Roman practice. The Sacramentary sent by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne between 784 and 791 is a book of masses celebrated by the pope in the Roman stationary liturgy: the Sacramentary of Padua represents the presbyteral use at Saint Peter's basilica c. 670—680. *Ordo Romanus I*, of the early eighth century, is our earliest direct evidence for the papal mass in Rome. Later Sacramentaries and Ordines—hybrids modified in Gaul and Germany, which were often disorganized and inconsistent—provided the basis for German books subsequently taken back to Rome. Some of the best evidence for what was performed in Rome before the Ottoman reforms comes from the so-called Old Roman sources. These are a small group of manuscripts dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth century that transmit Old Roman chant. The most likely explanation is that these sources represent the chant and texts sung in Rome up to the eleventh-century reforms: they lack the changes made by the Franks and transmit a more ornate form of chant. The current view is that they were written down as a result of pressures on the older rites caused by the Ottonian reforms. This Old Roman material was superseded, in the thirteenth century, by texts and chants organized and revised by the Franks and Germans—in musical terms this would be the chant often known as Gregorian chant.

The papal court was staffed by clerics who were preoccupied with administrative duties. The need for a liturgy less ornate than what had apparently been the case, and less ornate than what had come from the German pontificals, led to a thirteenth-century liturgy that was concise and brief. Under Pope Innocent III, papal and civil practices were reconciled and revisions of the mass and office for the papal chapel were undertaken. These revisions were carried out in close cooperation with the newly founded Franciscan order, and the missal and breviary prepared under Pope Honorius II (1216-1217) were officially adopted by

the order. A further revision undertaken by the Franciscan Haymo of Faversham (1240-1244) essentially made the use of the Franciscans and the Roman Curia identical. Innocent III was also responsible for a revision of the Pontifical, of which various recensions were produced up to the fourteenth century. This book, however, was gradually replaced by the Pontifical of William of Durandus, c. 1293-1295.

Churches in Rome were brought into line, and nonconforming manuscripts were destroyed (this may be one reason for the paucity of books other than those of the Roman Curia). Outside Rome, churches were not so quick to adopt the new use of the Roman Curia. The Lateran basilica retained its own practices until the fourteenth century. But eventually almost all the other uses in Italy came to conform with Roman-Franciscan Use, some more quickly than others. Even monastic orders adapted it. The Celestines, founded c. 1250, took Roman Use for the mass while following Monte Cassino for the monastic office. The Olivetans, founded in 1319 near Siena, adopted it, and after the reform at Saint Giustina's in Padua in the early fifteenth century, other monasteries such as Subiaco (and houses outside Italy in Austria and Bavaria) followed suit. Not until the mid-fifteenth century had most places in Italy conformed, and not until the advent of printing was it possible for the use to become a more or less universal rite.

Liturgical Developments outside Rome

Liturgical practices in other places in Italy, and their relationship to uses in Rome, are poorly documented. Aquileia was a patriarchate in the sixth and seventh century with two bishoprics, at Grado and Cividale. Traces of its earlier liturgy are very faint; it is said to be similar to that of Milan. One gradual thought to have been for the Aquileian rite has now been tentatively reassigned to Venice. Sources from the later Middle Ages seem indistinguishable from those elsewhere in Europe. The rite was suppressed in 1594-1595. Of the Ravennese rite even less survives: a noted breviary of c. 1100 (now at Downside Abbey) has distinct Ravennese connections but has been little explored. The really distinctive practices of this rite probably disappeared after 754, when Ravenna fell to the Frankish conquest of

northern Italy. Venice was formally subject to the eastern empire, and when the Franks failed to bring it into the western sphere its status became more independent (conflicts between the bishoprics of Aquileia allowed it to escape their domination, too). Soon after 810, a ducal chapel was built for the remains of the apostle Saint Mark, further enhancing the importance of Venice. This chapel became the private chapel of the doge. The rites were a mixture of ecclesiastical, political, and civil ceremonies, little known and, again, little explored. Discoveries made since about 1980 (reported by Cattin 1990-1992) may make it possible to reconstruct the liturgy of the later Middle Ages.

Of other places and institutions, little can be said. Verona was clearly a place where important liturgical sources were produced; Monza and Lucca were other centers from which books emanated, and the rites of Lucca are said to have influenced those of the papal curia. The use of the Sainte-Chapelle was ordained for Bari. Local cults, and especially local saints, were favored. Numerous houses flourished and probably had their own practices. In the late eleventh century and twelfth century, the Camaldolese had cloisters in Tuscany and Sardinia. The Vallombrosians were slightly more widespread in northern Italy. Irish foundations such as the one at Bobbio would no doubt have played some role in the distinctive liturgical life of the peninsula. Siena mixed civil and ecclesiastical ceremony in interesting ways.

Of the Ambrosian and Beneventan rites, however, we know more. Again, recent scholarship has focused on the edition and discussion of musical sources. The two rites were related politically and liturgically, and sometimes agree with each other against Rome; indeed, Beneventan practices were sometimes referred to as Ambrosian, as when Pope Stephen IX prohibited "Ambrosian" chant at Monte Cassino in 1058.

The Milanese rite, said to have been founded by Saint Ambrose (and thus called Ambrosian), was practiced in the archdiocese and has characteristics distinguishing it from Roman use. Similarities with Visigothic and Gallican uses have been suggested but are difficult to document; affinities with Byzantine liturgies have been discovered. Under threat from the Arians, Ambrose's church (according to Saint Augustine) sang "hymns and psalms . . . after the manner of oriental regions." Hymns were not a part of Roman use until the twelfth century

—they were, however, a part of the monastic liturgy, and the Milanese rite was influenced strongly by monastic forms. Ambrose said that he followed Roman practice closely, but there was more ceremonial, and a wealth of less formal services such as processions (called *psallendae*) and stational offices. The chant is generally more florid. Although the political importance of Milan allowed it to remain independent of Rome, eventually what was unique in the liturgy was suppressed (c. 1386) when the two ancient cathedrals were destroyed and their services were adapted for the new *duomo*.

The Beneventan rite was closely associated with the Lombard influence in the south, although liturgical and political relationships with Milan (also under Lombard rule) are clear. The surviving manuscripts are nearly all late (again perhaps as the result of a desire to preserve a declining rite): many *exultet* rolls, a good many books for the mass, and fewer for the offices. When later contaminating material is removed, they disclose a rite whose structure is quite similar to Roman, but in which familiar texts are distributed in quite different ways and used for different functions. For the expert, this characteristic and the use of non-biblical texts signal a Beneventan source, and quite distinct (often stereotyped and more ornamental) melodic characteristics signal Beneventan chant. The rite flourished most strongly in the eighth century, when Benevento became a principality, avoiding entanglements with popes, the Franks, and Byzantium. But by the ninth century increasing contact with Rome, and the growing importance of the Norman influence—especially at Monte Cassino—caused the rite to decline. By the eleventh century it had been suppressed.

A Note on Sources

Avast number of monographs, articles, and editions of particular genres exist for each of the major topics, but for very few of those topics is there any general overview of the liturgy in its historical, ecclesiastical, and political context. The bibliography below, necessarily selective, includes material contributing to a general picture. General information may also be found in various dictionaries; as of the present writing, the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* is the most comprehensive and most

recent.

See also Ambrosian Chant; Aquilcia, Rite of; Bencventan Chant; Benevento; Gregorian Chant; Milan; Old Roman Chant; Ravenna; Venice; William Durandus

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Liudprand of Cremona

Liudprand (Liutprand, Liuzo; c. 920–972) was bishop of Cremona (961-972) and also a historian and diplomat. He was born in Pavia in northern Italy into a wealthy family who may have been either merchants or urban aristocrats. His father (who died young) and stepfather had served Hugh of Arles, king of Italy, as diplomats. Liudprand himself went to Constantinople, capital of the Byzantine (eastern Roman) empire, in 949 during the reign of Constantine VII (called Porphyrogenitus) on a mission for Hugh's successor, Berengar of Ivrea. Liudprand fell out with Berengar and went into exile at the court of Otto I, duke of Saxony. There, Liudprand met Recemund, bishop of Elvira in Muslim Spain, who suggested that Liudprand write a history of their time. The result was *Antapodosis*. Liudprand rose in Otto's favor, was granted the see of Cremona, and accompanied Otto on an

expedition to Italy that resulted in Otto's coronation as emperor in February 962. Liudprand went on at least two missions to Constantinople on behalf of Otto: in 960 (when he seems not to have reached Constantinople); and in 968-969, during the reign of Nicephorus II Phocas, to arrange a marriage with a Byzantine princess for Otto's son, Otto II. The second embassy was a miserable failure, but later Nicephorus's successor, John I Tzimiskes, did consent to a match between Otto II and Theophano. Liudprand probably went to Constantinople a fourth time in 972 (though he seems to have been reluctant to do so, possibly because of ill health) to help escort Theophano to the west; and apparently he died at some point during that trip.

Liudprand's principal works are *Antapodosis* (translated into English as *Tit for Tat* or *The Book of Retribution*); *Relatio de legatio Constantinopolitana* (*Report on the Embassy to Constantinople*), i.e., the embassy of 968–969; and *Liber de rebus gestibus Ottonis* (*The Deeds of Otto*), i.e., Otto I. Recent scholarship (Bischoff 1984) has also identified Liudprand as author of a sermon given at Easter c. 960.

Antapodosis is a gossipy history running from 887 to 949. It forms our principal guide to northern and central Italy during that confused period and contains much information on other areas: Germany, Burgundy, southern Italy, and the Byzantine empire—especially Constantinople. *Antapodosis* was written to show that the major figures in Italian politics of the first half of the tenth century whom Liudprand disliked—notably Berengar of Ivrea and his wife, Willa—eventually met bad ends. Though an excellent storyteller, Liudprand obviously does not pretend to be impartial.

Relatio is bitterly anti-Byzantine. It is often cited to show the growing estrangement of the Latin west from Byzantium but in fact demonstrates no such thing. Liudprand's tirades against the "Greeks" are a result of the hostile and demeaning treatment he received at the hands of Emperor Nicephorus. There is no trace of anti-Greek sentiment in *Antapodosis*, which gives a good-natured account of Liudprand's mission of 949. The fascinating narrative and Liudprand's caustic humor compensate for the whining tone of *Relatio*.

The Deeds of Otto is a record not of the great Saxon ruler's entire reign (Liudprand died a year before Otto), but of one incident: the

deposition of Pope John XII by Otto in 963.

Despite his admiration for and devotion to Otto and the Saxons, Liudprand is a figure essentially centered on the Mediterranean. He claimed to know Greek and interlarded his work with Greek words (followed by their Latin translations). Although some scholars consider this merely a display of pedantry, most now believe that Liudprand did know the spoken Byzantine tongue of his day (which was closer to modern than to classical Greek), and perhaps some classical or *koine* Greek as well. Although Liudprand had the requisite education and social background for a diplomat, his effectiveness was vitiated by his explosive temper (amply demonstrated in *Legatio*) and his acerbic disposition (of which *Antapodosis* is a prime example). His urbane, witty, sarcastic, and occasionally ribald style makes him sound curiously modern, especially if one reads him in a good translation.

See also Byzantine Empire; Otto I; Otto II

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Liutprand

Liutprand (d. 744, r. 712-744) was a king of the Lombards. In 712, after having spent nearly ten years in exile from the Lombard court, Liutprand and his father Ansprand returned to Italy with backing from the Bavarians and overthrew Aripert II. Ansprand became king, but his death a few months later allowed Liutprand to claim the kingship. Liutprand then ruled until his own death.

Liutprand was the most successful of the Lombard kings. Although he had to spend the first part of his reign quelling internal resistance, he did succeed in bringing the rebellious dukes under control—a control that was even extended to the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, which were traditionally virtually independent of the Lombard monarchy.

As king, Liutprand followed a policy of expanding his territory at the expense of imperial territory—and in opposition to the wishes of the papacy. The opportunity was provided by a growing rift between the

empire and the popes that was due partly to the Byzantines' weakness and partly to the Iconoclastic controversy. The refusal of the papacy to accept Iconoclasm was related to its slowly developing policy of freeing itself from imperial control and stepping into the political role of the empire in northern and central Italy.

Liutprand also continued the work of the earlier Lombard kings, Rothari and Grimoald, regarding legislation. During his reign he would add 153 laws to the Lombard code; these laws—which reflected an increasing influence of Roman law—emphasized the role of the state, modified inheritance practices, and recognized the validity of written testaments. With Liutprand, Lombard law began to lose many of its customary legal features and became a sophisticated social instrument.

During his later years, Liutprand associated himself in government with a nephew, Hildeprand, who succeeded him. However, Hildeprand was almost immediately overthrown by Ratchis of Friuli.

See also **Iconoclasm; Lombard Law; Lombards; Ratchis; Rothari**

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Livy

Titus Livy (59 B.C.-A.D. 17) was born in Padua. As a young man, he went to Rome, where he studied philosophy; at age thirty, he turned to

historical pursuits. He was publicly honored and respected during his lifetime, and he encouraged the historical studies of Claudius, the future emperor.



Livy, *Ab urbe condita*. Lyon: Apud Antonium Vincentium, 1553. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Livy's lifework is *Ab urbe condita libri*, a history of Rome from its foundation to Livy's own time. The work has an annalistic structure,

recounting the salient events in Roman history year by year. The history originally comprised 142 books, of which only 1 – 10 and 21–45 survive. The first ten books, called the "first decade," move from the mythic tale of Aeneas's flight from Troy to the third Samnite war (289 B.C.). Books 21–45—the third, fourth, and first half of the fifth decades—narrate Roman history from the second Punic war (218 B.C.) to the end of the war with Macedonia (167 B.C.). Other passages from the work are preserved in fragments and excerpts.

The loss of the bulk of Livy's work can be attributed both to its enormous size and to its subdivision into discrete sections of ten books each. These sections, the decades, were each transmitted separately, and no attempt to unite them was made until Petrarch's day. Also, although Livy's history was well-liked during his lifetime, Livy was not a standard school author during the Middle Ages, and the decline in his popularity contributed to the spotty transmission of his work. By the end of the ninth century there were only a few extant copies of the work. By the twelfth century there appears to have been a slightly greater circulation of parts of the history, and by the fourteenth century Livy's popularity surged, but the fourth decade remained extremely rare.

Dante demonstrates only a slight acquaintance with Livy, citing him merely in general terms. However, Livy stands as an authority on Roman history for Dante, who explicitly acknowledges his stature in *Monarchia* (2.3.6) and again in *Inferno* (28.12), describing him as *Livio . . . che non erra* ("Livy who does not err").

Boccaccio was apparently familiar with Livy and may have prepared an extant Italian translation of the third and fourth decades that contributed to Livy's renewed popularity. It was Petrarch, however, who played the pivotal role in the preservation of the remaining books of Livy's history. Petrarch found manuscripts of the first, third, and fourth decades at Chartres; put together two separate textual traditions; emended and annotated the text in his own hand; and, for the first time since antiquity, put the thirty books together. (Books 41–45 were not found until 1527.) Petrarch placed Livy at the top of his list of favorite historians and used some episodes from Livy's history as the inspiration for sections of his own *Africa*. Thanks in part to Petrarch's philological intervention, Livy became an important source in the Italian

Renaissance and a model for humanist historiography.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri; Petrarca, Francesco**

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Lodi

The Lombard city of Lodi was founded in 89 B.C. as a Roman *municipium* with the name Laus Pompeia (Lodivecchio, west of the present Lodi, in the province of Milan) at the intersection of the Vercelli-Brescia and Milan-Cremona roads. The first documented bishop, Bassianus, was a contemporary of Saint Ambrose (339-397). The history of Lodi remains obscure for the Lombard and Frankish periods but becomes clearer after the year 1000. Lodi controlled the roads that connected Milan (Lombardy's major city) with Piacenza and Cremona and the lower course of the Lambro, by which the Milanese shipping traffic gained access to the Po. Lodi's important position in the transportation network of central Lombardy made the city an object of expansion efforts by the Milanese. In 1025 the German emperor Conrad II granted the archbishop of Milan the right of investiture for the bishop of Lodi. Just two years later, war broke out between Lodi and Milan when the archbishop attempted to make a Milanese cleric bishop of Lodi. Although it was set off by the archbishop's choice, this conflict may have resulted from a larger structural problem that became clearer as time passed. The archbishop's vassals acquired ever greater property in the territory of the Lodi diocese and thereby gradually revoked the right to legal and military access to these areas that the population of Lodi had enjoyed. The area along the lower course of the Lambro demonstrates the influence of such property transfers on Lodi's control of its *contado* (countryside) during the communal era.

During the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century, Lodi's clerics

remained skeptical of efforts by the papacy to renew religious life. Bishop Obizo (r. 1059–1083), however, seems to have been induced to join the reformers; thus, in 1093, the city formed a coalition with Milan, Piacenza, Cremona, and Matilda of Canossa to fight against Emperor Henry IV on the side of Henry's son Conrad. This coalition failed to protect Lodi from being destroyed in 1111 following a four-year war with Milan. Lodi's defeat resulted principally from the fact that a section of the nobility (*capitani*) and the bishop had joined the side of the Milanese. The victors demolished the city fortifications, drove the people into six unfortified villages (*borghi*), and cut off the transportation and trade opportunities of their conquered rival. Despite these efforts, the market of the largest village, Borgo Piacentino, soon regained its importance in the region. Concurrently, the inhabitants organized themselves into a commune, whose consuls are first mentioned in 1142. Although the city was able to regain a certain degree of independence, it remained influenced by Milan and had to provide both funding and troops for the campaigns of the Milanese against neighboring cities. In the early years of his reign, Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa attempted to strengthen his claim to the Po valley. This policy raised hopes in Lodi that the emperor would help it achieve emancipation from the dominance of Milan. Similarly, from the emperor's perspective, Milan threatened his authority because it ruled the neighboring cities of Lodi, Tortona, and Como. Detailed information for these critical years in Lodi's history is found in the chronicle of Otto Morena and his successors. In the growing conflict between Frederick Barbarossa and Milan, Lodi increasingly allied itself with the emperor. In response, the Milanese exerted pressure on Lodi through higher taxes and oaths of allegiance before finally destroying it in 1158. This event brought an end to Lodi in its original location.

Shortly thereafter, Frederick Barbarossa established a new city, Lodi Nuovo, 31/2 miles (about 6 kilometers) east of its earlier site, on the banks of the Adda River. The new location allowed the city to be more easily fortified by a wall, which was begun in 1160. To maintain Lodi's integral place in the transportation network of Lombardy, the road from Milan to Piacenza was diverted through Lodi Nuovo. Lodi's situation on a navigable river flowing directly into the Po gave the city an attractive harbor. In addition, the city served as an important

Lombard base for Frederick Barbarossa during the siege and destruction of the cities of Crema and Milan, and as an administrative center until his imperial organization collapsed in 1167. An imperial palace was built there, and in 1161 the antipope Victor IV held a synod there. The new city's religious and social continuity with Lodivecchio is indicated by the composition of the city magistrates and by the transfer of Saint Bassianus's relics to Lodi Nuovo in 1163. The empire's increasing exploitation of the Lombards provoked resistance, and in 1167 the *Lega Lombarda*, or Lombard League, a coalition of Lombard cities, was founded. After the rebuilding of Milan, the coalition forced Lodi to join it because, as an imperial fortress, the city threatened its supply line. Lodi, for its part, wanted to protect itself against expansion by the Milanese, and so it obtained contractual guarantees of its status as an independent city. The deposition of the earlier bishop who had been loyal to the emperor signaled a shift in the city's allegiance. Lodi remained on the side of the Lombard coalition until the peace of Constance in 1183.

In the 1180s, Frederick Barbarossa altered his alliances, ending his previous ties with Pavia and Cremona and establishing ties with Milan and Piacenza. These events brought Lodi under renewed and growing pressure from the Milanese until a peace treaty of 1198 granted it autonomy within the Milanese alliance system. At the turn of the thirteenth century, Lodi was governed by *apodestà*, and its communes began to codify the laws (*Statutes* and *Liber Iurium*). In the early thirteenth century, the Sommariva (backed by Milan) were opposed by the Ghibelline Over-naghi in the city's internal political parties. In 1237, during a war between the reactivated Lombard League and Emperor Frederick II, Lodi released itself from its alliance with Milan; it remained allied with Frederick II until his death in 1250. However, in 1251, under the leadership of the Vistarini family and with support from the Milanese, the Guelfs united against the Degli Averzaghi family. In the internal power struggle for control of Milan between the Delia Torre and Visconti families, the Delia Torre were banished from Milan, and Lodi became their base until 1295. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Milan's domination of Lodi was briefly replaced by that of the *signorie* of the Vistarini and the papal legate Ismacoldo. In 1335, the city was integrated into the state of the Visconti. Only the

death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in 1402 brought a short intermission in Milan's control of Lodi.

The old cathedral of San Bassiano of Lodi Vecchio survives. However, medieval traces are more visible in the new city. Remains from the medieval fortifications of the cathedral of San Bassiano and the churches of Sant'Agnese, San Francesco, and San Lorenzo, in addition to such secular buildings as the Broletto, Palazzo Vistarini, and Ospedale Maggiore, are still in evidence.

See also Conrad II; Constance, Peace of; Delia Torre Family; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Lombard Leagues; Milan; Visconti Family

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Logic

See Liberal Arts

Lombard Law

Lombard law was introduced into Italy by the Lombards, a Germanic people who invaded the peninsula in 568 after the Byzantine-Gothic wars had brought the downfall of the Ostrogothic kingdom in 552. The previously unwritten laws of the Lombards were first codified by King Rothari in 643 in a law book known as *Rothair's Edict*, containing 388 titles. These laws were modified and supplemented by later Lombard kings, Grimoald issuing nine titles in 688; Liutprand, 153 titles between 713 and 735; Ratchis, fourteen titles in 745-746; and Aistulf, twenty-two titles in 750-755.

Lombard law never became the law of the entire Italian peninsula; it was confined to those portions under Lombard control: the main part of the kingdom centered in the Po valley (but not including the area around Ravenna and the Pentapolis), Friuli, and Tuscany. Farther south, the Lombards occupied the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. Although at the height of their power in the mid-eighth century the Lombards held a good part of the Italian peninsula, they never effectively controlled Ravenna and a narrow strip of territory stretching toward Rome, the area immediately around Rome itself, or Naples and the southern extremities of the peninsula. In all these regions, Roman law remained in force—basically, the law of the western Roman empire (based on the Theodosian code and other pre-Justinianic writings) supplemented to varying degrees by Justinian's *Corpus iuris civilis*.

In the northern two-thirds of the Italian peninsula (to a line just south of Rome), Lombard law remained the law of the majority of the population following the overthrow of the Lombard kingdom by Charlemagne (a Frank) in 774. In this area (including the duchy of Spoleto, but not the other areas noted above), Lombard law remained dominant, but it was supplemented by a number of additional enactments or capitularies issued by the Carolingian and Italian kings of Italy (late eighth century to the tenth century) and the early German Roman emperors (late tenth century and early eleventh). Farther to the south in the duchy of Benevento, the original Lombard law remained in force but was supplemented by additional titles issued by the Beneventan princes Arichis and Adelchis in 774 and 866. Thus, from the

late eighth century on, there were two slightly different versions of Lombard law in use in Italy.

The relationship between Lombard law and Roman law has aroused much controversy. *Rothair's Edict* is usually regarded as a compilation of nearly pure Germanic custom, and the influence of Roman law is held to have become stronger in the work of Liutprand and his successors. But although much of *Rothair's Edict* is basically Germanic, it is not without Roman influence. The desire to produce a written book of law (which the royal justices could consult in the course of their work) and even the emperor-like act of issuing laws were largely a product of Roman influence, and the Lombard kings employed notaries who were Roman or had been trained by Romans (the language of the laws is Latin).

The Lombard laws constitute one of the most important of the "barbarian" codes. *Rothair's Edict* is itself a more comprehensive code than any of the others except the Visigothic. It covers many categories of matters about which legal dispute might arise: personal offenses, damages to property, theft, marriage, inheritance, and public offenses such as breaking the peace. Such organized coverage reflects some influence of Roman law, although the actual content of the law (except in some areas—such as debts and contracts, transfers of land, and the use of written instruments—where there is Roman influence) is basically Germanic. The structure of the Lombard court was Roman (with a royal justice hearing the suit and announcing the verdict); but other procedure was basically Germanic, since the injured individual or his family was responsible for bringing the suit before the court, and there was still some recourse to self-help—although the laws specifically denied recourse to the blood feud if one had accepted the compensation provided by law. The methods of proof were also Germanic, based mainly on the use of compurgation, but occasionally involving trial by battle.

The later Lombard laws were issued in order to interpret or modify the provisions of *Rothair's Edict*, or in response to actual cases that had come before the courts. There is thus ample evidence that, for the Lombards, law was more than unchangeable custom and the king was the source not only of justice, but also of new law. In all these respects, the Lombards reflect the advanced legal culture of those among whom

they settled and were ahead of the other Germanic barbarians (except perhaps the Visigoths).

The native Lombard laws and most of the Carolingian capitularies for Italy were issued from the capital city of Pavia, which early on became a center of culture and learning. Pavia remained a center of learning under the Carolingians, and—as the favored capital of the Carolingian and Italian kings of Italy—it retained its position as an important administrative and judicial center, just when, if ever, a "law school" was established at Pavia is unknown, but there is ample evidence of legal activity there from the large numbers of surviving charters that were issued at Pavia and from the *placita* or *notitiae* that record judicial activities in the palace there. By the late tenth century, this legal activity took on greater intensity with the appearance of a number of new texts. One of the most important of these was *Liber Legis Langobardorum* (also known as *Liber Papiensis*), which brought together the issues of the various Lombard kings and later Carolingian capitularies for Italy in a single organized text. By the early eleventh century, further work by the Pavian jurists had led to the development of two schools of legal thought: the *antiqui*, who favored a literal reading of the Lombard laws; and the *moderni*, who defended a more liberal interpretation of the laws and, where the Lombard law was silent or unclear, looked to Roman law for guidance. It is clear, then, that by the early to middle eleventh century, the Lombard jurists at Pavia were studying a form of Roman law.

Lombard law, interpreted by reference to Roman law, continued to be taught at Pavia, but increasingly the Lombard jurists at Pavia were challenged by masters teaching at Bologna. Evidently, it was at Bologna during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries that specialization set in: Lombard, Roman, and even canon law were established there as separate bodies of law. As the influence of Bologna spread, and because this influence was based on the teaching of Roman law, the teaching of Lombard law eventually declined and Roman law predominated.

See also **Lombards**

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Lombard Leagues

Lombard League (*Societas Lombardiae*) is a label for any of several military and diplomatic alliances of northern Italian communes, confederated in 1164-1183 and 1226-1250 for the purpose of protecting their liberties in the face of threats—perceived or real—from their overlord, the Holy Roman emperor.

The earliest leagues developed in the wake of Frederick I Barbarossa's reduction of Milan in 1162. He left both friendly and hostile cities with imperial *podestà*—often Germans—who supplanted the consuls of the communal governments and often acted harshly, imposing high taxes, forced labor, and confiscations. The initial coalition of Padua, Treviso, Verona, and Vicenza was directed by Venice with the blessing of the Byzantines and the papacy. Pope Alexander III, whose legitimacy was not recognized by Frederick, was especially anxious to create and support an effective counterweight against imperial threats to his rule. In late 1166, Frederick returned to Italy; and on his march to Rome, where he intended to unseat Alexander, his armies ravaged the hinterlands of several city-states, thus drawing a second coalition—of Cremona, Bergamo, Mantua, and Brescia—into alliance with the earlier one. These were joined in April 1167 by Milan, at the League's first congress at Bergamo, where the coalition was given form and oaths of allegiance were sworn by the civic representatives (rectors). Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Parma, and Piacenza joined later that year, and Lodi

was forcibly enlisted. Como, Novara, Tortona, and the Romagna cities of Forlì, Imola, Ravenna, and Rimini joined after Frederick's ignominious retreat to Germany in the spring of 1168.

League members recognized their place in the empire, but organized to protect their liberties and restrict their obligations to levels traditionally applied under earlier emperors. Their alliance was for fifty years, and no member was to accept a separate peace. Intercity fighting was banned, and people sympathetic to the empire in the cities were to be stripped of property and exiled. At its height, the League bound thirty-six cities and controlled Italy from Turin to the Adriatic. Members even built the new town of Alessandria, named for their pope and patron.

Frederick's campaign, begun in late 1174, splintered the coalition as it successfully disengaged Como, Piedmont, and the Romagna, but the League's great victory in 1176 at Legnano, near Milan, shattered Frederick's hopes and led him to a reconciliation with the pope and separate arrangements with Milan, Cremona, and Tortona. With the truce of Venice (August 1177), Frederick formally recognized Alexander and the League and granted amnesty for past resistance. In the absence of any galvanizing imperial threat, the cities reactivated their old rivalries, and the League dissolved with the peace of Constance in 1183.

Minor revivals of the League occurred in 1185 and against Henry VT in 1195, and vague fears of Frederick II induced a full-scale rebirth in Mantua in 1226. Alessandria, Bergamo, Bologna, Brescia, Crema, Faenza, Ferrara, Lodi, Mantua, Milan, Piacenza, Turin, Vercelli, the count of Biandrate, and the marquis of Montferrat sought aggressively to block imperial access to Italy and isolate the allies of the empire in Italy. This League was under both an imperial ban and a papal interdict, but it rarely transcended the members' own local rivalries. A military alliance between Ezzelino da Romano and Frederick revived the flagging coalition and led to the major imperial victory at Cortenuova (27 November 1237). Never accepting defeat, the League continued to spar with Frederick until his death in 1250. In the course of defying imperial power, however, many city-states accepted the rule of powerful and effective despots, and the continuous friction between Gueif and Ghibelline heated intracity factionalism and intercity warfare.

See also Alessandria; Alexander III, Pope; Constance, Peace of; Ezzelino III da Romano; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Ghibelline; Guelfs; Holy Roman Empire; Legnano, Battle of; Milan

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Lombards

The Lombards were a Germanic people who moved into Italy in 568. In the late first century, Tacitus reported them as living in the area of the lower Elbe River; but over the centuries they drifted southward, and settled in Pannonia in the early sixth century. Throughout this early period, the Lombards were very much part of a world where Roman interests were involved, and their institutions had undoubtedly been influenced as a result. For example, the Lombards had come into contact with Christianity, and at least some of them were Catholic in the mid-sixth century, although Lombard leadership was Arian at the time of the Italian invasion; however, many Lombards probably remained heathen. Although most of the Lombards had become Catholic by the third quarter of the seventh century, religion seems never to have been a major factor in their political experience. Also as a result of contacts with the empire, some Lombards came to know Italy in the later stages of the Byzantine-Gothic wars through service in one of the mercenary units of the Byzantine army.

Lombard tradition traced the kingship back to a legendary past (as we know from the work of the eighth-century Lombard historian Paul the Deacon); but although many of their early kings had ties to a single family, the Lombards had not developed a fixed rule of hereditary succession—and they did not develop one in Italy. Alboin, son of Audoin, was the king who led the Lombards across the Julian Alps into northeastern Italy, where the first of the Lombard duchies, Friuli, was established and was bestowed on Gisulf (a nephew of Alboin's), who remained behind with chosen groups (*fame*) while the remainder of the Lombards continued west and south under Aiboin. Conquest was relatively easy. The long, drawn-out Byzantine-Gothic wars had devastated Italy, the new Byzantine rule with its heavy fiscal exactions was not loved, and the Byzantines' military attention had been diverted by threats from the east.

The main Lombard settlements were in Friuli and Trent, the Po valley (Pavia became the usual Lombard capital), western Emilia, and Tuscany; but perhaps as early as 571, splinter groups had pushed on southward and established the duchies of Spoleto (under Duke Faroald)

and Benevento (under Duke Zotto). At the height of the Lombards' power (under King Liutprand, 712-744), a large part of the Italian peninsula (including Spoleto and Benevento) was under their direct control; but some parts of Italy always remained separate, under actual or nominal control by the Byzantines: Istria, the area around Ravenna and the Pentapolis, a strip of territory running southward from Ravenna toward and spreading out in the vicinity of the city of Rome, Naples and its territory, and the southernmost parts of the peninsula. The boundaries of all these regions shifted frequently as royal, ducal, imperial, and papal power waxed and waned. The situation was always unstable (one factor in this instability was the frequently elective nature of the Lombard kingship), and in the end it defeated the attempts of the Lombard rulers to unify the peninsula.

Despite this weakness, the Lombards established one of the most important of the "barbarian" kingdoms. They had the advantage, of course, of settling in Italy, which had been the heart of the western Roman empire. It is very hard to gauge the exact nature of this advantage, however, for it is impossible to know just how much of the Roman administrative structure remained through the turbulent last years of the Ostrogothic kingdom. At one time it was assumed that the Lombards were actually barbarous and had destroyed all traces of Roman institutions and freedom, but it is now apparent that no such thing happened—the charges against the Lombards were largely a result of the political hostility of the papacy. Roman city life survived under the Lombards, as did a class of Roman landholders, although the aristocracy seems to have been largely Lombard.

The Lombards' respect for things Roman is demonstrated principally by the most important written records left by a number of the Lombard kings (Rothari, Grimoald, Liutprand, Ratchis, and Aistulf): the Lombard laws. Roman influence is reflected in the act of royal legislation as well as in the acceptance of such Roman concepts as contracts, land transfers, and testaments, and the use of the Latin language. The Lombard laws also make it clear that persons of Roman descent enjoyed peace and security in the Lombard kingdom, as well as the right to continue to use Roman law (although we do not know just how Roman law was administered in the Lombard portions of Italy).

The Lombard court at Pavia became a center of legal as well as

cultural activity. As early as the reign of Agilulf (590-616), Secundus of Nun from Trent resided at court and composed a chronicle history (now lost) of the Lombards. The laws were issued from Pavia, and in the mid-eighth century the historian Paul the Deacon lived at court there before moving to Benevento with his patroness, Adelperga (a daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius), whose husband had been appointed the new duke of Benevento. Although Pavia remained the capital of Lombard Italy after the Carolingian conquest in 774 and charters and court records dated from Pavia indicate a continued high level of education there, the court at Benevento in many ways succeeded to the cultural leadership of Italy in the late eighth and ninth centuries. The princes of Benevento retained the use of Lombard law and added to it on several occasions, developed an elaborate court ceremonial (influenced by Byzantine practice), provided for the construction of a number of important sacred buildings (also heavily influenced by Byzantium), and sponsored a *scriptorium* that produced the beautiful Beneventan script.

The Lombards' political domination would give way in northern and central Italy during the late eighth century and would gradually disintegrate in the south during the tenth century, but the Lombards left behind a priceless legal heritage, as well as the most urbanized geographic landscape in western Europe. In the cultural realm, they left a number of architectural monuments (few of which now survive) as well as educational centers in cities such as Pavia and Benevento, and in monasteries such as Nonantola and Monte Cassino.

See also Aistulf; Alboin; Benevento; Desiderius; Grimoald of Benevento, King; Liutprand; Lombard Law; Ostrogoths; Pavia; Ratchis; Rothari; SpoSeto

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Lorenzetti, Pietro and Ambrogio

The brothers Pietro Lorenzetti (c. 1280-1348) and Ambrogio Lorenzetti (c. 1290-1348) were Sieneſe painters; they represent two of the most radical and innovative forces in *Trecento* art. Pietro and Lorenzetti were probably pupils of Duccio, and they both enlarged on the study of narrative and pictorial realism common to Sieneſe and Florentine art at this time. Their art manifests an interesting admixture of the styles of both schools, combining Sieneſe sensitivity to color and line with Florentine monumentality.

Relatively few documents regarding the life or artistic activity of either Pietro or Ambrogio have come down to us. Although Lorenzo Ghiberti, in the first written account of Ambrogio, provides a long and enthusiastic discussion of his work (*Commentarii*, c. 1450), he never mentions Pietro in his survey of Sieneſe artists. Vasari (*Lives*, 1568) did not even realize that the two artists were brothers; he misidentified one of them as Pietro Laurati. Reconstruction of their careers has understandably proved to be difficult, especially because some of their most celebrated compositions have been lost. Although the brothers worked quite independently of each another, some commissions appear to have been joint undertakings, and the intensity of each brother's exploration of pictorial realism suggests a greater degree of contact and collaboration between the two than we now suppose.

Pietro, traditionally considered the elder brother, has usually been overlooked in comparison with Ambrogio, who has a greater reputation for invention. However, Pietro's own brilliant technical innovation is shown as early as his first documented work, a polyptych painted for the high altar of the parish church of Santa Maria in Arezzo (1320). In

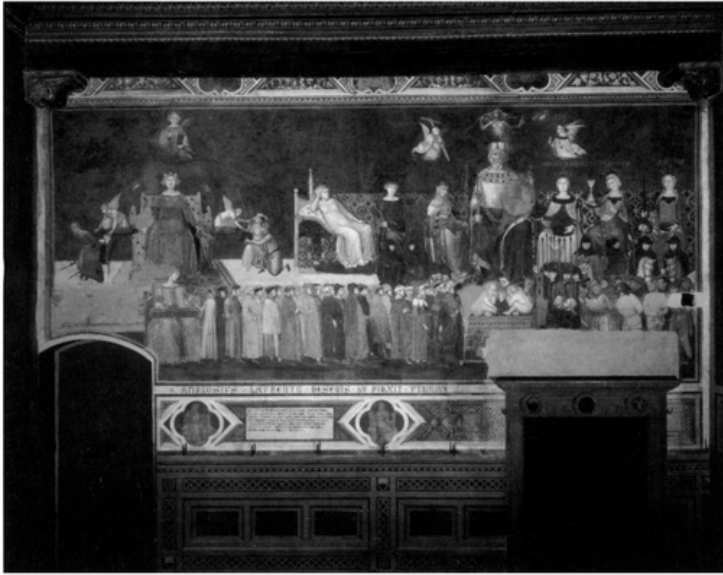
one portion of the *Arezzo Polyptych*, the frame is treated as if it were contiguous with the architecture of the painted narrative, so that the pilasters and arches framing the *Annunciation* are seen as supporting elements for the front wall of Mary's chamber. The space of this room is seen logically as extending back from the supporting columns and arches on the surface, creating an illusion of a box of space extending beyond the frame. This was an advance in a direct line with the development of one-point perspective a century later, and it was an idea to which Pietro would subsequently return even more daringly. Analysis of Pietro's forms in the *Arezzo Polyptych* reveals a melange of stylistic sources influencing his art. In the central panel of the *Madonna and Child* especially, the Madonna exhibits a graceful sway and pattern indebted to Duccio; the pronounced twist of her neck recalls Giovanni Pisano's sculptures for the facade of the cathedral in Siena; and her firm support of the child's solidly rounded body echoes Giotto's massive forms.

Important pictorial features are found in Pietro's most extensive surviving work, the frescoes in the left transept of the lower basilica of San Francesco in Assisi. These narrate the *Passion and Resurrection of Christ* and the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*; and there is an unusual section of trompe l'oeil depictions of chapel furnishings, including an unoccupied pew, a Active altarpiece, and a niche containing liturgical objects. These frescoes are undocumented, and their dating has provoked controversy, but most scholars place them c. 1320. Many scenes, such as the *Entry into Jerusalem* and the epic *Crucifixion*, continue the Sienese tradition of sensitivity to color and love of profusion, but they are characterized by an unprecedented wealth of observation. The *Last Supper*, for example, deftly juxtaposes three distinct types of light in a confrontation of the mundane and the divine. A remarkably detailed night sky, the first portrayal of its kind, meticulously differentiates the light of the moon, stars, and meteors streaking across the heavens above the structure containing the main scene. This natural light is contrasted with the artificial light of the hearth fire in the kitchen, which casts the first shadows in western art since antiquity. Both of these lights pale in relation to the floodlit interior of the supper chamber, which seems to be illuminated by the supernatural glory of Christ and his disciples. In another astonishing

step toward realism, Pietro makes it clear that the narratives are to be understood as a sequence of stories unfolding over time; the moon, high over the pavilion in the *Last Supper*, is shown to be setting behind the Mount of Olives in the adjacent *Arrest of Christ*. Other frescoes in the left transept, such as the *Deposition from the Cross* and the *Entombment*, do away with all anecdotal detail to approach the monumental grandeur and dramatic tension of Giotto's narratives. The *Deposition*, in which Christ's broken body is ingeniously interlaced with the living, forms one of the most sustained images of grief in western art.

Three securely dated works succeeded the Assisi frescoes: the *Carmine Altarpiece* of 1327-1329 (Siena, Pinacoteca; New Haven, Yale Museum; Princeton, Princeton Museum), a polyptych made to celebrate the final approval of the Carmelite order by Pope John XXIII in 1326 for its Sienese church of San Nicolo; the *Uffizi Madonna and Child* (Florence, Uffizi; signed and dated 1340); and the *Birth of the Virgin* (Siena, Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana; commissioned 1335, signed and dated 1342). This last altarpiece, made as part of a cycle of Marian altarpieces celebrating feasts of the Virgin surrounding Duccio's *Maestà* in the cathedral of Siena, returns to the integration of frame and painting seen in the *Arezzo Polyptych* of twenty two years earlier. Here the illusion of continuity is much more thorough. We seem to be peering into a miniature Gothic palace which is structurally supported by the columns and arches of the frame and from which the exterior walls have been removed (as in a dollhouse) to allow us to witness the events within. And although this work is technically a polyptych (the two lateral panels of saints originally flanking the *Birth* are now lost), there is none of compartmentalization traditionally seen in separate panels. The space of one panel is treated as continuous with that of the next; thus, the two panels on the right convey information concerning the same time and place, Mary's birthing chamber. To emphasize this, the figure of the woman bearing a fly whisk continues on either side of the vertical pier of the frame. Also gone is the traditional flattening backdrop of gold leaf signifying a sacred event. Instead, an opulently appointed interior, described in rich patterns from the vault to the floor tiles, defines a remarkably convincing illusion of spatial recession. In the left panel depicting Joachim and the herald, the setting suggests a

vast structure beyond the two visible chambers, indicating Pietro's concern to construct a completely plausible world for his figures to inhabit.



Ambrogio Lorenzetti (fl. c. 1311-1348), *Allegory of Good Government*. Fresco. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Photo: © Scala/ Art Resource, N.Y.

Pietro worked, together with Ambrogio and Simone Martini, on a cycle of frescoes illustrating the life of the Virgin for the facade of the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena. (These frescoes are now lost, but a recorded inscription bore the date 1335.) Pietro also worked alongside Ambrogio on a fresco cycle for the chapter hall of the monastery of San Francesco in Siena, of which a *Crucifixion* and a *Resurrected Christ* survive (possibly 1336). A *Massacre of the Innocents* from a fresco cycle in San Clemente ai Servi in Siena and an altarpiece depicting stories of the *Life of the Blessed Humilitas* (Florence, Uffizi) are two other works frequently attributed to Pietro.

Lorenzo Ghiberti considered Ambrogio Lorenzetti the greatest Siennese painter of the 1300s, surpassing even Simone Martini in ability and sophistication. A *Madonna and Child* from Vico Labate (signed and dated 1319; Florence, Museo Arcivescovile del Cestello) is the earliest of only three dated works by Ambrogio. It shows the originality

of the artist's concepts from the beginning of his career. Ambrogio's panel is based on a Byzantine type of the Virgin as the throne of God, and the rigidly frontal, iconic pose of the Madonna adheres closely to the archaic format. The sovereign detachment between mother and God, typically upright in front of the Madonna, has, however, here been replaced by a restless, squirming Christ child seeking his mother's attention. Both figures have the solidity and roundness of Giotto's paintings, and the throne is also presented as a spatially receding three-dimensional structure. This modernization of an ancient type in the latest Giottoesque idiom reveals Ambrogio's special understanding of the Florentines' achievement. In fact, Ambrogio worked periodically in Florence between 1318 and 1332, and he is listed in the registry of the Florentine painters guild in 1327. The Vico L'Abate panel is a prime example of the astonishing variety and inventiveness that both Pietro and Ambrogio brought to the theme of the Madonna and child. Both artists composed ceaseless variations on this popular devotional subject, but Ambrogio's Madonnas, especially, attained a level of iconographic and aesthetic sophistication that seems to belong more to the Renaissance, or even to the Baroque, than to the *Trecento*. A few of Ambrogio's groupings of the Madonna and child are shown as if responding to the viewer's presence, as in the *Madonna del Latte* (Siena, Palazzo Arcivescovile), in which the suckling child looks out at the viewer with intense curiosity; or the *Rapolano Madonna* (Siena, Pinacoteca), which portrays a Christ child so surprised and frightened by the attention coming from our direction that he crushes his pet goldfinch. This psychologizing of the mother's and the child's response to their surroundings reaches a climax in the Sant'Agostino *Maestà* in Siena (possibly 1339), the last surviving fragment of a fresco cycle illustrating episodes of the life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria for an Augustinian chapter house formerly adjacent to the church. The *Maestà* depicts Mary and Christ adored by saints who bear the attributes of their faith; these include some who were brutally martyred: Saint Bartholemew with his flayed skin, Saint Agatha with her breasts, and Saint Catherine with her severed head all kneel and present their tokens of faith to the child. This grisly spectacle strikes terror into the child, who staggers unsteadily backward in an attempt to escape—the most natural response a child could have.

Some of Ambrogio's patrons apparently felt that his daringly human interpretation of the divine breached the limits of decorum. The chapel of Monte Siepi in the rural abbey of San Galgano near Siena was built to honor this Siennese saint and to commemorate a vision of the Madonna that Galgano had on this site. The surviving frescoes are fragmentary; but Ambrogio's original program for the chapel, c. 1336, included a depiction of Galgano's vision, portraying a procession of saints and angels on the side walls converging, along with the visitors inside the chapel, toward the Madonna enthroned as queen of heaven on the wall behind the altar. By portraying saints on the walls flanking the enthroned Madonna, Ambrogio involved the entire space of the chapel, surrounding the viewer with Galgano's vision—a bold experiment that anticipates the carefully coordinated chapel interiors of the seventeenth century. The complex iconographic program for the wall portrayed the Virgin's central role in the mystery of human redemption: she was shown both as the exalted queen of heaven at the top of the fresco and as the humble *Virgin Annunciate* at the bottom. As the discovery (in 1996) of the *sinopie* underlying the frescoes revealed, Ambrogio originally portrayed the Virgin of the annunciation cowering in utter terror before the angel, while the *Maestà* above showed her enthroned without the child, wearing a crown, and bearing worldly symbols of power—the orb and scepter—in her hands. Both of these unique images were suppressed shortly after completion of the frescoes: the trembling annunciate was painted over by another artist, who replaced her with a typical meekly accepting Madonna; and the empress was transformed into the more usual image of motherhood by placing the Christ child on her lap. Presumably, the patrons had been disturbed by Ambrogio's provocative interpretations and had subsequently commissioned something more conventional.

From 1337 to 1340, under commission from Siena's ruling Council of Nine, Ambrogio worked on the most important surviving cycle of medieval secular decorations, the *Allegory and Effects of Good and Bad Government*, painted on three walls of the Sala della Pace (or Sala dei Nove), one of the ruling council's meeting rooms in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. This cycle is almost completely devoid of religious content; its complex philosophical underpinnings—along the lines of antique Aristotelian, Ciceronian, or more strictly medieval tracts—are

still disputed. We may take comfort in the fact that even during the *Trecento*, visitors to the *sala* needed the learned interpretation of a guide in order to understand the extremely intricate allegorical message of the cycle. The fresco juxtaposes the elements of just and harmonious rule with the evil elements of tyranny, contrasting the effects of each form of rule on city and country. The mural is filled with visual puns (Harmony, for instance, is shown with a wood plane, smoothing out any unevenness) and references to the antique (the figure of Peace is derived from an antique Roman coin). In his depiction of the prosperous city, Ambrogio created an unparalleled catalog of the myriad activities of town life. Nothing else in medieval art prepares us for the panoramic landscape adjacent to the well-governed city, which is the first landscape since antiquity, and really the first "portrait" of a particular terrain—a glance out the window of this hall reveals the close affinity between the fresco and the Tuscan countryside surrounding Siena.

As noted above, Ambrogio collaborated with Pietro on (lost) frescoes for a hospital in Siena, and on frescoes for a Franciscan chapter house (the latter included a painting of a typhoon, since lost, that Ghiberti praised highly). Ambrogio also painted an altarpiece of the *Presentation at the Temple and Purification of Mary* (1342; Florence, Uffizi) for the same cycle in the cathedral at Siena for which Pietro executed his *Birth of the Virgin*. Like Pietro's work, Ambrogio's *Presentation* is startling for its sophisticated suggestion of space and light. Ambrogio's last signed and dated work is from 1344: an *Annunciation* (Siena, Pinacoteca) painted for the chamber of the tax magistrate in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. The moment of incarnation depicted here presents an interpretation of great theological subtlety, and the spatial construction of the panel shows the tile floor converging to a single vanishing point; this is the closest any *Trecento* painting comes to true one-point perspective.

Ambrogio and Pietro both evidently died of the plague in 1348; with their deaths, Siena's period of cultural ascendancy came to an end.

See also Painting: Fresco; Siena

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Lorenzo Da Firenze

Lorenzo da Firenze (d. December 1372 or January 1373) was a member of the second generation of Italian *ars nova* musicians and a contemporary of Francesco Landini, Andrea da Firenze, and Paolo da Firenze. Lorenzo was said to have been a canon of the church of San Lorenzo from 1348 to his death. We know that he was active as a teacher, and it has even been suggested that Landini was his pupil.

Some of Lorenzo's reported music has been lost; his relatively small extant output is mostly in the celebrated Squarcialupi Codex, which includes his portrait. There are one or two movements of the Latin mass, while his Italian secular pieces include five monophonic *ballate*, ten two-voice madrigals, and one three-voice *caccia*. The texts he set were by a number of important contemporary poets, including Franco Sacchetti and Boccaccio (one *ballata* and one madrigal). Lorenzo was a progressive and even experimental composer. His monophonic style is highly florid and virtuosic. In his part-writing, he uses a good bit of imitation, and the influence of the French *ars nova* style is evident in his introduction of isorhythmic techniques and his considerable chromaticism. In all, he ranks after only Jacopo da Bologna and Landini in importance among the *Trecento* masters.

See also Ars Nova; Landini, Francesco; Paolo da Firenze; Squarcialupi Codex

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Lorenzo Maitani

See Maitani, Lorenzo

Lorenzo Moschi

See Moschi, Lorenzo

Loreto

Loreto is the site of the great shrine of the Virgin, traditionally identified as her house in Nazareth, the scene of the annunciation. Legend has it that the house was transported in a series of miraculous stages from Nazareth to Tersatto (near Fiume), to Recanati, and finally to its present location in the period 1291-1294. Little serious credence was given to the tradition until the sixteenth century, and the community developing around the shrine was not constituted as a city until 1586.

JOHN W. BARKER AND CHRISTOPHER KLEINHENZ

Lothar I

Lothar I (Lothair I, 795-855, r. 817-855) was the eldest son of Louis "the Pious" and Louis's wife Ermengarde, and the grandson of Charlemagne. Lothar was made coemperor with his father in 817 and was crowned by Pope Paschal I in April 823.

Lothar I spent much of his life in almost constant strife with his brother Louis and half brother Charles "the Bald," the son of Louis the Pious and Louis's second wife, Judith. In the Battle of Fontenoy (25 June 841), Lothar was defeated by his younger siblings. After prolonged negotiations, the three brothers signed a treaty at Verdun in August 843, dividing Charlemagne's old empire among themselves. Charles the Bald received the western portion, which would later become France. Louis's share was the eastern section of the empire. Some historians discern the beginnings of modern Germany here, but this is disputed. Lothar received a long strip of territory between the two and the title of

emperor. This strip of land, which included Burgundy and northern Italy, had neither geographical nor ethnic cohesion, and after Lothar I died it was subdivided among his sons. Lothar's oldest son, Louis II, received northern Italy and the imperial title.

Lothar I has not been treated kindly by modern historians, who have regarded him as an undependable opportunist.

See also Charles the Bald, Emperor; Louis I the Pious; Louis II, Emperor; Verdun, Treaty of

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Lothar II

Lothar (c. 920-950), the son of Hugh of Provence, was coruler of Italy with his father; but in 945 Hugh was overthrown by Berengar of Ivrea, grandson of the "emperor" Berengar. Hugh withdrew to his ancestral domains in Provence, leaving Lothar as nominal king of Italy. In fact, Lothar was a puppet of Berengar, who probably murdered him in 950. Lothar's chief importance is that he was the first husband of Adelaide of

Burgundy, who later married Otto I (in 951). Adelaide and Lothar had a daughter, Emma, who married the Carolingian Lothair of France.

See also **Adelaide; Liudprand of Cremona**

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Louis I the Pious

Louis I (778–840) succeeded his father, Charlemagne, as emperor in 814. During the first decade of his reign, Louis acted vigorously to give unity and cohesion to the somewhat ill-defined empire he had inherited. His program emphasized strengthening and purifying the church as the agency through which the Godordained emperor could shape the empire's diverse peoples into a unified society guided by Christian principles.

By the 820s, the thrust toward unity, increasingly dictated by aggressive clergymen, began to generate conflicts of interest. The focal point of discord was one of the key enactments of Louis's program of unification, the *ordinatio imperii* of 817, which provided that on Louis's death the office of emperor and lordship over the entire empire would go to his eldest son, Lothair, while his other sons, Pepin and Louis, would inherit small dependent subkingdoms in Aquitaine and Bavaria. The issue of the succession took on new complexity in 823, when a fourth son, Charles, was born to Louis and his second wife, Judith. At the urging of Judith and her supporters, Louis became ever more concerned with providing an inheritance for Charles, a policy that threatened the interests of his other sons as well as those dedicated to imperial unity.

These clashing interests turned the last years of Louis's reign into a series of crises, highlighted by revolts against him in 830 and 833 led by his elder sons. Although Louis survived these assaults, the issue of

succession became more and more divisive. More important, the realm suffered deepening internal disorder and devastating attacks from formidable external enemies, especially Viking and Saracen attacks by sea. When Louis died in 840, his three surviving sons—Lothair, Louis, and Charles—stood poised for an armed struggle over the disposition of the empire that led to the treaty of Verdun of 843. Little survived of the dream of a unified Christian society, a cause that had inspired some of the major achievements of the Carolingian dynasty. Although Louis was called "the Pious" for his advocacy of that ideal, some of his contemporaries and many later historians placed on him much of the blame for its failure.

See also **Charlemagne; Frankish Kingdom; Verdun, Treaty of**

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Louis II, Emperor

Emperor Louis II (Ludwig, c. 825–875) became king of Italy in 839 (crowned 844) and joint emperor in 850. He was the son of Lothair I and the great-grandson of Charlemagne. Louis became sole emperor and received Italy as his share of Lothair's domains on the latter's death in 855. Although Louis did obtain Provence when one of his brothers, Charles, died in 869, he had little influence outside Italy. Engilberga (Ingelberga, Engelberta), his wife, could be considered Louis's coruler. Louis faced two major problems during his reign: the depredations of the Saracens, especially in southern Italy; and turbulent local warlords.

Louis was more successful in dealing with the Saracens, who by this time had seized Sicily from the Byzantines and had also established themselves in southern Italy, with a permanent base at the city of Bari. In 846, a Muslim fleet was defeated off the Italian coast near Naples, but they took revenge by falling on the Vatican (which was then outside the city walls of Rome) and sacking the basilica of Saint Peter, one of Christendom's holiest shrines. Even before his father's death, Louis had had some military experience against the Saracens. He continued to wage war against them throughout his reign, with considerable success in 866 and 867, but was unable to follow up because he did not have a fleet. As a result of an alliance with the Byzantine emperor, Basil I, a small Byzantine fleet was sent to assist Louis. Strains developed in the alliance, however; the fleet withdrew; and an engagement between Louis's daughter Ermengarde and Basil's son Leo was broken off. Basil sent an insulting letter to Louis, deprecating Louis's imperial title. Basil's letter is lost, but Louis's reply—which tells scholars much about western political theory during this period—has been preserved. Much of this reply was probably written for Louis by Anastasius, who was the papal librarian and a prominent intellectual. Despite the withdrawal of the Byzantines' naval support, Louis was eventually able to reconquer Bari in February 871.

Louis's dealings with the Italian nobility were less impressive. In particular, the Lombard rulers of the south solicited his aid against the Saracens, but they were never willing to concede much in return. In an embarrassing episode soon after Louis's triumph at Bari, his nominal

vassal, Adelchis, prince of Benevento, attacked and robbed him and imprisoned him for a month (August 871). Louis was released only after taking an oath never to return to the south. Well after Louis's death, the rebellious Italian nobles in the north and the south continued to be a problem for those trying to impose some centralized rule on the troubled peninsula.

Louis's relations with the popes were generally good, despite some friction when he championed his brother Lothar's divorce from Theutberga (Lothar wanted to marry his mistress, Waldrada). In 864, Louis marched on Rome to force Pope Nicholas I (r. 858–867) to assent to Lothar's divorce. The pope fled, but Louis fell ill. He took this as a sign from God that he was in the wrong, and was reconciled to Nicholas.

Historians have offered differing judgments of Louis II. Most agree that he and Engilberga had energy and ability but were overwhelmed by problems beyond their control. Their daughter Ermengarde eventually married Boso (or Bozo), who became king of Provence. Ermengarde and Boso's son was Louis III, "the Blind."

See also **Arabs in Italy; Frankish Kingdom; Lombards; Louis the Blind, Emperor**

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Louis the Blind, Emperor

Louis III (the Blind, c. 880–928) was king of Provence (890-928) and Holy Roman emperor (901-905). Through his mother, he was descended from Charlemagne. In 900, Louis was invited by disgruntled nobles led by Adalbert of Ivrea to wrest the Lombard throne from Berengar of Friuli. He was temporarily successful and was actually crowned emperor in Rome. Later, he was captured and released after promising never to return to Italy. Louis nonetheless tried again in 905, with the support of another Adalbert, the marquis of Tuscany; and Adalbert's wife, Bertha. Berengar fled to Bavaria but returned and exacted a terrible revenge on Louis, who was captured and blinded. After Louis's incapacitation, his cousin Hugh administered Provence for him. Hugh became king on Louis's death.

See also **Berengar I of Friuli; Lombards; Louis II, Emperor**

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Lovato Dei Lovati

If relative success in imitating ancient Latin style and an intense interest in discovering and editing ancient texts are major humanistic traits, then Lovato (1240 or 1241-1309) was the first humanist. He was born in Padua, the son of a notary, *ser* Rolando or Rolandino Lovati. Lovato began his own notarial career as early as 1257, and ten years later he entered the Paduan college of judges, whose members were eligible to hold judgeships in the communal government. Deeply patriotic, the young Lovato doubtless joined other leaders of the city in an effort to reestablish the communal character of Paduan life, suppressed during the twenty-two-year tyranny of Ezzelino da Romano, who was killed in 1259. From 1271 until 1307, Lovato held a number of judicial appointments, and on at least one occasion he served as *podestà* of a neighboring commune. As *podestà* of Vicenza in 1291-1292, he commissioned historical frescoes for the walls of its communal palace. He married Jacopina di Vincenzo da Solesino (c. 1268) and had at least one child.

Nothing is known of his schooling. The Paduan university, dosed by Ezzelino in 1237, did not reopen until 1261. Possibly Lovato studied privately with Rolandino da Padua, who was the learned author of a renowned history of Padua and a professor of grammar in the newly revived university, though no evidence exists to support the assumption. However, the richly allusive content and classicizing style of Lovato's earliest surviving poetry (1267-1268) reflect a thorough preparation in Latin grammar and poetic literature.

Northern and central Italy, which would be the site of later Italian humanism, produced almost no Latin poetry during the twelfth century,

except for a few Latin epics such as the *Gesta di Federigo I in Italia* and, in the very last decade, the *Elegia* of Arrigo (Henry) da Settimello. Interest in ancient Latin literature, however, increased significantly in the first half of the thirteenth century; and in the middle decades of the century it inspired a number of poets in the northern cities who looked to ancient poetry as models. Lovato was the youngest, but without question the most successful, classicizing writer of the group. In particular, his epistolary poems, written between 1267–1268 and 1291–1292, embody a lyric quality foreign to previous poetry of the area and resonant of Ovid and Horace. A second, later body of poetry by Lovato—largely poems on contemporary issues and a debate over the merits of having children—is less classicizing in nature, perhaps because there were no ancient models for these genres. Among Lovato's writings are a lost poem on the Guelfs and Ghibellines at Padua and a Latin version of the story of Tristan and Isold, of which only fourteen lines survive. In his prose—in contrast with his poetry—Lovato seems to have made no effort to adapt his style to ancient models.



Tomb of Anterior, legendary founder of Padua Lovato "discovered" his remains and had them enshrined here. Lovato is buried next to this tomb. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Lovato's poetry reflects an acquaintance with a wide range of ancient poets—some of them little known or unknown in the Middle Ages—such as Tibullus, Propertius, Lucretius, and Martial. Lovato also reintroduced Ovid's *Ibis*, Statius's *Silvae*, and Horace's *Carmina*. His manuscript of Seneca's *Tragedies* served as the fundamental text in the revival of those works, and his little essay on Seneca's complicated

metric scheme in the plays was perhaps the first instance in the Middle Ages of an attempt to work out the meters used by a specific ancient author.

By Lovato's last years, Padua had become the center of a classicizing movement which found adherents in other cities of the Veneto, such as Pace da Ferrara and Benvenuto Campesani of Vicenza. Furthermore, as the enthusiasm for the new studies expanded during the next generation to Venice, Bologna, Arezzo, and distant Avignon, Albertino Mussato (1265-1329)—Lovato's principal disciple—continued to sustain Paduan leadership. Significantly, Lovato was the only European Latin poet since antiquity to receive Petrarch's praise.

See also Albertino Mussato; Humanism and Protohumanism; Latin Literature; Padua; Rolandino of Padua

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Lucan

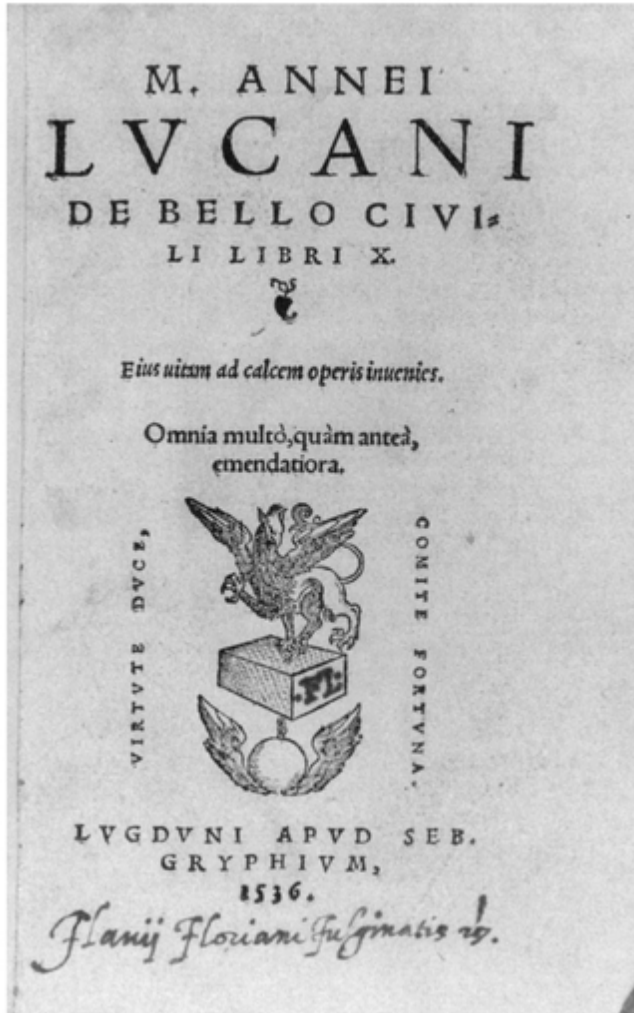
Marcus Annaeus Lucan (a.d. 39-65), a nephew of the younger Seneca, was born in Cordoba, Spain. After a Stoic education in Rome, he entered the court of Nero, where he was valued as a member of the emperor's inner circle. Lucan enjoyed many privileges at court; but for reasons that remain unknown—literary jealousy on Nero's part? the republican ideas expressed in Lucan's work?—his relationship with

Nero abruptly soured. Lucan joined the conspiracy of Piso against the emperor, was discovered, and was ordered to take his own life. In April 65 he killed himself. He was not yet twenty-six.

The only work of Lucan's to survive, *Pharsalia* (also known as *Bellum civile*, the title found in ancient biographies of Lucan), is an epic poem in ten books of hexameters which was left unfinished at his death. The epic narrates the history of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, and in so doing glorifies the ideals of ancient republican liberty. *Pharsalia* also introduced several controversial innovations to the epic genre: Lucan's epigrammatic style resembles oratory, his annalistic approach to narrative resembles history, and his plot's rejection of divine intervention disregards epic precedent by declining to displace responsibility for the events of the conflict. Perhaps most important, Lucan's poem violates epic convention by refusing to exalt the state and its military victories. Rather, *Pharsalia* roundly condemns civil war and denounces the moral indignities that accompanied Caesar's triumph and the new regime.

Lucan's popularity was ensured from early on. Beginning with Servius, Lucan's work was cited frequently by grammarians. It was copied in hundreds of manuscripts and was the subject of several long medieval commentaries. Valued as a repository of Roman history, geography, and natural science, *Pharsalia* was a fixture in medieval school curricula. Its use of epigrams and the rhetorical pathos of Lucan's narrative were of stylistic interest to the Middle Ages, and its digression into necromancy in Book 6 appealed to the medieval interest in witchcraft.

Lucan's work was translated into Italian as early as 1310 and enjoyed steady popularity throughout the *Trecento*. Lucan was very well known to Dante, who included him among the five great poets of the *bella scold* in *Inferno* 4 and ensconced him in the literary canon in *Convivio* and *De vulgari eloquentia*. Dante's treatment of Lucan makes it clear that, despite his dependence on *Pharsalia* for many of his historical allusions, he considered Lucan a poet rather than a historian. Examples of Dante's debt to Lucan include his portrait of Cato in *Purgatorio* 1, his list of serpents in *Inferno* 24, and his references to Erichtho and Antaeus in *Inferno* 9 and *Inferno* 31, respectively. Petrarch, too, was indebted to Lucan; many episodes in his *Africa* owe their inspiration to the



Lucan, *De bello civili libri X*. Lyon: Apud Seb. Gryphium, 1536. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

See also Dante Alighieri; Petrarca, Francesco

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Lucca

The Tuscan city of Lucca is situated at an altitude of only about 60 feet (19 meters) above sea level, some 15 miles (23 kilometers) from the coast and about the same distance from Pisa, with Florence about 45 miles (72 kilometers) to the east. It lies on the left bank of the Serchio River, which flows down from the mountainous Garfagnana to the north, in a fertile plain about 5 miles (7 or 8 kilometers) wide between the Pizzorne to the north and the Monte Pisano to the south.

The origins of Lucca are obscure, but archaeological evidence suggests that it began as a Ligurian settlement on the frontiers of Etruscan territory. It was first mentioned by Livy under the year 218 B.C. and was a Roman *colonia* in 180 B.C. and a *municipium* in 90–89 B.C. The first triumvirate was formed at the conference of Lucca in 56 B.C. Roman Lucca had baths, a forum, a theater within the walls, and an amphitheater outside them, built in the second century after Christ. Although Lucca was less important than the neighboring ports of Pisa and Luni or the regional capital, Florence, its territory extended to the province of Reggio, and arms manufacturing on some scale took place in Lucca during the fourth century after Christ.

The situation of Lucca under the Ostrogoths is obscure, but the Byzantines' attempts at reconquest met with strong resistance: Lucca held out for more than three months when it was besieged by Narses in 552. Restored Byzantine rule was short-lived, and the city had probably fallen to the Lombards by 570. There is more information for the Lombard period, thanks to a remarkably rich collection of early charters, some of them dating back to the seventh century, preserved in the ecclesiastical archives. Lucca seems to have prospered under the Lombards, as the center of the most important of the Lombard duchies in Tuscany, the seat of a royal palace, and a mint. The Lombard element in the population, including an upper class with large rural estates, remained important even after the establishment of Carolingian rule in the second half of the eighth century.

Little is known of the introduction of Christianity into Lucca, but a certain Maximus a Tuscia de Luca was among the bishops attending the council of Sardica in 343–344. It is difficult to date figures important in Lucchese legends, such as Paulinus, who is said to have been the first bishop and a martyr; or Frediano, who is credited with having diverted the Serchio away from Lucca by miraculous means, giving it an outlet to the sea separate from that of the Arno. Frediano is said to have been of Irish origin, and the traditional date for his death is 588, but scholarly opinion differs on whether he should be regarded as belonging to the Ostrogothic or Lombard period. The Lombards were at first Arian, and Lombard Lucca had Arian clergy, and perhaps bishops, as well as Catholic clergy; but after the Lombards were converted to Catholicism at the end of the seventh century, many churches were founded in Lucca and its territory, and churchmen seem to have been powerful in local affairs.

During the rule of the Carolingians, and later the Ottonians and Salians, Lucca came under the authority of local lay rulers, especially the marquesses of Tuscany. The most important of these were Boniface of Canossa and, after his death in 1052, his widow Beatrice and his daughter, best-known as Matilda, countess of Tuscany. In northern Italy, this period saw the general beginnings of the movement for reform of the church and the struggle between empire and papacy, as well the first stirrings of local initiatives and a sense of common interests, which were eventually to lead to the rise of the commune. In Lucca, as elsewhere, these different strands became intermingled.

Anselm da Baggio, who was bishop of Lucca from 1057 (later Pope Alexander II, r. 1061–1073), and his nephew and successor as bishop, Anselm II, strove to bring about a movement of moral, spiritual, and cultural revival; they were supported by Beatrice and later Matilda of Tuscany, but they were opposed by many of the Lucchese clergy and local inhabitants, who had the support of Emperor Henry IV. It was in this context that the Lucchese received an imperial privilege granting them special rights over an area extending 6 miles (10 kilometers) from the city and freedom of navigation on the Serchio River and along the coastline off Motrone. In 1119 the characteristic office of the early commune, the consulship, made its appearance, and there is evidence that Lucca already had major and minor councils by 1124.

In the twelfth century, Lucca was able to grow and increase the area over which it exercised control. In 1160, the last of the marquesses of Tuscany, Duke Guelf, ceded his rights over the city (and the 6 miles around it) in return for a large sum of money. Lucca was still under imperial authority and had to supply forces for military operations under Frederick I Barbarossa, but it also received imperial favors, such as the confirmation of the grant of Duke Guelf, the right to elect its own consuls, and a grant of exclusive minting rights. Imperial grants were still limited to a radius of 6 miles from the city, and local lords were confirmed as directly dependent on the empire, any submissions they had made to the commune being canceled. On the death of Henry VI in 1197, Lucca joined the first Tuscan League and was able to take advantage of the weakness of the empire to extend its control over a wider area, although this involved it in conflict with Pope Gregory IX regarding rival claims to the Garfagnana. This expansion was checked to some extent under Frederick II Hohenstaufen. The mid-thirteenth century saw Lucca in alliance with Florence, opposing Manfred, king of Sicily, and in 1266 supporting Charles of Anjou and what came to be known as the Guelf alliance in Tuscany. This brought Lucca prosperity and territorial gains, but in the last years of the century Lucca fell prey to factions, with the Blacks eventually defeating the Whites. A popular party came to power in 1308. The disorders and political corruption of this period were condemned by Dante and by the local chronicler Giovanni Sercambi, who names Bonturo Dati, Picchio Cacciaiuolo, and Ceccho dell'Erro; but Lucchese sources for this period are too fragmentary to provide a clear picture of the city's political life.

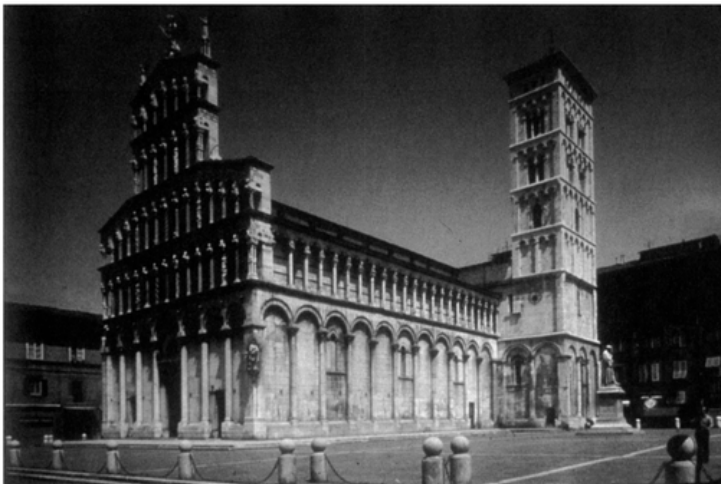


Cathedral of San Martino, Lucca. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Long before this, Lucca had begun to come into conflict with other communes, fighting a war with nearby Pisa as early as 1004. These rivalries became more serious as both cities sought to extend their authority over the surrounding rural area, resulting in a series of conflicts over territorial and navigational rights. In these instances

Lucca could usually rely on the support of another rival of Pisa, the more distant commune of Genoa; in the thirteenth century, it could rely on the support of Florence.

Lucca's internal development mirrored that of other communes. The first *podestà* was elected in 1188 or 1189, and this office gradually replaced that of consul. At first, Lucchese were sometimes elected, but after 1228 the *podestà* was invariably from outside the city. Conflicts between nobles and the people are recorded in the early thirteenth century, and in 1261 the offices of captain of the people and *anziani* (elders) make their appearance, though it seems likely that they had been established soon after 1250, on the model of Florence. The full constitutional development of Lucca is seen most clearly in the statute of the commune of 1308, which was compiled shortly after the popular victory. It reveals a highly developed form of government with *podestà*, *anziani*, councils, and a full apparatus of civil and criminal jurisdiction.



Church of San Michele in Foro, Lucca. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Soon afterward, Lucca began to face serious problems. First came the Italian expedition of Emperor Henry VII, who threatened the hold of Italian communes on the territory in the *contado* (countryside), which Lucca had usurped without any imperial grant. Lucca also had to face the enmity of Pisa, which hoped to take advantage of imperial authority

to recover recent territorial losses. On Henry's death in 1313, Pisa found another champion in Uguccione della Faggiuola, a Ghibelline leader from the Massa Trabaia who had been the emperor's lieutenant in Genoa. Uguccione attempted both to strengthen his hold on Pisa and to expand the area under his control—campaigns that, with the aid of Lucchese White exiles, including Castruccio Castracani, culminated in the capture and sack of Lucca on 14 June 1314. Further expansion in Valdarno and Valdinevole was opposed by Florence, but in 1315 Uguccione and his forces won a major victory over the Florentines and their Neapolitan allies at Montecatini. In 1316 Uguccione lost control of Lucca to Castruccio, and Pisa regained its independence. Lucca reached its maximum territorial expansion and the height of its power under Castruccio, a vigorous warrior and wily diplomat whose achievements later attracted the admiration of Machiavelli. In 1325 Castruccio obtained the submission of Pistoia and defeated the Florentines and their allies at Altopascio. Lewis (Ludwig) of Bavaria, the emperor-elect, granted him the title of duke of Lucca, Pistoia, and other territories, and in return Castruccio played a prominent role at the imperial coronation ceremonies in Rome in 1328. Hastening back to Tuscany, where Pistoia had fallen to the Florentines, Castruccio succeeded in repelling his enemy and recovering control of the city, but he died soon afterward.

Lucca soon paid for its period of military glory under Castruccio, because his young sons were unable to retain his dominions. Over the next fourteen years the city fell into the hands of a series of outside rulers, including Gherardo Spinola da Lucolo, the Rossi brothers of Parma, and Mastino della Scala, who sold Lucca to Florence. But Lucca was already under siege by the Pisans, who forced its surrender in July 1342, thus beginning a twenty-seven-year period of Pisan rule. Although Lucca was allowed a measure of autonomy, its subjection incurred the presence of a Pisan garrison and Pisan control of Lucchese finances and external relations. The Lucchese never ceased to hope for the overthrow of Pisan rule, and finally, in 1369, they succeeded in inducing Emperor Charles IV to grant them independence. Lucca once more assumed its identity as an independent commune, and Lucchese sources from this period exude a sense of a new beginning. It was to prove decisive. Despite internal difficulties and further territorial losses, Lucca retained its independence until the time of Napoleon.

Lucca's economic life in the early Middle Ages was based on the rich agricultural land in the surrounding area and its position on Via Francigena, one of the main communication routes between Rome and northern Italy. Although the Serchio was subject to severe flooding, the Lucchese plain provided rich grain growing land. Vines and olives were cultivated on slightly higher land, and the lakes and woods were rich in fish and game. The mountainous Garfagnana provided pasture for sheep and goats and also timber. Fourteenth-century customs accounts indicate that timber—including ships' masts—was floated down the Serchio, and tens of thousands of transhumant animals passed through Lucchese territory.

Travelers and pilgrims were attracted to Lucca because of its position on Via Francigena and its possession of the Volto Santo ("holy visage" or "holy face"), a miraculous crucifix. Money changers set themselves up to serve the needs of pilgrims and travelers; their operations were concentrated in the area in front of the cathedral of San Martino. The oath required of money changers and spice dealers who operated there, dated 1111, can still be seen on the cathedral facade. It was probably sometime in the twelfth century that the manufacture of silk cloth, which would become Lucca's most important industry during the Middle Ages, began to develop. Lucca's role in silk manufacturing is somewhat surprising. Lucca did not apparently cultivate silk itself. The raw materials had to be imported, coming from as far away as the eastern Mediterranean, the Caspian Sea, and even Cathay. Lucca was not a coastal city, and although it had access to the sea, it never developed an important merchant fleet, so that it had to rely on other ports, especially Genoa, for the supply of raw materials. The traditional explanation for the establishment of silk manufacture in Lucca is the immigration of Arab silk workers from Sicily during the years 1148–1150: the names and designs of some of the types of cloth clearly suggest Arab influence. But whatever its origins, the silk industry in Lucca reached the height of its development in the thirteenth century.

This early development of money changing and silk manufacturing encouraged the Lucchese to engage in commerce, to the point that they became prominent among Italian merchants in northern Europe. The Lucchese had had the right to navigate the Serchio River and the seacoast near the port of Motrone since 1081, and treaties with Genoa

in 1126 and 1166 included commercial clauses. In 1181 the Lucchese engaged in a commercial treaty with Pisa for port rights there, as they did with Modena and Bologna, visiting the fairs of Parma and San Donnino free of tolls and taxes.

The greater availability of documentation in the thirteenth century, including the earliest Lucchese notarial records, makes it possible to speak with more certainty about Lucchese commercial and financial activities. Such activities were particularly significant in Genoa, both in commerce and in financial transactions connected with the fairs of Champagne. Lucchese traded at the fairs from the beginning of the thirteenth century, if not before, and were among the earliest Italian merchants to appear there. By the mid-thirteenth century they were sufficiently numerous to rent property in Provins jointly. Documents record their appearance at fairs in southern France—in Nîmes, Beaucaire, and Montpellier as well as in Marseilles and other parts of Provence—by the 1260s and 1270s. Their activities spread to Paris and northern France, the Low Countries, and the Rhineland, and they were active in England, Ireland, and Gascony under Henry III and Edward I, combining the collection and transfer of papal taxes with the import of Mediterranean goods and the export of northern wool and cloth. By the last decades of the century, Lucchese merchants and bankers were forming themselves into companies, and some of their members settled in Paris or London for a period of years, if not permanently, sometimes claiming rights of citizenship. They not only engaged in commerce and the supply of luxury goods to the court and nobility but also involved themselves in loan operations and royal finance, at times controlling the royal mint and administering the customs system. The dangers involved in this are shown by the fate of the largest of these companies, the Ricciardi, which collapsed when it was caught between the demands of the papacy, Philip IV, and Edward I after war broke out between France and England in 1294.

At the same time, there were economic difficulties in Lucca itself. Social and political disturbances repeatedly led to waves of emigration of merchants and silk workers. This resulted in the exportation of skills and trade secrets to Bologna, Genoa, Florence, and Venice, although there may have been some revival of economic activity under the strong rule of Castruccio Castracani and after some of the immigrants

later returned under amnesty. Later invasions and wars combined with famines and the outbreak of plague in 1348 led to serious depopulation both in the city and in the surrounding *contado*. The earliest fragments of Lucchese customs accounts—for 1339 and 1351—show that silk exports were still sizable, but they fell off sharply in the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth, despite significant immigration of craftsmen of various kinds, including silk workers, in the second half of the fourteenth century. By the 1380s the Lucchese were promoting the manufacture of woolen cloth to compensate for the decline of the silk industry. For much of the fourteenth century, Lucchese trading companies seem to have been small, but after 1369 there were also a number of companies with ten or more members, and branches had appeared in various European cities. Lucca also had organized communities abroad, capable of disciplining their members and pursuing a deliberate commercial policy, as well as providing financial and political support. Several Lucchese companies—such as the Guinigi, the Rapondi, and the Forteguerra—were of importance in Europe generally, acting as papal bankers and suppliers to the courts of France and Burgundy in the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century.

Cultural activity in Lucca developed as early as the eighth century. An inscription of 767 records a school near the cathedral, one of whose masters, Deusdedit, subscribed to documents, and there was probably a scriptorium connected to the cathedral. A surviving manuscript, Codex 490 of the Biblioteca Capitolare, dates from the late eighth or early ninth century. This large composite work was written by forty or more different but related hands, which also show Visigothic and Irish influences. The manuscript includes a pen-and-wash drawing of the Good Shepherd, and one section of the manuscript provides instructions for preparing parchment, writing in gold pigment, and manufacturing various colors. The manuscript was not a luxury item but intended for use, and it seems to indicate an active scriptorium in Lucca itself. Large numbers of charters surviving from as early as the eighth and ninth centuries would also indicate the presence of scribes in Lucca.

The cathedral of Lucca also became the location of the Volto Santo ("holy face"), a carved wooden crucifix bearing a more than life-size

figure of Christ dressed in a *colobium*, or sleeved tunic. The Volto Santo has been much discussed, because according to tradition it arrived in Lucca in the mid-eighth century whereas stylistic analogues place it no earlier than the twelfth or early thirteenth century. The legendary account given by Deacon Leboin stresses its miraculous properties and the claim that the figure was carved by Nicodemus and represented a real likeness of Christ. However that may be, there is historical evidence of the veneration of the Volto Santo as early as the late eleventh century: William II of England (d. 1100) is recorded as swearing by the "Holy Face of Lucca." There is good reason to believe that the present Volto Santo was substituted for the original image at some subsequent date.

The Volto Santo was to be of the greatest importance for Lucca's religious, artistic, economic, and political development. The feast of the Holy Cross (Santa Croce) on 14 September became the main local festival, and eventually the emblem of the commune—as well as of the Christian faith. The Volto Santo was portrayed on Lucchese coinage; villages of the Lucchese *contado* were obliged to send representatives to offer candles in the Santa Croce procession; and when Lucchese merchants established trading colonies abroad, these included a chapel dedicated to the Volto Santo.

The spiritual and economic revival of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was accompanied by an upsurge in both ecclesiastical and secular building. A new circle of walls was begun in the eleventh century, though it was not completed until the late twelfth century. Towers and tower-houses were also built, but this was above all a period of church building. Santa Maria Corteorlandini was begun in 1188, and San Michele in Foro belongs to the same period; Santa Maria Forisportam was built a little later. The rebuilding of the cathedral of San Martino was begun under Anselm da Baggio, and the facade was completed by the sculptor Guidetto da Como in 1204. The bishop's palace was completed in 1224. The establishment of the mendicant orders in Lucca brought new forms of religious devotion and gave a new impulse to ecclesiastical architecture. The Dominican church of San Romano was consecrated in 1281, although building work continued on other parts of the convent. The Dominican theologian and author of the *Annals*, Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolemy of Lucca), taught there in 1287 and

was the prior in 1288. Work was also proceeding on other Lucchese churches, such as Santa Maria Forisportam and Santi Simone e Giuda.

The cathedral of San Martino was also a cultural center, with a cathedral school that is frequently mentioned in eleventh- and twelfth-century documents and a scriptorium that produced at least some of the finely written and illuminated manuscripts mentioned in documents or surviving in Lucchese collections, although there is also evidence of ownership of manuscripts produced in other traditions. Some of these manuscripts had precious bindings with silver or gilt clasps. There is much evidence of goldsmiths active in Lucca in this period, producing church plate, altar furnishings, and sacred ornaments.

A group of citizens with literary interests emerged in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The earliest distinctive literary personality is Bonagiunta Orbicciani, best-known for his appearance in Canto 24 of Dante's *Purgatorio*. In the fourteenth century, sources such as wills and letters indicate an interest in the acquisition and exchange of books among a wider group of citizens. Most of these books were connected with their professional activities as doctors and lawyers, but there was also an interest in classical and contemporary literature. The best-known Lucchese poet of the fourteenth century was *ser* Pietro Faitinelli, a notary and civic official whose political activities led to a period of exile. It was during his exile that he produced some of his most moving poetry. Giovanni Sercambi was an apothecary who combined business activities with political involvement as a supporter of the Guinigi, while also writing a collection of *novelle* and compiling a chronicle (*Croniche*). His chronicle is the most important source for the political history of fourteenth-century and early fifteenth-century Lucca—as well as a vehicle for his intensely personal opinions and prejudices.

The tradition of painting in Lucca can be traced from the thirteenth century, when Berlinghiero Berlinghieri (c. 1180-c. 1236) and his sons Barone, Bonaventura, and Marco were active. Berlinghiero's origins and artistic affinities are uncertain—documentation is sparse, and there are difficulties in the attribution of surviving works—but a large painted crucifix (now in the Museo di Villa Guinigi in Lucca) bears an inscription recording Berlinghiero as the painter. A similar inscription identifies his son Bonaventura as the artist who painted the Saint Francis panel in the church of San Francesco in Pescia in 1235. Barone

worked as a panel painter, and Marco is recorded as an illuminator of manuscripts and was active in Bologna as a fresco painter in the 1250s. The artistic tradition in Lucca may at first have been dominated by Christocentric devotion connected to the Volto Santo, but in the second half of the thirteenth century the foundation of a number of chapels testifies to the spread of the cult of the Virgin Mary, perhaps under the impulse of the Dominicans and other mendicant orders. The most prominent painter in Lucca in the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth was Deodato Orlandi, whose works include depictions of the Madonna and child with saints, as well as painted crosses.

The political divisions and disorders of Lucca in the first half of the fourteenth century may have discouraged major artistic commissions, although fortification projects and extensive renovation of private houses and churches in the city and *contado* continued unabated. The evidence of wills, especially after the black death in 1348, indicates that family tombs and chapels were built and that Marian devotion increased. Laymen, especially of the Lucchese merchant classes, were the main patrons of art during this period. Private commissions for tombs, altarpieces, frescoes, and church ornaments were frequent, whereas commissions from churches or monasteries were relatively few.

A number of Lucchese masters are documented in these decades, but most seem to have operated at a modest level and few emerge as distinctive artistic personalities. The most significant painter is Paoluccio Lazzarini, who had come into contact with the work of Florentine and, probably, Sienese artists while in exile with his father, also a painter, between 1314 and 1334. Paoluccio is first mentioned as an artist in 1341 and was the most active Lucchese painter of the mid-fourteenth century. His works included frescoes for the chapel of the *anziani* and an altarpiece for Santa Maria dei Servi, but he was often involved in disputes and was occasionally reduced to making designs for silk cloth. The recovery of Lucca's liberty in 1369 brought him greater professional opportunities and enabled him to carry out many important commissions for the commune and for private patrons until his death in 1385.

By this time there were other significant painters in Lucca, such as Angelo Puccinelli and Francesco Anguilla. Angelo Puccinelli, documented from 1379 to 1407, carried out important commissions for

highly placed patrons and left a number of signed works. Francesco Anguilla, documented from 1384, engaged in all aspects of painting from designs for silks to decorating tabernacles and altarpieces, a number of which can be identified as his work. His long career, which lasted until 1444, connects medieval painting in Lucca with the developments of the early Renaissance.

See also Banks and Banking; Castruccio Castracani; Charles I of Anjou; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gothic Wars; Guelfs; Lombards; Manfred; Matilda, Countess of Tuscany; Narses; Pisa; Silk in Italy

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Lucretius

I here are only sketchy details on the life of the Roman poet Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus, after 90-middle 50s B.C.). His birthplace and social class are unknown. Jerome records that Lucretius was driven to madness by a love potion, but there is no evidence that Lucretius was insane, and it is likely that this claim was first made by Christians in an effort to undermine Lucretius's polemic against religion.

Lucretius's masterpiece, *De rerum natura* (*On the Nature of Things*), is a poem in six books of hexameters that sets forth the basic principles of Epicurean physics, anthropology, and cosmology. According to Epicurus and Lucretius, all things and beings consist of an aggregate of atoms joined together in different ways. This aggregate includes the soul, which naturally breaks down when the atoms that formed it disintegrate. Human knowledge of the soul's mortality thus makes religion unnecessary and potentially oppressive. Such assertions, which questioned the value of religious belief, proved to be controversial and consequently impeded the transmission of *De rerum natura* to the Middle Ages.

The text of Lucretius's poem was quoted by Isidore of Seville, was copied by scribes at Charlemagne's court, and was used by Hrabanus Maurus; but then it virtually disappeared from view until 1417. Although there are a few references to the poem in library catalogs and an Italian *florilegium* contains a line from Lucretius's work, *De rerum natura* seems to have been unknown to medieval readers. The protohumanist Lovato Lovati is sometimes said to have known of Lucretius, but the evidence is scant. Dante was not acquainted with Lucretius's poem, though his unfavorable opinion of Epicurean philosophy is attested to in *Infemo* 10, where Epicurus and the Epicureans are punished for their belief in the mortality of the soul, and by several passages in *Convivio*, where Epicureanism is explicitly

condemned.

See also Dante Alighieri; Lovato dei Lovati

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Macrobius

The identity of Macrobius (fl. 400-425) is disputed. Although not a Roman by birthplace, he lived in Rome and received a good education by the standards of his time. His two major works—written for the education of his son, Eustathius—were *Saturnalia* and *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*. These had the greatest influence in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, although one or two other writings have also been attributed to Macrobius. Macrobius's thought is based on Platonic philosophy and cosmology; he also was recognized as an authority on the virtues.

The *Saturnalia* has not survived in its entirety. All extant manuscripts derive from a single codex of the late eighth or early ninth century. Today the work is divided into seven books that constitute a symposium or banquet; that is, the *Saturnalia* purports to relate how a gathering of learned men celebrated in seemly fashion the three-day feast of the Saturnalia by discussing learned or entertaining features of Virgil's life, knowledge, and poetry. Virgil is esteemed by almost every celebrant as a master of all knowledge; his *Aeneid* is itself viewed as a kind of sacred poem deserving admiration and understanding. Various topics are chosen for discussion and debate during the gathering. On the first day, the men take up different Roman institutions such as the Saturnalian feast itself, the calendar, and religion; these subjects are followed, in the afternoon, by striking sayings from antiquity and, later, topics such as wine and pleasure (Books 1 and 2). On the second day, they take up philosophical and astronomical topics and legal institutions, then commentary on civilization, and finally the quality of different fruits (Book 3). On the third and last day, there is discussion of Virgil as an artist, and especially as a rhetorician and a consummate imitator of Homer and other Greek and Latin antecedents; this section includes extensive quotations from, and cross-references to, Virgil's

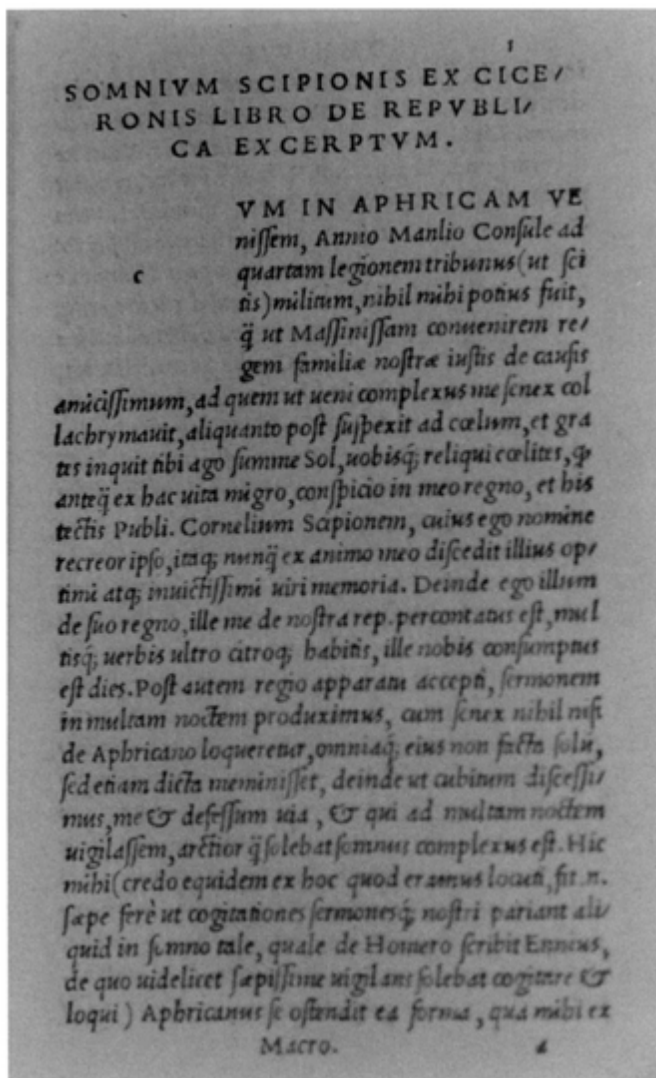
three masterpieces: the *Aeneid*, *Bucolics*, and *Georgics* (Books 4, 5, and 6). The last book treats scientific and medical matters. The *Saturnalia* therefore illustrates what was of interest to educated, civilized Romans in Macrobius's time.

The *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* survives complete. Its two books contain extensive commentary on scientific and philosophical topics suggested by Cicero's account of Scipio's dream of his elevation to the heavens after death. The most influential part of the *Commentary* is found at the beginning. Here Macrobius discusses the uses of fables (*narratio fabulosa*) in philosophical discourse and the distinction between true and false dreams. Philosophical fables are allegories in which the myth covers a truth about divinity, science, or morality. Among the allegories are dreams, which Macrobius classifies as true or false prophecies (he categorizes them according to mode). The most important are enigmatic dreams that may be true (*somnam*) or false (*insomnium*), as in wish-fulfillment dreams or nightmares. The *visum* shows the dreamer what will actually happen, and the *oraculum* has someone tell him or her of future events. However, if what is seen or foretold in the dream is false, it is termed a *visio*. These definitions serve as an introduction to Cicero's text, the fictional account of a dream. The commentary that follows draws its abundant philosophical and scientific information from Platonic cosmology.

The *Saturnalia* and the *Commentary* were widely disseminated during the Middle Ages, although their relative influence varied, if we can judge by the dates and numbers of manuscripts that survive from different periods. Both served as encyclopedic sources in Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy and cosmogony. The influence of the *Commentary* reached a high point in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whereas the *Saturnalia* came into its own in the late medieval period and the Renaissance. This is not to say, however, that both were not widely known and used in all periods. In Italy, Macrobius influenced Boccaccio, Petrarch, and probably Dante, among others. Moreover, the discussion in *Saturnalia* concerning Virgil's art fit medieval ideas on literary composition and interpretation, especially in the art of invention and rewriting of antecedent sources. Such rewriting could be original. The way Virgil is said to imitate and allude to his Greek and Latin antecedents might well have influenced Dante's

rewriting of his master Virgil in the *Divine Comedy*. The representation of his universe might well have been influenced by cosmogonies like that in Macrobius's *Commentary*.

See also Allegory; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri; Neoplatonism; Petrarca, Francesco; Plato; Virgil; Virgil in the Middle Ages



Macrobius, *Somnium Scipionis*. Florence: Giunta, 1515. Reproduced by courtesy of Department of Special Collections, General Library System, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

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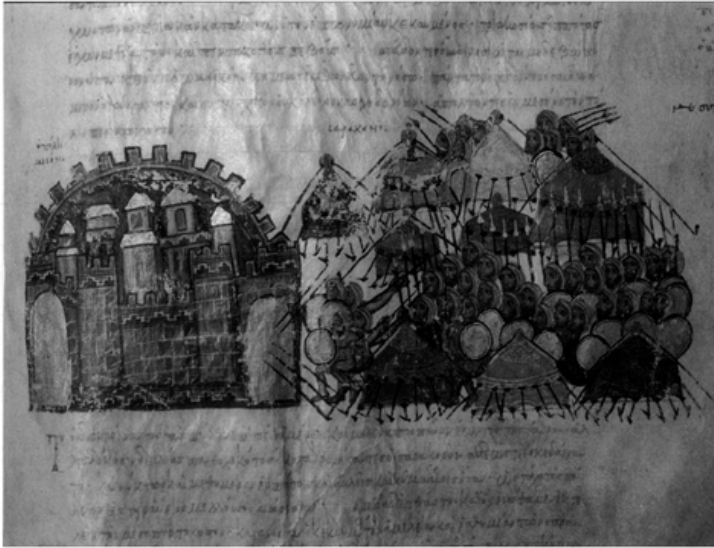
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Madrid Scylitzes

One of the most richly illustrated of all surviving medieval Greek secular manuscripts was produced not in the territory of the eastern Roman (Byzantine) empire, but rather in Sicily during its period of Norman rule. This is the so-called Madrid Scylitzes (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Vitr. 26—2). The 574 miniatures on its remaining 226 folios constitute an exceptionally valuable resource because they depict actual objects, such as articles of clothing, boats, tents, and military weapons, and also because to testify to societal attitudes and practices in the Greek cultural area that long included parts of southern Italy. These illuminations, illustrating a large-format parchment copy of the eleventh-century chronicle *Synopsis historiôn* of John Scylitzes, are executed in several styles, some traditionally Byzantine and others showing variations consonant with the ethnic diversity of the Sicilian kingdom. To what extent (if any) the artists followed a model available to them has been a subject of debate.

The manuscript itself is now usually dated to the mid-twelfth century, but according to other hypotheses, arising in part from the activities of one of its scribes, it was slightly later (1170s) or earlier (1130s or 1140s). Scholars also differ in locating its physical production: in the capital, Palermo, or Greek-dominated Messina. The sumptuousness of its illustrations, and their abundance—actual and intended (some spaces for illustrations have been left blank)—support

the general view that the book was commissioned by the royal court. It has also been suggested that the patron may have been one of the kingdom's wealthy secular Greeks. The miniatures are historically significant in their own right, and some are also stylistic precursors of those in another famous Sicilian manuscript, the unique copy (c. 1196) of Peter of Eboli's *Liber ad honorem Augusti*.



Muslims besieging the Byzantine city of Messina (in Sicily), which they captured in 842-843. From the Scyltzes chronicle, Byzantine, eleventh century. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Spain. Photo: © Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.

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Madrigal

The madrigal—a short lyric form of popular origin that treats pastoral and amorous themes—appeared first in fourteenth-century Italy and later spread to France and Spain. A madrigal consists of a group of two to five tercets followed by a couplet. The prevalent meter of madrigals is the hendecasyllable, although there are madrigals consisting of a mixture of hendecasyllable and *settenari* (seven-syllable verses). Most fourteenth century madrigals have a tripartite structure consisting of two tercets and a couplet of hendecasyllables that correspond, respectively, to the introduction, development, and conclusion of a

theme. Although the verses of the tercets admit of various combinations of rhyme, those of the couplet, or "coda," are usually in *rima baciata*. The following are the most common rhyme schemes: (1) ABC ABC DD, (2) ABA BCB CC, (3) ABB CDD EE, (4) ABA CDC DE DE, (5) ABB ACC DD, (6) ABA CBD EFF GG, and (7) ABB CDD EE FF. There are also madrigals consisting only of tercets, and others that have *terzetti rinterzati* as in Franco Sacchetti's *Passato ha 'l sol tutti i celesti segni* (ABCC DEFF GG).

Little is known about the origins of the madrigal, but there are hypotheses, which are reflected in theories of the etymology of the word "madrigal." At various times during the *Trecento* the madrigal was known as *mandrialis*, *madriale*, *mariale*, *marigale*, *materialis*, *matricalis*, and *metricalis*. In his treatise on poetry, *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis* (1332), Antonio da Tempo states that *mandrialis* derives from *mandra* (flock) and was a shepherds' song. Pietro Bembo (1525) also underscored the madrigal's pastoral origin and referred to its rustic subject matter (*cose materiali e grosse*) and style (*si cantassero in quella maniera di rime, sciolta e materiale altresì*). According to one popular etymology, *madrigale* derives from *matricalis* or "maternal" song; according to another, *mariale* refers to *matrimoniale* or "wedding" song.

Whatever its etymology, and whenever it first appeared in Italian literature, the madrigal was taken up by numerous poets of the *Trecento*. Petrarch's four madrigals—included in *Canzoniere* (52, 54, 106, 121)—are among the finest of the period, followed by those of Franco Sacchetti, Niccolò Soldanieri, Alesso di Guido Donati, and Cino Rinuccini. Many *Trecento* madrigals were set to polyphonic music by the musicians of the *ars nova*, such as Francesco Landini, Jacopo da Bologna, Gherardello da Firenze, Lorenzo Masini, and Donato da Cascia, and are contained in the musical anthologies of the period, the most renowned of which is the Squarcialupi Codex of the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florence. Hence, the madrigal owes much of its development as a high art form to the *ars nova*.

During the *Cinquecento* and the *Seicento*, the Petrarchan or *Trecento* model of the madrigal was replaced by a more open form dealing with a variety of themes. At this point, the madrigal was primarily a musical form, although Michelangelo, Tasso, Guarini, and Marino used this lyric

form. In the nineteenth century, Giosuè Carducci, Severino Ferrari, and Gabriele D'Annunzio attempted to revive it, but with little success.

Today, scholars continue to debate whether the madrigal is a literary or musical form. Musicologists have emphasized the need to study the relationship between its literary and musical features. Although the madrigal is often considered an instance of *poesia per musica*, documentary evidence suggests that it also existed as an independent literary form. The numerous literary anthologies of the *Trecento* and *Quattrocento* containing madrigals and *ballate* should suggest to contemporary literary historians and musicologists that it was probably enjoyed as poetry, and not only as *poesia per musica*.

See also Alesso di Guido Donati; Ars Nova; Cino Rinuccini; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Landino Francesco; Petrarca, Francesco; Sacchetti, Franco; Soldanieri, Niccolo; Squarcialupi Codex

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Maestro Francesco

The poet Maestro Francesco (fl. 1200s) is identifiable only as the author of a *canzonetta*, six sonnets, and one double sonnet, gathered in manuscript Vatican Latino 3793 according to the codex's system of separating *canzoni* from sonnets and ballads. His works reflect the influence of Sicilian and Occitan courtly themes, such as the rewards of *buon servire* and of the patient tolerance of love's torment (*la speranza / . . . fami essere soferente*) and a woman's obduracy (. . . *che soferenza / è d'orgoglio medicina* in *De legrevi doglie*). Other sonnets address typical courtly motifs, such as a beloved's departure and the consequent abandonment of life and pleasure (*lo gioco perdone e la vita* in *Lo vostro partimento*), as well as the question of the divine nature of love (*c'amor sia deo non è la veritate*). Yet the sonnet *Se non si move* shows traces of Guittone's egalitarian love ethic, in which love is constituted by reciprocity between a lover and the beloved. The structural unity of Francesco's poems is achieved by the linking devices of the oral tradition (*capfinidas* and paronymy), reminiscent of Sicilian forms.

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Maestro Torrigiano

No identification had been established for the Florentine poet known as Maestro Torrigiano (fl. (1200s). Contini (1960) notes that Torrigiano might have been a physicist who studied in Bologna, taught in Paris, and died before 1313. Torrigiano's seven sonnets (collected in MS Vatican Latino 3793) seem to represent three phases of his production.

The first three poems (*Chi non sapesse*, *Né volontieri*, and *Amore*) treat courtly themes and are executed in an easy style, linking octave and sestet through the technique of *coblas capfinidas*. The poems *Essere donzella* and *S'una donzella* use popular, or sung, elements, as well as mild equivocal rhyme; *S'una donzella* echoes the ethic of the nobility of the soul, rather than of lineage, proposed by Tuscany's merchant poets. Finally, *Merzé* and *Vor[r]ei che mi facesse* reflect experimentation with severe rhetorical poetics; here the poet adopts obscure equivocal rhymes and thematic patterns similar to Guittone's early love lyrics.

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Magdalene Master

The Magdalene, or Madalen, Master (fl. c. 1265-1290) was a painter active in Florence, where he was evidently in charge of one of the city's busiest workshops. He is known today mainly for a group of paintings of the Virgin and child, whose direct designs combine a sensitive characterization of the figures with ornate decoration. To judge from the number of surviving works, he was much in demand with the mercantile class. In fact, donors are often included in his paintings, during a time when it was still relatively rare for the patron to be represented.

Sirén (1922) was the first to detect a single artistic personality behind some paintings, none of which is dated, that he associated with a large panel of *Saint Mary Magdalen with Eight Episodes from Her Life* (c. late 1280s–1290; Florence, Accademia). Subsequently, others, including Coor-Achenbach (1947) and Offner (1927), augmented this corpus,

although a minority of art historians expressed doubt that a single hand was responsible for the entire group. Problems with authorship notwithstanding, the body of work generally associated with the *anonimo* (anonymous) artist reflects tendencies in coeval Florentine painting, allowing scholars to propose a framework for stylistic development and chronology. Three successive phases are therefore commonly described, and these take account of the art of the Bigallo Master, Coppo di Marcovaldo, and Cimabue.



Magdalen Master (thirteenth century), *Mary Magdalene*. Accademia, Florence.
Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

A dossal of the *Virgin and Child with Saints Leonard and Peter* (c. 1270; Yale University Art Gallery) is considered an early work and is

characterized by strongly delineated, immobile forms. The impact of Coppo, the greatest painter of the generation preceding Cimabue, is evident in the master's middle phase, which is characterized by a greater awareness of the form-defining qualities of modeling and the organic unity of body and drapery, as the Berlin *Virgin and Child* (c. 1280, Gemaldegalerie) testifies. The art of Cimabue informs the master's later style, of which the Florence *Magdalen* is an example, and this can be detected in the more accentuated grace and elegance of the forms, as well as in the increased subtlety of tone and color.

See also Cimabue; Coppo di Marcovaldo

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Magic

Magic, as discussed here, is the supposed act of influencing or controlling events by ritual means, usually through the supposed intervention of supernatural powers. Belief in magic was widespread throughout medieval Italy at all levels of culture, from the church

hierarchy to illiterate peasant villages. While magic may strike us today as an irrational system of belief, it has its own inner logic and operational rules, described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough* as "sympathetic magic." According to this analysis, magic rituals operate according to two principles: homeopathic magic (like causes like) and contagious magic (things once in contact behave as though they are still in contact). Most magic spells and rituals are based on one or both of these principles.

Medieval magic did not consist of a unified body of beliefs and practices; rather, it varied according to the period, region, and cultural milieu in which it was practiced. The Italian medieval worldview, like that in much of medieval Europe, was characterized by a belief in an animate world in which God, saints, angels, and demons were real, and at times even inanimate objects seemed imbued with independent life. Many medieval thinkers, for example, believed that rotting compost could generate new life-forms. Thus, magic permeated almost every aspect of medieval Italian thought, and it is difficult to separate magic from medicine and other physical sciences in texts of the period. Indeed, medieval thought was characterized by its lack of a division between the natural and the supernatural worlds. The preoccupation with magic must be understood within this context.

Agrarian and Other Magic

In rural Italy, many pre-Christian beliefs and customs associated with the agricultural-pastoral yearly cycle and with the fertility of crops and livestock persisted into the late Middle Ages, despite efforts by the church to suppress them. Ginzburg (1983, 1989) describes how in the region of Friuli beliefs about *benandanti* ("good walkers")—individuals born with a caul who on certain nights would do spiritual battle against evil sorcerers and witches for the safety of crops and livestock—persisted into the late sixteenth century, when they were eliminated by the Inquisition. Similarly, in the area around Modena, the cult of Diana seems to have continued as late as the fourteenth century. These customs existed not in opposition to Christianity, but alongside it, and they often acquired Christian symbolism. In the same way, folk healers

often combined the use of herbs with sympathetic magic and Christian prayers.

Divination, the art of trying to predict the future, was commonly practiced and took a number of different forms. Astrology, the study of stars and planets in the belief that they influence events on earth, had been popular in late Roman times and reentered the medieval world with the Arabs. Because astrology was put to political use, emperors periodically banished all astrologers—and because of its connection with magic, the church often denounced it. Yet many learned people believed in its efficacy. Saints Augustine and Thomas Aquinas believed that the stars governed most people's desires, although they also believed that a Christian could exert free will to overcome this influence, and to overcome base appetites. Astrology was also important in medicine and agriculture. Avicenna believed that each bodily part was governed by a certain planet, and many peasants planted crops according to the phases of the moon. Other methods of divination included augury (predicting the future by interpreting the behavior of birds and animals or by reading patterns in their entrails); scrying (reading the future in a mirror, a clear glass, a bowl of water, or some other reflecting surface); and the use of a pendulum device over a bronze table with letters on it, similar to the modern Ouija board. Tarot cards were introduced to Venice by Egyptian Arabs in the early fourteenth century, but evidence suggests that they were used in games and were not intended primarily for fortune-telling.

Alchemy was a pseudoscience that attempted—through chemistry, astrology, and religious purification—to transform base metals into gold. Alchemists believed that pure gold, or the "philosophers' stone," could turn other materials to gold, cure disease, and grant its owner everlasting youth. Many alchemists were motivated by greed, but in the hands of philosophers such as Albertus Magnus, alchemy became a sublime spiritual endeavor—a striving for human purification and union with the divine in which the scale of metals was a symbol of human longing for God.

Magicians

Albertus Magnus, whom Dante depicted in paradise, was only one of a number of learned Italians of the time who were considered magicians by their contemporaries. Dante put Michael Scot (c. 1170–1232) and Guido Bonatti (dates unknown) in hell for attempting to predict the future. These two men were both learned in astrology. Scot was the astrologer of Emperor Fredrick II and the more learned of the two; he translated Avicenna into Latin and practiced medicine as well as alchemy and astrology. Bonatti practiced astrology for the benefit of Forli, his hometown; he tried to influence the reconciliation of Guelfs and Ghi bellines by calculating the astrologically appropriate moment. Peter of Abano (1250–1318) lectured in medicine and astrology at the University of Padua. Because of his beliefs, he was persecuted by the Inquisition and barely escaped death at the stake, though his books were burned and he died awaiting his second trial. Abano's treatises were later published by Trithemius and Agrippa, along with their own, in the fifteenth century. Cecco d'Ascoli (d. 1327), who held the chair in astrology at the University of Bologna, was burned at the stake by the Inquisition for having calculated Christ's horoscope. Many of these "magicians" were, in fact, early scientists who ran afoul of the church because of their inquiring and experimental casts of mind. They influenced later Italian thinkers such as Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) and Giambattista della Porta (1538-1615).

Magic and the Church

The early church took a cautious and sometimes inconsistent attitude toward magic. The practice of magic for evil purposes (witchcraft) was condemned by the councils of Elvira (306), Ancira (314), and Trullo (692), but the councils of Braga (563) and Paderborn (785) denied the existence of witchcraft and the efficacy of magic. Within the church, there were those who believed in magic and considered it, and divination, to be of demonic origin. This view gained popularity in the aftermath of the writings of saints Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. During the twelfth century, surviving pre-Christian folk beliefs and practices were increasingly identified with the demonic and condemned as evidence of witchcraft. Indeed, any kind of magic outside church-

sanctioned rituals came to be thought of as implying demonic intervention. Not until the thirteenth century, however, did the mythology of witchcraft and the sabbat begin to coalesce and become identified with the worship of Satan and a conspiracy against the Catholic church. The impetus for this mythology was the threat of heretical sects such as the Cathars and the Waldensians, who were identified with devil worshipers in order to discredit them. In 1235, the Inquisition was established to combat heretical sects, and in 1258 Pope Alexander IV expanded it to include the practice of magic and witchcraft.

Although the church condemned magical practices outside its own auspices, many religious rituals clearly fell into the category of sympathetic magic. The early church relied on reports of miracles and healing to gain converts, and the rite of exorcism was used from the beginning as a ritual cure for mental illness and epilepsy. The use of relics, talismans, crosses, and blessed objects to avert evil and guarantee salvation was widespread in medieval Italy. The worship of saints often involved sympathetic magic; an example is the custom of leaving charms in the shape of body parts in saints' shrines in the hope of effecting a cure for a diseased limb or organ. This was derived from an identical Roman custom involving pagan temples. Thus it was not the idea of sympathetic magic as such that troubled the church; rather, its practice outside the Catholic monopoly of the sacred threatened the church's hegemony. This perceived threat led to the persecution of thousands of innocent victims and the destruction of much medieval learning.

***See also* Astrology; Bonatti, Guido; Cecco d'Ascoli; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Inquisition in Italy; Michael Scot; Pietro Abano**

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Magyars

The Magyars, ancestors of the modern Hungarians, were a Turkic tribe or tribal coalition that migrated from west-central Asia to eastern Europe in the ninth century. The Magyars terrorized central and eastern Europe in the last half of the ninth century and the first half of the tenth century. They invaded northern Italy in 898 and 899, forcing Berengar I of Friuli to pay tribute and ally himself with them. In 922, during an invasion by Rudolph of Burgundy, Berengar called the Magyars to his aid. After Berengar's murder in 924, the Magyars invaded Italy again and burned Pavia (March). A final raid occurred in 927.

Military historians often minimize the damage inflicted on Italy by the Magyars, noting that it was hard to find pasturage for the Magyars' horses during the Mediterranean dry season (late spring, summer, and early fall). Also, steppe tactics were not very effective in the mountainous terrain that dominates most of Italy. It is not surprising

that most Magyar incursions were confined to northern Italy, where the dry season is not as pronounced and the geography is not as rugged.

See also **Berengar I of Friuli; Liudprand of Cremona**

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Maitani, Lorenzo

Lorenzo Maitani (before 1270—June 1330) was a central Italian painter; he was born in Siena and died in Orvieto. He is first documented in 1290 in Siena, in connection with a land registry declaration. Maitani is associated more with Orvieto, however, where he worked almost exclusively after 1310, when he was called to work on the cathedral of Orvieto, which was in danger of collapsing. In his contract of 16 September 1310, he was offered Orvietan citizenship and designated *universalis caput magister* of the cathedral, a role that required him not only to direct its completion but also to maintain the city's bridges and civic buildings. The contract also indicates that Maitani was skilled in making roofs and buttresses. Indeed, a lost inscription on one of the cathedral's ornamented beams contained his name and the year 1327, substantiating his involvement in the erection of its roof; moreover, scholars believe that the four extant corrective buttresses in the side chapels of the transept are probably his. In Orvieto, Maitani also enlarged the Palazzo del Comune, rebuilt the fountain in the piazza, and repaired the town's gates and walls. Elsewhere, he served as consultant on several architectural projects, including aqueducts in Perugia (1317 and 1319-1321), the cathedral of Siena (1322), and the castles at Montefalco (1323) and Castiglione del Lago (1325).

As coordinator of Orvieto's cathedral project, Maitani advanced construction of the facade to the level of the gallery below the rose window. Moreover, most scholars credit him with the actual design of the facade, and the second of two preliminary drawings of the facade is attributed to him (both drawings, on parchment, are in the Museo del Opera del Duomo in Orvieto). The drawing that is presumably by Maitani resembles the completed facade in several ways. For instance, it shows a square frame around the rose window containing fifty-two compartments, three double niches arranged vertically on each side of the rose, a triangular gable above the rose, at least one pilaster crowned with a sculptured evangelical symbol, and an *agnus del* surmounting the gable of the central portal. Though neither signed nor dated, the drawing probably is the one referred to in the inventory of 1356 as being from the hand of "[Magister] Maitani." Both it and the first drawing (which some scholars also assign to Maitani) constitute the earliest history of the production of a facade from contract to drafted plans to carved stone.

It can be inferred (though not proved) that Maitani was a sculptor as well as an architect. First, the contract of 1310 states that he was skilled in making "walls figured with beauty" (*pariete pulcritudine figuratis*), a phrase which accords well with the dozens of exquisitely carved human, angelic, diabolical, and divine figures decorating the marble facade of the *duomo*. Second, an entry in the cathedral account books of 1330 records that he received bronze with which to cast the eagle of John the Evangelist, still located on the cornice above the third pilaster of the facade. Whether the bronze was cast by him or by someone working under him is unknown. He certainly helped manufacture gold glass *tesserae* for the mosaics of the upper facade in 1321, a task that broadens his role as an artisan at the cathedral.



Lorenzo Maitani, *Last Judgment: The Damned* (detail). *Duomo* facade, Orvieto. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Despite the lack of incontrovertible documentation, most scholars believe that Maitani created at least some of the sculptures of the facade, but opinions as to which parts could be his vary greatly. Many credit him with the marble reliefs on the first and fourth pilasters depicting Genesis and the Last Judgment, as well as with the bronze and marble *Maestà* over the central portal and the bronze evangelical symbols atop each pilaster. One reason for this attribution is the strong stylistic affinity of the works, suggesting that they emerged from a

single major workshop. However, there is also an argument against Maitani's direct participation in the creation of the sculptures: he was preoccupied from 1310 to 1330 with numerous architectural projects in Orvieto and elsewhere; in the contract of 1310, he was granted permission to retain assistants for the design and execution of the sculpture of the facade; and there is no known body of sculptured work by him.

The design of the reliefs of the four pilasters is unique because the many scenes are enclosed not by rectilinear frames but by coiling acanthus leaves or undulating grape and ivy vines. The grapevines refer to the wine of the eucharist; the ivy, which is evergreen, implies immortality, thereby adding eschatological symbolism. The carving of the pilasters that many attribute to Maitani—Genesis and the Last judgment—is especially beautiful. In *God Creating the Birds and Fish*, the water flowing across the aquatic creatures reveals their wriggling forms with the subtlety of a silk veil; in the *Damned in Hell*, an unconscious victim whose arm is being ingested by a dragon is rendered with impressive anatomical realism: there are wrinkles across the belly and veins in the pit of one elbow. Whatever the authorship of the reliefs on the pilasters, they permit scrutiny of the procedures of *Trecento* sculptors because the upper half is unfinished and the phases of execution are thus evident.

Three crucifixes and a sculpture of Christ seated, all in Orvieto, have been attributed to Maitani, though not convincingly.

See also Orvieto

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Malaspina Family

The Malaspinas were a feudal house, fundamentally Ghibelline but largely Guelf, from the 1250s, and associated principally with the Magra Valley in Lunigiana. From c. 1000 their pretensions to influence brought them into conflict with nearby towns, especially Genoa, and with the bishopric of Luni. In the twelfth century these powers confined

the Malaspinas to the higher reaches of the Apennines, though their control extended eastward beyond Garfagnana and had considerable strategic significance. By the early thirteenth century they had been forced back into their ancestral possessions, where they consolidated their position. In 1221 the family formally divided into two branches: the Spino Secco ("dry thorn") and Spino Fiorito ("flowering thorn"). In the third quarter of the century, both divided again, the Spino Secco into four branches (based at Mulazzo, Villafranca, Giovagallo, and in the Trebbia valley) and the Spino Fiorito into three (Verrucola, Filattiera, and Olivola). The combined branches definitively outmaneuvered the see of Luni in the early fourteenth century. The last phase of growth, after 1328, produced the marquises of Fosdinovo and, ultimately, Massa. In the fifteenth century the family's landholdings began to disintegrate under pressure from Florence and Genoa. Four Malaspinas are mentioned by Dante, and one is the protagonist of a (probably apocryphal) story by Boccaccio.

See also **Dante Alighieri**

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Malatesta Family

See **Rimini**

Malispini, Ricordano

Ricordano Malispini (probably fourteenth century) was allegedly the thirteenth-century author of a history of Florence from its legendary origins to 1282; a continuation down to 1286 was ascribed to a nephew, Giacotto. Some scholars consider this chronicle an important source for Giovanni Villani and Dante. Documentary evidence has been found for Giacotto's existence, though not for Ricordano's. However, the chronicle itself contains anachronisms, some of which were first noted by Scheffer Boichorst (1870), and these make a fourteenth-century date very probable. A chief purpose of the chronicle appears to have been to celebrate the exploits of members of the Bonaguisi family, and to link the Bonaguisi with the aristocratic and once-powerful Malispini family. Malispini writes that he derived his information from chronicles he found in the house of his Capocci kinsmen in Rome, and also in the Badia of Florence. The Capocci records seem identifiable with the *Libro fiesolano*, which is a translation and adaptation of the *Liber de origine civitatis*, the first surviving account of the founding of Florence. The Badia records seem identifiable with an anonymous compendium of Giovanni Villani. The only known text of this compendium, discovered by Lami (1890), is manuscript 2.1.252, held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. Malispini also includes information about some families that are not mentioned either in the *Libro fiesolano* or in the compendium of Villani.

The *Libro fiesolano* covers the period from the legendary origins of Florence to its rebuilding after Totila's sack (which is fictitious) and the final capture of Fiesole. The anonymous compendium abridges and paraphrases Villani's chronicle from chapter 30 of the first book (Catiline's conspiracy) until 1336. Malispini copies his account of early Florentine history from the *Libro fiesolano*, rather than from the anonymous compendium, but he includes Charlemagne's supposed participation in the rebuilding of Florence, which is mentioned in the compendium but omitted in *Libro fiesolano*. Malispini then follows the anonymous compendium to 1282, and Giacotto's coda follows it to 1286.

One manuscript, often considered the oldest and most reliable copy of Malispini, has a distinctive relationship to the anonymous

compendium. This is manuscript 2.4.27, in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. It corresponds almost exactly to the anonymous compendium not only for the period from Charlemagne to 1286, but also for 1286-1317. The only novelty in this concluding post-Malispinian portion of the manuscript is its interpolated passages praising the Bonaguisi and other related families. These passages are very similar to others praising the same families in this and other manuscripts of the Malispinian chronicle. The presence of such passages in both the Malispinian and the post-Malispinian portions of this manuscript points to the genealogical purpose and the fourteenth-century date of the Malispinian compilation. A further confirmation of its late date is furnished by Porta (1986, 1994), who discovered links between the texts of the anonymous compendium of Villani and Malispini on the one hand, and a revised version, made after 1333, of Giovanni Villani's chronicle on the other. If Villani had copied Malispini, these links would be present in the first version of Villani's chronicle as well.

Such evidence should lay to rest the old theory that Malispini was the thirteenth-century father of Florentine historiography. Malispini was, rather, a late fourteenth-century compiler, whose originality was limited to celebrating the nobility and antiquity of certain Florentine families and to furnishing information about himself and his sources designed to validate such genealogical lore.

See also **Chronicles; Florence; Villani, Giovanni**

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Malmaritata

The term *malmaritata*—literally, "badly married woman"—derives from the Old French *mal mariée* and designates the female protagonist of a particular genre of lyric poetry, as well as the poetic genre itself (*chanson de mal mariée*). Poems in this genre focus on a wife who suffers abuse from her husband and laments her state, complaining that he is jealous (*geloso*), mean, and uncaring. The abuse may take the form of physical violence or simple neglect. In the economy of the poem, the woman generally vents her sorrow and also the anger she bears toward her husband. One common consequence of the situation is that the woman not only entertains the notion of acquiring a lover to compensate for her husband's ill-treatment, but that she often acts on it. Several examples of this genre survive in the poetry of the Sicilian school.

The subject of a popular *canzone* by Compagnetto da Prato fits this generic category; its first verse declares: *Per lo marito ch'ò rio* ("For the evil husband that I have"). In the second stanza the female protagonist takes her husband to task for his jealousy, which has led him to mistreat her: *Geloso, battuta m'ài/piaceti di darmi doglia* ("Jealous one, you have beaten me, you take pleasure in giving me sorrow"). The woman explains that her desire to take a lover was fostered by her husband's

false accusations; and the poem, as it unfolds, moves from her monologue to the sudden appearance of her lover on the scene and a dialogue between the two.

A variant on this theme is found in the *canzone* *Già mai non mi conforto* by Rinaldo d'Aquino, one of the poets of the Sicilian school. In this poem the female protagonist laments the fact that her lover is departing for the crusades and refers to her husband as one who, having learned of her illicit love affair with the departing crusader, beats her and keeps her in captivity. The stanza in question reads as follows: *Quando la croce pigliaio,/certo no lo mi pensai,/quelli che tanto m'amao/ed illu tanto amai,/chi [eo] ne fui bat[t]uta/e messa en pregonia/e in celata tenuta/per la vita mia!* ("When the man who loved me took the cross, I certainly did not think it would come to this point, but I loved him so much that I was beaten on his account and held in captivity, hidden away, for my entire life"). While the language and general situation certainly belong to the genre of the *malmaritata*, it may also be possible to interpret the person who mistreats the woman not as her husband but as an overly protective father who wishes to safeguard the honor of his daughter.

The anonymous *canzone* *Di dolor convien cantare* has an unusual structure: a woman's monologue within the (male) lover's monologue in which the usual complaints against a cruel husband are offered. The *topos* of the *malmaritata* is also present in the anonymous *canzone* *L'altro ier fui 'n parlamento* and in the dialogic *canzone* *Donna, di voi mi lamento* by Giacomino Pugliese.

See also Compagnetto da Prato; Giacomino Pugliese; Rinaldo d'Aquino; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Malpaghini, Giovanni

Giovannia Malpaghini (Giovanni da Ravenna, Giovanni di Jacopo; 1346 –c. 1417 or 1422) was influential, through his teaching at the *studio*, in the formation of *Quattrocento* or Ciceronian humanism in Florence. He was born in Ravenna and began working as Petrarch's amanuensis in 1364. It seems that Malpaghini became disenchanted with being Petrarch's copyist and tried to leave his service in April 1367 but he did not succeed until 1368. Two letters of reference on his behalf from Petrarch survive—to Francesco Bruni and to Ugo di Sanseverino (*Rerum senilium libri*, 11.8 and 11.9, respectively)—and he and Petrarch remained close friends until Petrarch's death in 1374. Malpaghini found employment with Bruni in the papal curia in Rome and then moved to Avignon in 1370. From 1394 on, Malpaghini taught rhetoric and the major authors in the Florentine *studio*; in 1412 he is recorded as lecturing on *librum Dantis, quem legat diebus festivis*. Only one piece of his own writing survives: a letter lamenting the death of Petrarch, *Conquestus de morte Petrarce* (Sabbadini 1924, 248-249). Malpaghini is traditionally believed to have died in 1417, but 1422 has also been suggested. He has often been confused with another Giovanni da Ravenna, Giovanni Conversino (1343–1408).

See also **Petrarca, Francesco**

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Manfred

Manfred (1232–26 February 1266) was the natural son of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen and Bianca Lancia of Monfer rato; he closely resembled his father physically and, to a considerable degree, temperamentally. Manfred was an astute politician and courageous soldier; he was the emperor's intellectual soulmate, but his own personality was less dynamic. Manfred's career was confined to Italy. His illegitimate birth limited his political effectiveness, and he ultimately lost his kingdom to the combined forces of the papacy, Charles of Anjou, Tuscan financiers, and Sicilian barons. The defeat of Manfred sent the *Mezzogiorno* (southern Italy) into a centuries-long decline, the effects of which linger to the present.

Manfred may have studied at Paris and Bologna, and he was active in the courtly culture of the kingdom of Sicily. When Frederick died in December 1250, Manfred became the regent of his half brother, Conrad IV (1250–1254), who was in Germany. Manfred was generally popular among the feudal nobles of the kingdom, but he faced persistent opposition from important barons and cities. In 1251, he tried but failed to reach an accord with Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254). Manfred may have offered to exchange recognition of papal overlordship for the Sicilian crown. In December 1251, Conrad went to the kingdom to establish his own royal authority. He revoked all of Manfred's fiefs except the principality of Taranto and forced the humiliated Manfred to remain at court.

Conrad died in May 1254. Guelf chroniclers insist that Manfred

poisoned him, but other sources do not concur. Manfred then faced great difficulties. Conrad had named the church as guardian of his son, Conradin, and appointed the leader of the German barons, Berthold of Hohenburg, as his bailiff. Innocent IV invested Edmund, the second son of King Henry III of England, with the kingdom. Meanwhile, Pietro Ruffo, who controlled Calabria and Sicily, played Manfred against Innocent.

Most of the nobility of the kingdom rallied to Manfred, whom they considered the natural regent of young Conradin. The pope refused to recognize Conradin's rights and demanded possession of the kingdom. Open warfare ensued, and Innocent excommunicated Manfred and his adherents. Manfred was unprepared for war and quickly sued for peace. During the negotiations he killed a papal partisan and fled to Lucera, the imperial Muslim stronghold near Foggia. Manfred seized the treasury of Frederick II and Conrad IV and raised a powerful army. He defeated the papal army near Foggia. Almost all of Apulia had fallen into his hands by the time Innocent died (10 August 1254).

Manfred could not placate Innocent's successor, Pope Alexander IV (r. 1254-1261), but Alexander actually put little effort into the vendetta of the papacy against the Hohenstaufen. Manfred was thus free to put the kingdom in order. By 1257, he had imprisoned Berthold and banished Pietro Ruffo. On the false rumor that Conradin had died, the Sicilian barons proclaimed Manfred king. He was crowned at Palermo on 10 August 1258. Manfred soon became deeply involved in central and northern Italy. He attempted to create a federation of barons, cities, and factions under his leadership by providing military assistance, negotiating treaties and marriages, and courting urban factions. In 1258, he joined in a promising but unsuccessful alliance with the despot of Epirus, Michael II, against the Byzantine emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus. In 1262, Manfred arranged a marriage between his daughter Constance and the *infante*, Peter of Aragon; this marriage would later justify Aragon's intervention in the Sicilian Vespers uprising of 1282.

Manfred reached the height of his power when he and the Ghibelline factions of Florence and Siena defeated the Guelfs of Tuscany at Montaperti on 4 September 1260. He subsequently posed as lord of Italy and sent vicars throughout the peninsula, but he did not have the force

to sustain his ambitions. When the energetic Urban IV (r. 1261–1264) became pope, he renewed the assault on Manfred. Urban found a champion in Charles of Anjou, count of Provence and brother of Louis IX of France. Louis had previously blocked papal overtures to Charles, but Urban argued that Manfred had unlawfully dispossessed his nephew Conradin, and this reasoning apparently laid the scruples of the saintly king to rest. The pope also persuaded Florentine and Siennese bankers to finance an invasion of the kingdom of Sicily.

Late in 1262, Manfred attempted to make a deal with Urban, but the negotiations collapsed. The pope invested Charles with the kingdom in December 1262. War soon followed. Manfred's allies scored several early victories against papal and Guelf forces and almost captured the city of Rome in 1264. After Urban died, the new pope, Clement IV (r. 1265–1268), quickly confirmed the treaty with Charles, who left Provence for Rome in May 1265. Manfred dispatched a manifesto to Rome, in which he revived Frederick's argument that the Romans—not the pope—had the right to choose the emperor. There is no extant reply. Charles arrived in Rome on 28 June 1265 and took charge of the war against Manfred.

After an unsuccessful attack on Rome in August 1265, Manfred returned to his kingdom to find his domestic enemies ranged against him and his treasury empty. Many of his allies went over to Charles, made peace with the pope, or became neutral. In December 1265, Charles's army from Provence passed through Piedmont and Lombardy without opposition. Charles moved into Campania in January 1266 without a fight. Betrayed and deserted by the Sicilian barons, Manfred died bravely on the plain of Grandella near Benevento on 26 February 1266. He was buried outside Benevento, but the archbishop of Cosenza later had his remains disinterred and removed from the kingdom to an unmarked grave near Garigliano.

Manfred's fall may have been inevitable. The papacy was determined to extinguish the Hohenstaufen dynasty, and Charles of Anjou was a hard and relentless campaigner, whose talents and war chest were equal to his greed and ambition. The fickle Sicilian barons who betrayed Manfred did not prosper as a result. After slaughtering Manfred's adherents, Charles replaced the treasonous barons with his own French supporters. Charles exploited the efficient Sicilian fiscal apparatus to

bleed the kingdom white, but he returned none of the good government that had accompanied the Normans' and the Hohenstaufens' exactions. Commerce fell into the hands of Venetian and Genoese merchants and Tuscan bankers, and wealth flowed to the Angevins or migrated from the *Mezzogiorno* altogether. The powerful, well-ordered, and prosperous kingdom of Sicily gave way to bad government and chronic poverty.

Manfred was an active patron of poets and scientists and a scholar in his own right. He sponsored and perhaps engaged in the translation of Greek and Arab treatises on philosophy. He revised and commented on the *De arte venandi cum avibus* of Frederick II, which the emperor had dedicated to him. In the *Commedia*, Dante depicts Manfred at the base of the mount of Purgatory with a band of souls who had repented their sins at the moment of death (*Purgatory*, 3.103-145). The legend of Manfred's heroic and pious end, which inspired Dante, was turned to nationalist purposes in the nineteenth century during the Risorgimento.

See also Alexander IV, Pope; Charles I of Anjou; Clement IV, Pope; Conrad IV; Conradin; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Innocent IV, Pope; Urban IV, Pope

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Maniakes, George

George Maniakes (d. 1043) was a Byzantine general of great courage, boldness, and resourcefulness and a man of unusual physical stature, though of harsh and reckless character. He earned an enormous reputation for his services on the empire's eastern frontiers. In 1037, he was sent by Emperor Michael IV to southern Italy, as commander extraordinary, to restore order in the troubled and revolt-torn Byzantine territories there. Maniakes's particular assignment, however, was to undertake the reconquest of Sicily from the Saracens, a project frequently pursued by the Byzantines and apparently contemplated earlier, in the 1020s, by the great military sovereign Basil II.

With typical energy and skill, Maniakes launched his attack in 1038; his forces included a detachment of Viking-Varangians under the famous Harald Hardrada, as well as some 500 Norman mercenaries. He rapidly took control of the eastern end of the island and stood well to conquer the rest, but he was apparently plagued by dissension between his diverse commanders and soldiers, and—most significantly—he was undermined by court intrigues at home. Of humble birth and choleric character, Maniakes had made many enemies, especially among the

court aristocrats. As a result of their scheming against him, he was recalled to the capital in 1040 and imprisoned on false charges. Without him, the Sicilian campaign collapsed completely, and rebellions again broke out in the Apulian territories under Argyrus, son of Melo—with the Normans' dangerous help, Argyrus had established himself as duke of Bari.

Under the next emperor, Michael V, Maniakes was released and sent back to Italy in early 1042 with the full title of *katepano*. He succeeded in winning over Argyrus, and he carried out unusually harsh operations to suppress rebellion and curtail the Normans, but again his bitter enemies at court worked against him, poisoning the mind of the succeeding emperor, Constantine IX. Learning of this latest outrage in September 1042 (and possibly with seditious intentions already in mind), the furious Maniakes rebelled. Taking with him most of the imperial troops in his command, he crossed to the Balkans and set out to storm Constantinople and seize the throne for himself. He might well have succeeded, but on the brink of a victory in a battle along the way, in the spring of 1043, Maniakes was suddenly killed, and his head was brought to the capital to be displayed. His departure from Italy, meanwhile, created a power vacuum that opened the way for the aggressive Normans to move almost unchecked in their conquest of southern Italy.

Almost legendary in his own time, Maniakes left memories that endure even today, as in a tradition that gives to Frederick II's fortress in Syracuse the quite erroneous popular designation *castello Maniace*.

See also Bari; Byzantine Empire; Normans; Sicily

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Mantua

Mantua, in northern Italy, lies just beyond the Po where the Mincio widens. The city was named, according to legend, for Manto, the divining daughter of Tiresias. Originally settled by the Etruscans about 3,000 years ago, and invaded by the Gauls in the second half of the fourth century B.C., the predominantly agricultural settlement was subdued by Rome c. 190 B.C., and its lands were later ceded to retired veterans of the Roman army. In A.D. 49, Mantua gained full Roman status as a *municipium*.

In the next few centuries, Mantua enjoyed relative peace but experienced little economic growth. After the split of the Roman empire into the west and east in 395, Ravenna became the seat of the western empire, and Mantua—lying on the road between Ravenna and Milan—became a crossroads of traffic and troop movements. Although Mantua was isolated from the other cities of the empire following the devastation of Rome by Alaric's Visigoths in 410, it was barely touched directly by the series of barbarian invasions of the fifth century, surviving even Attila's merciless sacking of towns and cities in northern Italy.

Although Attila did eventually retreat after negotiations with Pope Leo I, which took place about 6 miles (10 kilometers) from Mantua, some of the Huns remained. In fact, it was a soldier in Attila's sendee, Odoacer, who brought the western Roman empire to its knees in 476. But again Mantua remained untouched, even though Odoacer's victory in Rome left it even more isolated from the major centers of communication. In fact, its isolation protected Mantua from much of the carnage that ravaged Italy in the following decade. In the fifth century, its city walls enclosed approximately 40 acres (160,000 square meters) and were often bulging with refugees from less fortunate cities. Relief came in August 489 with the entry of Theodoric and his Goths. After breaking through Odoacer's defenses and taking Via Postumia, Theodoric's army defeated Odoacer's at Verona and pushed on to Milan. Mantua, however, experienced only small raids and a few brief skirmishes.

In 493, Ravenna fell to Theodoric, giving him virtual control of the

entire Italian peninsula until his death on 30 August 526. Under the Gothic empire, Mantua lived quietly, and the victors and vanquished mingled peacefully. Following Theodoric's death, however, war broke out again, this time between Byzantium and the Goths. In 553, the imperial forces of Constantinople defeated the Goths in Campania, and the Goths, pillaging as they went, abandoned Italy. Byzantine reign was cut short by the entry of the Lombards, led by King Alboin, in 568. The Byzantines, barricaded at Ravenna, left their subjects, Mantua included, to fend for themselves. One after another the cities and fortresses of eastern Italy fell to Alboin's army. When Alboin died in 572, a large part of Italy was under the Lombards' control. A few strongholds, including Mantua, continued to resist the Lombards' siege, but Mantua fell in 602 to Agilulf, who then ordered that the city walls be dismantled. Rebuilding soon followed, however, as the Mantuans and the Lombards mixed easily. Because Agilulf's wife, Theodolinda, was a Christian, relations between the Mantuan church and the Lombard victors were reasonably harmonious. The Mantuans were free to administer the goods of the community, maintain their own statutes, and declare their own laws in their own language. Under the Lombard government, Mantua enjoyed higher prestige and greater importance, both military and commercial, especially after it was designated as a Lombard fortress. This designation inspired a fervor for building, and the city, for the first time, looked to expand beyond its natural confines, reclaiming land from the surrounding swamps. Beyond the waters ringing the city, agriculture also flourished as the Mantuans enacted laws guaranteeing private property rights and protecting agricultural endeavors.

Notwithstanding the apparent peacefulness of the period, the growing power of the papacy was increasingly coming into more frequent conflict with the Lombard kings. Nonetheless, Lombard expansion continued, culminating in Aistulf's seizure of Ravenna and the Exarchate in 751. Aistulf's dream of a united Italy, however, was impeded by the litigiousness of the duchies and the claims of Pope Stephen II to power over all of the lands seized by Aistulf from Byzantium. The conflict reached a climax when the Franks, with whom the Lombards had been struggling for the previous twenty years, seized Pavia, the Lombard capital, in June 774 and their king, Charlemagne,

promised to support and protect Stephen's successor, Hadrian I.

But the end of Lombard rule did not mean the end of Lombard administration. Under Frankish rule, the former Lombard communities were often permitted to retain their laws and customs, and in many cases only the titles changed. Even at that, there are few instances in Mantua of the Frankish *comes* or *conte* replacing the Lombard *dux* or *duca*. There was a *conte* Oddo in 820, twenty years after Charlemagne was crowned emperor, but very few other examples.

Mantua nourished under Carolingian rule. In 780 and 787, Charlemagne himself visited the city, which was granted a bishop's seat following the discovery of a reliquary containing blood said to be that of Jesus. Mantuan tradition had long held that Saint Longinus, the soldier who pierced the side of the crucified Christ, had gathered up the blood-soaked sand at the foot of the cross and placed the blood in a reliquary which he buried in Mantua in the year 37. The reliquary remained lost until 804, when an apparition of the apostle Andrew revealed its location. Several months after this relic was found, Pope Leo III authenticated it at Charlemagne's request. The discovery not only elevated Mantua's ecclesiastical status but also increased its commerce, as pilgrims flocked to the oratory dedicated to Saint Andrew built on the site of the discovery.

The persistence of the legend regarding Longinus underlines the early Christian associations of Mantua, whose tradition holds that Saint Romulus, on the instructions of Saint Peter, visited Mantua in 48, and that Barnabas preached there in 51. Irrespective of the validity of these legends, by 201, two-thirds of Mantuan had already converted to Christianity and as early as 313 the Mantuans had constructed a Christian church.

Mantua's new religious and political prestige was confirmed in 827 when Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son and successor as emperor, chose it as the site of a synod to resolve a secular controversy. The synod attracted all the northern bishops, Pope Eugene's ambassadors, and representatives of the empire, stimulating the construction of many new churches as well as public and private buildings.



Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

In the absence of a *comes* representing imperial power, the bishop was the central power in the city and the surrounding *contado* (county). The economic and political power of the Mantuan church is explicit in the Concessions of Berengar (king of Italy from 887). These concessions, passed in 894, gave the bishop of Mantua full jurisdiction over all his *domini* (domains), fiscal rights over various markets, and supervision of the treasury, albeit in the name of the king. The rapid economic development of the Mantuan church is seen in the establishment of the many monasteries outside the city: in particular, the monasteries of Saint Thomas at Acquanegra, of Saint Mary at Folonica, and of Saint Benedict in Polirone.

Politically and defensively, Mantua during the ninth century remained the virtual island it is geographically. It was untouched by the Arab aggression that threatened the south. The power of its bishop spared it much of the fighting between the great vassals that followed the decline in the Carolingian empire after Charles the Great was overthrown in 887. There is an unconfirmed legend of a long Magyar siege, which occasioned the burial of the reliquary containing the blood of Christ (the reliquary was found again, thanks to a prophetic dream, in 1048), but apart from that, even the Hungarian invasions in 898 and 899 failed to interrupt Mantua's prosperity.

In the tenth century, Mantua ceased to be untouchable. Having earlier joined Bergamo, Brescia, Piacenza, Parma, Reggio Emilia, and Modena to form the *Marca Attoniana*, loyal to the Attoni of Canossa, a politically powerful family, Mantua was now caught up in a great struggle between imperial and papal forces which emerged in the wake of the Carolingian decline. In the mid-tenth century, Emperor Otto II of Germany granted dominion over vast territories to the powerful Canossa family in return for their support of the German imperial party in Italy. In 977, the Canossa became the *conti* of Mantua. Under the Canossa, Mantua prospered both economically and politically, even though the earlier prominence of its bishop was greatly curtailed. Tedaldo, Atto Adalberto's son and successor in 1012 as governor of the *marca* (which by this time included Ferrara), often resided at Mantua. Tedaldo's son and successor Boniface expanded the family fortunes through a marriage to Beatrice of Lorraine. Boniface's violent reign ended when he was assassinated while hunting in 1052. Emperor Henry III, in an effort to limit the widow Beatrice's power, in 1055 abolished a number of taxes imposed by Boniface and confirmed the rights and goods of the bishop of Mantua.

In response, Beatrice married the German Gottfried, thereby forging an Italian-German power base that Henry could not ignore. In 1055, Henry entered Italy to reclaim control of some of the domains. Granting goods and favors to cities and bishops, he took Beatrice and her daughter Matilda as virtual prisoners and returned to Germany with them. On Henry's death, Beatrice and Matilda returned to Italy, but not to Mantua. Matilda succeeded Beatrice in 1076 and sided immediately with the pope against imperial power. Beatrice was unpopular with the Mantuans, who encouraged the hostilities of 1091, which resulted in the city's surrender to Henry IV. Similarly, the Mantuans abetted the revolt in 1114 that ended in the destruction of the Canossa castle at Rivalta. Matilda died in 1115 without heirs, and when Henry V descended into Italy the next year to claim possession of the goods left by Matilda to the church, Mantua was declared an autonomous *comune*. The Mantuans were then free to tear down the Canossa palace and were exempt from paying taxes to maintain the imperial army.

At this point the bishop of Mantua resumed the position of power he had enjoyed before the Canossa era. In 1133, Lothair III, Henry V's

successor, confirmed Mantua's autonomy and its administrative boundaries as the Mincio, the Tartaro, and the Oglio. Under Frederick I Barbarossa, king of Germany, who was crowned emperor in 1155, imperial interference in Mantua became substantial. Henry V and Lothair III had been too distracted by other problems to concern themselves much with the Italian *comuni*—which had flourished, bringing about the slow extinction of the troublesome feudal lords. Frederick Barbarossa, however, saw the *comuni* as too closely tied to the church, and therefore a threat to imperial power. His attempts to contain this threat started with his invasion of Milan in 1155; this was only the beginning of a long series of wars involving Milan, Pavia, Brescia, Lodi, and Bergamo. Mantua supported Frederick against Milan in 1158, sending soldiers to assist the imperial troops. When Milan eventually capitulated, Frederick demanded the submission of all of the Italian *comuni* and named an imperial functionary to each. A further rebellion by Milan in 1161 caused Frederick to destroy the city and demand the pope's total submission, but the seeds of rebellion had been sown. In 1164, Verona, Padua, and Treviso formed an anti-imperial league. In 1167, Cremona promoted a second league, the *Lega Lombarda*, which Bergamo, Brescia, Milan, and Mantua promptly joined. This league defeated imperial troops in 1176 at Legnano; and in 1183, with the peace of Constance, the autonomy of the Lombard *comuni* was formally recognized.

Mantua spent much of the next century embroiled in conflicts with its communal neighbors, Cremona and Verona. Nonetheless, Mantua prospered and its great landowners moved from the surrounding county to the city, prompting internal rivalries and almost daily violence inside the walls. The violence came to a head when, on 14 March 1235, the *podestà*, Guidotto da Correggio, was assassinated as a result of a plot involving the Awocati, Poltroni, Calorosi, and Casaloldi families, whose members then fled to Verona. An emergency government promptly exiled the offending families, but the troubles continued until Pinamonte Bonacolsi, together with Federico da Marcaria, was nominated *rector* for a term of two months and four days on 4 July 1272. Within a short time, Bonacolsi, who was charged with restoring the city to peaceful coexistence, had accused Marcaria of plotting against the *comune* and exiled him along with the current

podestà.

After a constitutional reform in 1274, Bonacolsi was nominated as *capitano del popolo*, a title not previously mentioned in the communal statutes. He decided to have at his side a second *capitano del popolo*, Ottonello Vanecalli, but he eventually accused Vanecalli of plotting against the city and had him exiled. Bonacolsi then assumed the duties of *capitano generate* for life. He continued his sweeping reign by exiling the most violent families and confiscating their goods. Recognizing that Mantua's increasingly commercial economy depended on peace with its neighbors, he took to negotiating and confirming numerous treaties and accords, but his major concern was cementing an alliance with Verona and gaining the support of the emperor. Thus, Mantua declared itself Ghibelline—that is, loyal to the empire—and Palazzo Bonacolsi was fitted with the telltale Ghibelline crenellations.

Bonacolsi was similarly opportunistic with respect to religion. Though nominally hostile to the papacy, he sought the support of the Mantuan church by initiating a hunt for heretics. His power, however, was challenged by his son Bardellone, who staged a military coup on 29 September 1291. Bardellone's brother Tagino was in Verona at the time, but on his return he was imprisoned by Bardellone and then exiled to Ferrara. Bardellone governed formally alongside his father, but from 29 September on there are no official records of Pinamonte Bonacolsi, who died, forgotten, on 7 October 1293.

Bardellone continued to augment his powers as de facto lord of Mantua. Nominated as *rector perpetuus et capitaneus civitatis*, he instituted a new constitutional reform, under which, on 2 July 1294, he replaced the *consiglio maggiore* with the *consiglio del signore*, consisting of twelve elders, three for each of the four quarters into which the city is divided, named by the *capitano del popolo* and chosen from the most visible citizens. The new *consiglio del signore* was given judicial and executive power, rendering the communal institutions of Mantua essentially impotent, particularly in light of the fact that Bardellone also established a private military force.

Bardellone continued his father's policy of maintaining public order and reinforced relations with Verona. However, Tagino's pardon and return from Ferrara in 1298 caused discord between the two cities, since the Veronese viewed Tagino as an agent of the marquises of Este, the

lords of Ferrara. Indeed, Tagino persuaded Bardellone to loosen Mantua's ties with Verona in favor of Ferrara, and on 24 June 1299 the Bonacolsi and the Estensi signed a series of accords at Ferrara. In response, Alberto della Scala, lord of Verona, sought to depose Tagino and Bardellone in favor of Guido, Bardellone's nephew, who was espoused to Alberto's recently widowed daughter, Constanza. By replacing Bardellone and Tagino with Guido, Alberto della Scala was able to create a close ally. Thus, the Veronese military, led by Alberto's son Bartolomeo, entered Mantua, took over the Palazzo Comunale, and forced Bardellone and Tagino to step down. Bardellone died a year later, and Tagino returned to Ferrara. On 29 July, Guido was nominated *capitano generale* and *podestà*, and several days later he married Costanza.

As *podestà* and *capitano generale* for life, Guido quickly seized control of the bureaucracy and acquired the right to name all his functionaries. By adding the right to govern with or without the *consiglio*, he acquired for himself the power to exile; absolve; condemn; declare war; conclude peace; forge alliances; and nominate the *podestà*, rectors, and judges. Under Guido, the counsel of elders no longer met in the Palazzo Comunale; instead, it met in the house of the *capitano generale*. Finally, he had the counsel nominate his brother, Rinaldo Passerino, as vicar and successor.

Guido began construction, in what is today Piazza Sordello, on the Palazzo del Capitano, which would eventually become the Palazzo Ducale of the Gonzaga family. Under Guido the first written code of Mantuan law, *Statuti bonacolsiani*, was prepared. When Guido died on 24 January 1309—the only one of his family who left office without being a victim of a coup or a plot—he was succeeded by Rinaldo Passerino, who had originally been exiled from the city by his uncles Bardellone and Tagino.

Though formally respecting the communal institutions, Passerino looked to Henry VII of Luxembourg as a means of obtaining the official title of lord of Mantua. To curry favor with Henry, Passerino assumed an overtly antipapal position, for which he was excommunicated and branded with heresy. Henry's plan to restore imperial authority in Italy, however, consisted of little more than an attempt to extract tribute through a network of tax-collecting vicars. At the inception of

Passerino's reign, the vicar was the Veronese *podestà* Lapo degli Uberti, but he was quickly routed by Passerino, who, along with his brother Bonaventura, was named imperial vicar. In the summer of 1311, the two brothers insisted that the title be recognized officially by the *consiglio*; and immediately afterward, Henry also granted Rinaldo Passerino the vicarage of Modena.

In 1328, the Mantuans responded to Passerino's reign of tyranny and crippling taxation. Just before dawn on 16 August, some 1,100 armed soldiers sent from Verona by Cangrande della Scala at the request of Luigi Gonzaga (1267-1360) entered Mantua, with the help of Luigi's sons Guido, Filippino, and Feltrino and a few well-paid sentries. As planned, allies of the Gonzaga staged a public uproar that drew Rinaldo Passerino out of his home to the Palazzo Comunale, where he was killed by Alberto di Savoia, a Gonzaga ally. Passerino's sons Francesco and Giovanni (abbot of the monastery of Sant Andrea) and Bonaventura's sons Guido and Pinamonte were captured and walled up alive in a tower at Casteldario. Meanwhile, in Mantua, the crowds gathered in the streets acclaimed Luigi Gonzaga as he knelt, raised his arms, and thanked God for having liberated Mantua from tyranny. Luigi led the crowds to the cathedral, where he knelt again and repeated the thanks while his supporters raided the houses of the Bonacolsi. For 400 years the day remained a public holiday.

In 1329, Luigi Gonzaga was named *capitano generale*, with powers even broader than those of his predecessors. He was given the right to choose his successor and to name whomever he wished to the government. Passerino's body was preserved and displayed in a hall of the Palazzo del Capitano, which was then occupied by Luigi Gonzaga. In 1329, Emperor Louis IV named Luigi imperial vicar. In 1331, Charles IV, Louis's successor, granted to Luigi the Bonacolsi estates and the vicarage of Cremona, Reggio, and Asola and further extended his realm to the banks of Lake Garda.

Mantua's expanding power was, however, soon challenged when Milan declared war in an attempt to regain parts of Brescia and Verona seized earlier by the Gonzaga. The war went on sporadically for some years, and in 1357 Luigi's grandson Ugolino defeated the Milanese at Montechiaro, capturing Bernabo Visconti's castle. During a cease-fire, Ugolino made a peace with Milan, pursuant to which Ugolino married

Bernabò's daughter Caterina. Notwithstanding the ongoing wars, Mantua was becoming more culturally refined and was visited by the leading poets of the day, including Petrarch in 1349.

Luigi died in 1360 and was succeeded by his son Guido, Ugolino's father, Ugolino's brothers Francesco and Ludovico were envious of the amount of responsibility given by their father to Ugolino, and they murdered him in 1362. To avoid the appearance of family instability, Guido had Ugolino secretly buried, forgave Ludovico and Francesco, and sent Caterina back to Milan. Ludovico's treachery was not forgiven by Bernabò Visconti, who resumed war on Ludovico and the Gonzaga in 1368 to avenge his son-in-law's death. Ultimately, Charles IV brokered a peace under which Ludovico's son Francesco was to marry Caterina's sister, Agnese Visconti.

When Guido and Francesco died, in 1369, Ludovico (called Ludovico II) was elected as *capitano generale*. Irrespective of the dubious way in which he came to power, Ludovico did much to improve Mantua's fortunes. He secured the city by reconstructing it and repairing its fortifications; he freed Mantua from debt and promoted its prosperity; and he showed himself to be liberal and upright in conduct while in power. When Ludovico died, in 1382, his son Francesco, though married to Agnese since 1380, was nonetheless, at age fourteen, too young to succeed him as *capitano generale*. In 1388, however, Francesco was elected to the office, in which he remained until his death on 17 March 1407. During his rule, Francesco was loyal to the treaty with Milan and was on good terms with Gian Galeazzo Visconti. This changed, however, when Gian Galeazzo deceived Francesco into believing that Agnese was unfaithful and plotting his assassination. Francesco had Agnese tried, condemned, and secretly beheaded on 7 February 1391. Gian Galeazzo responded by sending his forces against Mantua, claiming vengeance for Agnese's death. Francesco and his allies defeated Gian Galeazzo's troops in August 1397, and in May 1398 a truce of ten years was proclaimed. However, when Francesco later learned of Gian Galeazzo's deceit, he entered into a league against the Visconti.

In 1405, Venice offered Francesco the position of *capitano generale*, which Francesco accepted, and in which capacity he won Verona and Padua for Venice. His second marriage, to Margherita Malatesta of

Rimini, extended the family fortune beyond the traditional allies of Mantua. Francesco was a great patron of the arts, and a builder—he added to the *palazzo* started by the Bonacolsi in the thirteenth century, and the cathedral was refaced in 1400 under his instruction. Although the Gonzaga still depended on the laws, taxes, and institutions of civic government, such as the "Council of Twenty" and the "Council of Twenty," for the elective title of *capitano*, these had long been under the family's control. Thus, when Francesco, generally considered a good ruler by the Mantuans, introduced revised statutes in 1404, he was virtually unopposed.

When Francesco died in 1407, the Mantuans decided that his son Gianfrancesco, born in 1395 and a ward of Venice, should succeed him as *capitano generale*. While he was still a minor, Gianfrancesco ruled through his uncles Carlo Malatesta (whose daughter Paola later married Gianfrancesco) and Bartolomeo of Perugia. Although Gianfrancesco had fought for Venice against Emperor Sigismund in 1411, he and Sigismund later reconciled; and on 22 September 1433 Sigismund conferred on Gianfrancesco the title of marquess of Mantua. Gianfrancesco ruled as such from 1433 until his death in November 1444. A great patron of the humanists, he founded the first university at Mantua, and in 1423 he brought Vittorino da Feltre to Mantua to educate his sons.

Gianfrancesco's son Ludovico, born in 1414, succeeded him and ruled as Ludovico III, second marquess of Mantua, from 1444 to 1478. Ludovico was married to Barbara of Brandenburg, Sigismund's niece, and inherited the lands of his two brothers Gianlucido and Alessandro when they died. Under Ludovico III the court was one of the most brilliant in Italy, and he was known as an outstanding example of a Renaissance prince.

In the fifteenth century, Mantua continued to flourish as a prosperous agricultural and stock-breeding economy. Cloth production (woolens and later silk) enjoyed a revival, and by 1500 Mantua had almost 25,000 inhabitants and was growing. Because of its location it was vulnerable to the ambitions of Venice and Milan, but through clever maneuvering the Gonzaga managed at most times to maintain its independence and to prosper, developing Mantua into one of the most highly cultivated and splendid courts of the Italian Renaissance. The last duke in the

Gonzaga line died in 1627, and Mantua was sacked in 1630. The city was annexed to Austria in 1708.

See also Agilulf; Aistulf; Alboin; Attila the Hun; Canossa; Constance, Peace of; Delia Scala Family; Frederick I Barbarossa; Gonzaga Family; Henry IV, Emperor; Leo I, Pope; Lombard Leagues; Lombards; Louis I the Pious; Matilda, Countess of Tuscany; Ostrogoths; Stephen II, Pope; Theodoric; Visconti Family

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Manuscript Illumination

See Painting: Miniature

Maps and Mapmaking

See Geography and Cartography

Marchetto Da Padova

Marchetto da Padova (Marchetus de Padua, early fourteenth century) was the most important and most influential music theorist in Italy during his time. Documents at the cathedral of Padua attest to his presence as a teacher in 1305-1307. Three treatises of his survive: *Lucidarium in arte musice plane* (Cesena and Verona, 1317 or 1318), *Pomerium in arte musice mensurate* (Cesena, later than *Lucidarium* but no later than 1319), and *Brevis compilatio in arte musice mensurate pro rudibus et modernis* (later than *Pomerium*). An acrostic in the text of the motet *Ave regina celorum/Mater innocencie* identifies Marchetto as its author.

Marchetto made fundamental contributions to the theories of mode, chromaticism, and tuning in *Lucidarium*, and to the theory of mensuration in *Pomerium* and *Brevis compilatio*. The theory of mode involves the classification of plainchant melodies by final (a sort of keynote), range, scale structure, and melodic articulation. This classification is crucial for the correlation of (among other sorts of pieces) recitation tones for the psalms with the antiphons that frame them. Whereas traditional modal theory had stressed final and range as determinants of mode, Marchetto stressed scale structure and articulation; this change of perspective, along with his development of the concept of modal mixture, enabled the classification of melodies that had earlier been dismissed as anomalous. Marchetto's modal doctrine spread through Italy and beyond during the next 200 years and became the foundation of the modal theory of polyphonic music during the Renaissance.

Earlier theories of melody based on hexachords (six-note *ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la* prototypes) and their connection through a process called mutation allowed only for diatonic progressions; though they served plainchant melodies well, these theories failed the chromatic progressions (e.g., progressions directly from c-natural to c-sharp) favored by Italian composers of the early fourteenth century. Marchetto developed a theory to accommodate such progressions and coined the term "permutation" for the hexachord connections they entail; though the term gained a certain currency in music theory of the fourteenth

century, it disappeared as fifteenth-century composers abandoned chromatic progressions.

Though he espoused the traditional so-called Pythagorean tuning system, in which all perfect fifths are pure, Marchetto modified the system by describing the slight raising of sharped notes in certain contrapuntal contexts, a process that increases the harmonic piquancy of some combinations of notes and makes them seem to drive toward notes of resolution; this procedure has important implications for the performance of fourteenth-century music. Marchetto's "fifths" of whole tones must surely be taken as rough approximations rather than precise measurements; nonetheless, the concept of fractional division of whole tones represents a crucial step in the abandonment of the arithmetic strictures of the Pythagorean system, in which equal division of the whole tone was conceptually impossible. This step was necessary for the eventual development of equal temperament.

The thirteenth century had seen far-reaching developments in the theory of mensural notation, a theory which Franco of Cologne codified late in the century. Franco based his system on a note value called the breve (corresponding roughly to a measure in modern notation) that was divisible only into thirds at primary and secondary levels; Franco worked out elaborate rules for notating rhythms within these limitations. A handful of theoretical and practical sources from around 1300 documents attempts to expand Franco's system, but the earliest comprehensive treatise to succeed in doing so was Marchetto's *Pomerium*, which describes primary and secondary divisions of the breve into two or three parts and tertiary division into two parts, resulting in divisions of the breve into two, three, four, six, eight, nine, or twelve parts, which can then be combined in various ways, even involving syncopation within and between breve units. *Pomerium* became the foundation of Italian mensural theory of the fourteenth century, and it sheds light as well on the early stage of French mensural notation, a system that coexisted with the Italian and eventually supplanted it.

See also Ars Nova

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Marco Polo

See Polo, Marco

Margaret of Cortona, Saint

Margaret of Cortona (c. 1247–1297) was a penitent and mystic. Her *Legenda*, the most authoritative account of her life, begins like a tragic

romance: Margaret, the beautiful daughter of a peasant farmer in Laviano, ran away at sixteen with a nobleman who promised to marry her but did not. They lived together for nine years and had a son, but then Margaret's lover was killed, and she was shocked into repentance. She left all her possessions and tried to return home, asking forgiveness. When her father and stepmother turned her away, she and her child found refuge in Cortona with two gentlewomen who were associated with the Franciscan community there. A few years later Margaret was admitted to the Franciscan-sponsored Order of Penitents (which later became the third order). She spent the rest of her life as a humble penitent in Cortona, enduring extreme deprivations to atone for her sins and devoting her time to charity, peacemaking, and intense periods of prayer and meditation. By the time she died, local belief in her sainthood was so strong that miraculous cures were spontaneously reported at her tomb. Despite repeated petitions to the papacy, however, annual celebration of her feast day (22 February) in Cortona was not officially authorized until 1515, and her actual canonization was delayed until 1728.

The early documents about Margaret raise tantalizing questions because they speak with multiple and sometimes clashing voices. Although her *Legenda* is attributed to the Franciscan friar Giunta Bevegnati, who served as one of her confessors and eventually compiled most of the text, in reality it has several layers of authorship: Margaret recounted her visions while Fra Giunta took notes; another priest filled this role during the last seven years of her life, when Fra Giunta was absent from Cortona; other witnesses supplied supplementary information; and the final text was reviewed and further edited by both civil and ecclesiastical officials. Recovering Margaret's authentic voice and experience from such a composite text may be impossible, although feminist scholars have begun to try. What does emerge clearly from the *Legenda* and other early sources is the struggle that went on after her death over the right to display her relics and claim the benefits of her patronage. Recent studies have identified three main parties in this struggle: Franciscan friars; civic leaders of Cortona; and adherents of San Basilio, the church that became Margaret's shrine.

In the *Legenda* itself, the strongest voice is Franciscan. Indeed, the text recounts numerous visions in which Christ expresses special favor

toward the Franciscans, reminds Margaret that he has personally entrusted her to their keeping, and urges her always to obey them. The *Legenda* also holds Margaret up as an example for other Franciscan tertiaries to follow and portrays her, in effect, as a testimonial to the virtues that a lay penitent could acquire under Franciscan guidance: humility, self-discipline, reverence for the clergy and the eucharist, perfect orthodoxy (always a key question about uncloistered women), and even the restoration of virginity. As Schlager (1998) has suggested, these emphases may have been chosen partly to overcome the friars' own resistance to the papal mandates that made them responsible for potentially dangerous female penitents.

Other portions of the *Legenda*—including practically all the miracle stories, which were originally omitted from Fra Giunta's account and appended in the last chapter—link Margaret more closely with local needs and aspirations in Cortona. And Margaret's own reported words and actions sometimes support the local agendas too. In the decade before her death, she distanced herself somewhat from the Franciscan friars by moving to a solitary cell near San Basilio, which was then just a small secular church in poor condition, and choosing its priest, *ser* Badia, as her final confessor. She supported this church by obtaining an indulgence for those who helped with its rebuilding, and she founded a charitable confraternity whose first chaplain was *ser* Badia. When she died, it was San Basilio that received her body for burial, although the Franciscans insisted for decades that she had made a permanent commitment to them. Civic leaders asserted the town's own claim to her body, arguing that she had chosen to live in Cortona and had contributed significantly to the general welfare by founding a hospital for the poor, resolving conflicts between rival factions, and negotiating an agreement that persuaded the warlike bishop of Arezzo to cancel an impending attack.



Statue of Saint Margaret, Cortona. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

As Bornstein (1993) has shown, using archival sources that survive in Cortona, the contest over Margaret's relics had economic and political ramifications. When the miracles began around her tomb, San Basilio reaped the most obvious benefits. In the next few decades, this church acquired an impressive new sanctuary, suitable for welcoming pilgrims, and a rich endowment based on bequests. Civic leaders invested generously in the expansion and adornment of San Basilio (eventually

renamed Santa Margherita) and the promotion of Margaret's cult, and the investment evidently paid off in terms of Cortona's increasing prestige and political independence. The Franciscans were shut out until the end of the fourteenth century, when town leaders invited them to replace the secular clergy who had hitherto administered the new church and Margaret's shrine. But the town itself retained—and still retains—legal ownership of Margaret's body.

An ambitious study by Cannon and Vauchez (1999) enriches and complicates this picture by reminding us that the contest over Margaret's cult was partly about the right to define the religious and symbolic identity of Cortona's patron saint. This issue mattered greatly not only to the Franciscans, but also to the civic authorities of Cortona and certain subgroups within the town, including the local clergy and the next generation of male and female tertiaries. The different ways in which these Cortonese groups reconstructed Margaret's identity, in the light of their own corporate traditions and priorities, are barely suggested in the *Legenda* and other written sources. But, as Cannon demonstrates, a great deal can still be learned about them by studying what remains of the paintings and sculpture that were added to the church of Santa Margherita in the fourteenth century to honor this not yet canonized saint. More work will surely be done with the wealth of fascinating detail that Cannon and Vauchez have brought to light.

See also Cortona

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Margaretto Da Arezzo

Margaretto da Arezzo (Margaritone d'Arezzo, Margarito d'Arezzo; d. 1293) was a painter in the Tuscan primitive style. Though a number of his works remain, there is little reliable documentary evidence from which to construct a chronology of his life. A single notarial document, unrelated to his work, places him in Arezzo in 1262, and his signature on a number of retables—*Margaritus de Aritio me fecit*—suggests that

he was probably born there. As to the date of his birth, Vasari posited 1216 but gave no reason for such a supposition. It is reasonably clear, however, that Margaretto was active during the second half of the thirteenth century.

During Margaretto's lifetime, Arezzo was a flourishing autonomous Ghibelline *comune*. This independence is reflected in the Aretine school of painting, which borrows from, and is often identified as, the Byzantine style, relying on formal iconography repeated in much the same design. However, the Aretine style, and Margaretto's style in particular, were not entirely Byzantine. The art critic Roberto Longhi (d. 1970) noted the importance and complexity of Margaretto's figurative sources, recognizing in them a genuine freshness which differentiated this artist from the current Byzantine style. Similarly, Vasari noted the novelty of Margaretto's technique: Margaretto combined canvas, glue, and gypsum to ensure, when painting on wood, that the joints were secure enough to eliminate the appearance of cracks or fissures.

Although the details of Margaretto's life and work are at times mostly speculation, there are many extant works quite certainly attributable to Margaretto, including eight signed panels depicting the life of Saint Francis of Assisi, one of the painter's favorite subjects. Probably the most famous of these is the Saint Francis in the state museum of medieval and modern art in Arezzo, the likely prototype of all the images until the eighteenth century reproducing standard episodes from the life of the saint. Originally it adorned the convent of Sargiano. Other depictions of Saint Francis signed by Margaretto are currently housed at Castiglion Fiorentino, Cortona, Ganghereto, Rome (Vatican), Siena, and Zurich.

Another image that figures prominently in Margaretto's work is the Madonna and child enthroned. There are examples at the National Gallery in London as well as the National Gallery in Washington, but, again, the most noted example is found in Arezzo: this is a *Madonna and Child Enthroned* now housed, like the Saint Francis, in the state museum, but originally from Montelungo. It is significantly influenced by Christian-oriental iconographic sources. Particularly evident is the influence of the frescoes of Baouit and of Saqqara in Egypt, knowledge of which probably reached Italy through monks and monasteries. Longhi, relying on a sixteenth-century inscription, proposed a tenable

date of 1250 for the work, but even this date has been disputed and cannot be confirmed.

Another work of note attributable to Margaretto is a *Madonna and Child Enthroned* (*Santa Maria delle Vertighe*) with episodes or *storiette* from the life of the Virgin housed at Monte San Savino (Arezzo). A barely legible Gothic inscription on the work was for some time mistakenly interpreted as indicating that Margaretto simply undertook the restoration of a much older retable. However, closer inspection reveals that the word *Restanrus* is in fact the name of a person, Ristoro, who collaborated with Margaretto. It is likely that this Ristoro was the miniaturist who executed the *storiette*, while the other parts of the altarpiece were probably done by Margaretto in his later phase—that is, sometime between 1274 to 1283. Once again, however, there is a dispute among critics and historians as to the accuracy of this date.

Although the bulk of his work appears to have been completed in and around Arezzo, it is highly possible (but not certain) that Margaretto also traveled to a number of cities in Tuscany, the Marches, and Umbria, and even went as far as Rome to complete various projects.

Vasari indicates that, in addition to painting, Margaretto engaged in sculpture and architecture, including work on the Ves covado in and c. 1275 and the design of the palace of the governors at Ancona. According to Vasari, Margaretto designed the palace of the governors, which is in the Byzantine style, and carved the eight windows of the facade. Vasari also attributes the design of the church at San Ciriaco in Ancona to Margaretto. None of this, however, can be confirmed.

Margaretto died at age seventy-seven and was buried in the old cathedral, which has since been demolished, outside Arezzo.

See also Arezzo; Francis of Assisi; Painting; Panel

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Marino Ceccoli

Marino Ceccoli (fl. mid-1300s) was a Perugian lyric poet. His date of birth is uncertain, but he was writing by 1335, is mentioned in a list of Perugian *iurisperiti* (lawyers) compiled in 1355, undertook a diplomatic mission to Florence in 1366, was addressed as "a man of outstanding eloquence . . . and the intimate favorite of the Muses" by Coluccio Salutati in a letter of 1369, and—to judge by a previously unnoticed reference in the Perugian archives—may still have been alive in 1371. Ceccoli's small output (twenty-five sonnets, a *canzone*, and three Latin letters) is preserved in manuscript Vaticano Barberiniano 4036 (of 1345-1353). His works have at least two distinct but related stylistic features. One, derived from *poesia giocosa*, is a colorful treatment of everyday life and a parody of the themes and diction of *poesia aulica*. The other is a more straightforward approach to serious issues—love (specifically, homosexual love), religion, and politics.

See also Cecco Nuccoli; Moscoli, Neri; Perugia

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Markward of Anweiler

Markward (d. 1202) was a member of the class of *ministeriales* ("unfree knights"). He emerges first in 1184, as steward to the future emperor Henry VI. In 1193-1195, Markward helped Henry to conquer Sicily; in reward, he was freed, and at the diet of Bari in 1195 he was made duke of Romagna and Ravenna and margrave of Ancona, all areas to be won from the papal state. (The titles were apparently valid only in Italy.) Markward never obtained all these areas, but he got most of the Romagna by 1197, to the pope's fury. Henry VI died in 1198, leaving his "testament" to the custodianship of Markward—or so Markward alleged. This testament was a set of guidelines for ensuring the future of the kingdom of Sicily and especially for securing the throne for Henry's eldest son, the future Frederick II (then two years old). Markward

accordingly claimed the regency of Sicily, despite opposition from the papacy. The text of the testament gives no support to this claim, but the testament survives only in papal sources and was perhaps edited. The dowager empress Constance also opposed Markward's claim: she drove him out of Sicily, claimed the regency for herself, and obtained the approval of the papacy for her son's coronation.

Markward went to the Romagna but failed to hold it against papal troops sent by the new pope, Innocent III. Markward then gave his support to Philip of Swabia, Henry VI's brother, who was claiming the empire for himself in opposition to the papal claimant Otto of Brunswick. When Constance died, Markward again claimed the regency of Sicily (whether on behalf of Philip or Frederick is unclear). Meanwhile, the chancellor of the Regno, Walter of Palear, who was acting independently of either the pope or Philip, opposed Markward, possibly intending to uphold Frederick's claims but possibly simply out of jealousy.

In 1199, Markward attempted to establish his claim by force and, supported by various Germans and by the Saracens of western Sicily, waged a destructive war. The pope accordingly proclaimed a crusade against him (even though the Fourth Crusade was currently being preached). This has been called the first of the political crusades against Christians, but Innocent evidently wanted to represent it as another crusade against an infidel, since he emphasized Markward's links with the Sicilian Saracens. To support the crusade, Innocent called in Walter of Brienne, husband of the only surviving relative of the last Norman king of Sicily, to take over the government of the Regno (though not the kingship, since Innocent, as his acknowledged overlord, was bound to protect Frederick's throne). Walter of Palear, furious at this, opened negotiations with Markward, but shortly afterward (June 1200) papal troops routed Markward near Monreale. Markward recovered, helped by Walter of Palear, and in November Markward and Walter agreed to share the regency: Mark ward was to retain the island of Sicily, Walter was to retain the mainland, and Walter's brother was to take charge of Frederick. But when Walter of Brienne won a victory on the mainland (1201), Markward seized Frederick and occupied Palermo, which had hitherto remained independent of both him and Walter of Palear. From then until his death, Markward acted as guardian of Frederick and

regent of Sicily. He failed, however, to recover the mainland, where Walter of Brienne scored another victory, eliminating Walter of Palear and stopping Markward from extending his power further.

See also Constance; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Henry IV, Emperor; Innocent III, Pope

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Marozia

See Pornocracy

Marriage

See Family Structure

Marsilio of Padua

Marsilio of Padua (Marsiglio, Marsilius de Mainardino; c. 1275 or 1280-1342 or 1343) was an antipapal political theorist. He was the son of the notary of the University of Padua and studied Aristotelian philosophy there; later, he taught this philosophy at Paris, where he was rector in 1313 and eventually studied theology. His obscure career took many turns: he also was a priest, a physician, and a diplomat. In 1319, he went on an embassy for the Ghibelline leaders Matteo Visconti and Cangrande della Scala. Among Marsilio's associates were the astrologer Peter of Abano; the humanist Albertino Mussato; the Averroist John of Jandun; and, in later years, William of Ockham.

In 1324, in Paris, Marsilio completed his masterwork, *Defensor pads* (*The Defender of Peace*), which circulated anonymously until his authorship was discovered in 1326. Expecting to be condemned as a heretic for his antipapal opinions, he took refuge at the court of the pope's archenemy Lewis of Bavaria, whom he served for the rest of his life. Lewis was guided by Marsilio's theories when he went to Rome in 1327 and was crowned emperor in the name of the people. Likewise, Lewis claimed that the Roman church should be administered by the emperor, and, accordingly, he appointed Marsilio as his administrator, with the title of imperial vicar for spiritual affairs in Rome. The emperor could not maintain himself for long in Italy, however, and by 1330 he was back in Bavaria. In 1342, Marsilio was still with Lewis, serving as his physician and counselor. At this time Marsilio wrote *Defensor minor*, in which his earlier work was summarized and extended to prove that the emperor had jurisdiction over questions of

marriage.

Marsilio's central concern was the political power of the papacy, which he, like Dante, saw as the principal cause of civil strife in Italy. To restore peace, Dante sought to revive the Roman empire; Marsilio was more realistic. He insisted that the state should control the church, but he devised a generalized theory of the state that could fit not only the empire but also national monarchies and even city-states. Thus, his proposals, far from threatening civil governments, offered them control over their several churches. *Defensor pads* is accordingly divided into two principal parts: the first discourse (*dictio*) argues that political power belongs exclusively to the secular state; the second counters the papacy's claims to independent political status and makes the state the administrator of organized religion.

Marsilio's concept of the state is closely modeled on Aristotle's *Politics*. The state is a natural phenomenon, arising from man's nature as a political animal. Government exists so that all men may lead the "sufficient life," i.e., "live and live well." The form of government is not set by nature, however; instead, a community is formed by the mutual agreement of its members to live together under laws to which they have consented. Thus, for Marsilio, the foundation of all government is the "human legislator," i.e., the people of the community who make the laws. Marsilio is not a democrat; he realizes that not everyone is fit to participate in legislation, and he restricts the *legislator humanus* to the "prevailing part" (*valentior pars*) of the citizens, who are better or more numerous (or both) than the others. The Marsilian "legislator" is usually too numerous to do more than authorize the actual ruler (the *pars principans*), e.g., an elective emperor, a hereditary king, a *podestà*, or a council. In practice, all legislative, judicial, and executive functions are delegated to this ruler, who can, however, be deposed by the human legislator that appointed him. Thus, Marsilio's general theory of the state allows for diverse constitutions—monarchical, aristocratic, and even democratic. The main point, for his purpose, was that the ruler has a monopoly on political power within his state. A competing power independent of the ruler would be contrary to nature.



Marsilius of Padua. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 224r.

The second discourse of *Defensor pacis* defines the proper place of the clergy, and especially the pope, within this political framework. In general, the job of the clergy is to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments. Clergymen are chosen and supported by the state, which administers all the worldly affairs of the church. In effect, the Franciscan ideal of poverty is extended to the whole clergy. Furthermore, Marsilio regards bishops as priests to whom the ruler has delegated certain executive duties, and the bishop of Rome is superior to the rest only insofar as he has been granted a few broader powers. Marsilio elaborately rebuts the papacy's position that the pope is Peter's successor as vicar of Christ and denounces its claim to "plenitude of power" (*plenitudo potestatis*) as the "singular cause of strife or civil

discord." Thus, each state controls the church within it. When questions of faith arise that affect the church as a whole, the emperor can call an international council, consisting of laymen as well as clergy, to settle the matter. Enforcement of the council's decisions, however, is wholly up to the local rulers.

Marsilio completely reversed the dominant view that church and state exercise coordinate jurisdictions ("Gelasian dualism"). For more than three centuries, *Defensor pacis* was the arsenal of antipapalists, especially in the age of conciliarism and the Reformation. Many of its ideas were already current in university circles, but Marsilio gave them coherent, scholarly, and passionate expression. Moreover, his arguments appealed to a broad audience trained in Aristotle's logic and political philosophy; no special knowledge of law or theology was required. He moved beyond scholasticism in his use of history to explain institutional development.

Marsilio's theory of the state was not the main thrust of his work, but many readers have been unduly impressed by this theory because it appears to anticipate such modern doctrines as popular sovereignty and the social contract; they thus overlook the other, deeper medieval roots of these ideas.

See also Albertino Mussato; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Cangrande della Scala; Lewis of Bavaria

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Martin I, Pope

Pope Martin I (saint; d. 655, r. 649-654) was born in Todi of a noble family. He rose to posts in the papal court, and under Pope Theodore I (r. 642-649) he was sent as legate to the imperial court in Constantinople. There he observed the religious crisis surrounding the young emperor Constans II, who attempted in his *Typos* (648) to still the controversy over the Monothelete doctrine promulgated by his grandfather Heraclius to conciliate the dissident Christians of the east who supported Monophysitism.

Martin, who was strongly opposed to these imperial policies, was elected pope in clear contempt of the emperor and was consecrated without awaiting the emperor's legally required ratification. At the urging of the dissident theologian Maximus the Confessor, the new pope showed further defiance by calling a synod of Italian prelates, which met at the Lateran Palace (April-October 649) and condemned the policies of both Heraclius and Constans. The synod thereby formally put the papacy on record, for the first time, in full opposition to both Monothelism and the new emperor's moratorium on debate over it. Martin went on to take other bold actions in dealings with prelates of the eastern church.

Outraged at this defiance, and determined to crush all religious dissent, the fiery young sovereign ordered his new deputy, Olympius, the exarch of Italy, to enforce the *Typos* there and to arrest the pope. But the exarch evaded this order and, according to some reports, was urged by Martin to rebel against the emperor and usurp the imperial title. Whatever his stance, Olympius died soon afterward (652), on his way to Sicily. Constans sent a new exarch, Theodore Calliopas, under the same orders, and in 653 Martin was confronted by troops in the Lateran church where, already ailing, he had taken refuge. The pope was taken into custody (19 June) and brought by ship first to the island of Naxos, and then, in September, to Constantinople itself, where he was tried on charges of treason. Under sentence and the threat of death,

Martin was imprisoned and treated with utmost brutality. He was then conveyed into exile in Crimean Cherson in the spring of 654. He died there on 16 September of the following year, having already been replaced as pope in Rome.

Regarded as a martyr for his faith, Martin was canonized and is considered a saint in the Greek as well as the Roman church.

See also Constans II; Exarchate of Ravenna; Monophysite Controversy

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Martin IV, Pope

Pope Martin IV (Simon de Brie, Simon de Brion; c. 1210-1285, r. 1281-1285) was surnamed "of Brie" from the region near Paris where his father held fiefs as a knight. Martin's career was colored by his loyalty to his native France and to his royal benefactors. Royal patronage secured him a benefice that paid for his education, first in arts at Paris and then in law at Parma. After graduation, from 1248 to 1259, he held a succession of administrative positions in the diocese of Rouen, rising eventually to be head of the cathedral chapter. He soon attracted the favor of Louis IX (Saint Louis), who made him treasurer of the church

of Tours (1256) and then keeper of the royal seal (1259) in charge of the king's chancery. Simon was on the verge of becoming a bishop when his career took an abrupt turn in 1261.

Urban IV, a fellow Frenchman, had just become pope, and he called Simon to Rome to be cardinal priest of Saint Caecilia. Simon spent the next twenty years in the service of the papacy. For half of this time, he was the pope's legate in France, where his close ties with the French court were a significant diplomatic asset. In 1264, he successfully concluded an agreement between the papacy and the king's brother, Charles of Anjou, whereby Charles would become the pope's vassal for the Italian Regno, or kingdom of Sicily, if he could conquer it, as eventually he did. Simon's lifelong loyalty to France and the Capetian dynasty made him an ardent supporter of Charles's interests at the papal court, so Charles in turn exerted his influence to have Simon elected pope in 1281. Simon returned the favor throughout his pontificate.

Characteristically, the new pope chose a name that suggested his ties to France and to the church of Saint Martin of Tours. For the previous ten years, Martin's predecessors had kept Charles of Anjou at arm's length. However, Martin IV embraced him, placed him in charge of the civil government of Rome with the title of senator, and appointed his protégés as administrators in the papal states. Charles was planning an attack on Constantinople, and so Martin further obliged him by excommunicating the Greek emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus, even though this ruptured a brief union of the Greek and Latin churches. After the Sicilian Vespers (1282), the rebel cities at first hoped Martin would accept them as his direct vassals, but, placing Charles's interests before those of the papacy and native Italians, he rebuffed them. Instead, all the material and spiritual resources of the papacy were placed at Charles's disposal: Martin excommunicated the rebels and contributed to Charles's war chest. When King Peter III of Aragon accepted the crown of Sicily, Martin not only excommunicated him but also declared a crusade against Aragon, which he persuaded the king of France to undertake. Thus, he committed the papacy to the Angevins in the war of the Vespers, which dragged on after all three principals died in 1285.

Martin IV was a capable professional administrator who was guided

chiefly by his patriotism and loyalty to his patrons. His besetting sin, according to Dante, was gluttony (*Purgatory*, 24.20-24).

See also Charles I of Anjou; Peter III of Aragon; Sicilian Vespers; Urban IV, Pope

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Martini, Simone

The birthplace of the painter Simone Martini (c. 1284–1344) is unknown, but he must have been a citizen of Siena, for he is referred to as *de Senis*. We find no mention of Martini (as he will be called here, though he is often called simply Simone) in archival records before 1315. However, the year of his birth may be deduced from Vasari, who saw a memorial inscription in the church of San Francesco in Siena, according to which Martini died at age sixty. Martini's training is undocumented. He may have been a pupil of Duccio and may even have been one of several collaborators working on Duccio's *Maestà*; or, as Vasari wrote, he may have been a pupil of Giotto in Rome. Many scholars see in Martini's work the influence of the French courtly style, to which he may have been exposed during visits to Naples and Rome, where French culture thrived at the time. Martini married Giovanna, the sister of the Sienese artist Lippo Memmi, in 1324; he bought the house they lived in from Memmi. The couple had no children. After 1333,

there is no mention of Martini in Siena. By 1336, at the latest, he was in Avignon, where he remained until his death. Only his brother Donato, also a painter, and his wife traveled with Martini to France. The move may have been prompted by competition in Siena from the Lorenzetti brothers, who had been on the rise since c. 1328, or by an unrealized hope for papal commissions.

Siena, Naples, and Assisi (c. 1315-1320)

By consensus, the fresco of the *Maestà* (Palazzo Pubblico, Siena) is Martini's earliest dated work; it was probably completed for the commune in 1315-1316 and repaired in 1321. It shows the Virgin and Child enthroned beneath a canopy supported by some of the saints standing on either side. In the foreground, four saintly protectors of the commune kneel with two angels, who present bowls of flowers to the holy pair. A surrounding border contains images in roundels of God the father, prophets, evangelists, church doctors, and others. This fresco is a unique example of a dialogue between the Virgin and the kneeling saints. The Virgin's statements still remain inscribed on the step below her, but the prayers originally offered by the saints have disappeared from the scrolls that only two of them still hold. The sense of space, defined by the canopy, is noteworthy, as is the textured surface, which creates the impression of a tapestry and includes insertions into the plaster of colored glass and imitation gems, as well as the earliest examples of patterned halos.

The *Saint Louis Altarpiece*, tempera on panel (Naples, Capodimonte Museum) is signed. It was probably commissioned by Louis's brother, King Robert of Anjou, and shows angels crowning an enthroned Louis, while the saint himself deposits a second crown on a minuscule figure of Robert, kneeling at the right. It is datable between 1317, when Louis was canonized, and 1319, when his remains were translated to a new tomb in Marseilles in a ceremony attended by Robert, who returned to Naples with Louis's brain as a relic. Martini probably traveled to Naples to execute the picture. Louis's royal status is emphasized by the fleur-de-lis and other emblems on the frame and the saint's robe. The intricate tooling and use of glass, stones, silver, and gold lend the work

opulence. The narrative predella, the earliest of this form to survive, illustrates five events from the life, death, and miracles of Louis. Though the scenes are set in different architectural interiors, the intuitive perspective is synchronized in all five, with orthogonals moving toward the vertical axis of the central scene.

The narrative frescoes in the chapel of Saint Martin of Tours (Assisi, basilica of San Francesco) have been attributed to Martini since the nineteenth century for stylistic reasons. The commission was funded by Gentile di Partino da Montefiore, a Franciscan cardinal from the Marches who died in 1312. The paintings include ten scenes from the legend of Martin and many separate pictures of saints and angels, as well as a portrait of the donor kneeling before Martin. The cycle was probably painted after the donor's death in 1312 but before 1319, when a period of political strife in Assisi would have prevented artistic activity in the basilica. The dedication of an Italian chapel to Martin, a patron saint of France who was born in Hungary, is surprising. Perhaps the donor's education in Paris and a later trip to Hungary on a diplomatic mission inspired his choice. The pictures treat Martin's secular life, reign as bishop, death, and funeral. Their narrative sequence is unusual, moving from the bottom of the wall to the top. Though the space is shallow in all the scenes, whether set in architectural interiors or outdoors, the pictorial drama is clearly articulated through the gestures and glances of the figures—for example, a pauper in the first scene who grasps Martin's cloak. Also impressive are the facial expressions of singers and details of costume such as the colorful peaked hats from Hungary, both seen in *The Knighting of Saint Martin*. Some scholars believe that the frescoes illustrating the life of Saint Francis elsewhere in the basilica influenced Martini's style, both in the Saint Martin cycle and in his later work. Martini may also have been responsible for the three stained-glass windows in the chapel. These windows (of uncertain date) show Saint Martin and other figures. According to Vasari, the *Virgin and Child with Saints* and *Five Saints*, frescoes in the chapel of Santa Elisabetta in the basilica, were begun by Martini and finished by Lippo Memmi.

Siena, Orvieto, San Gimignano, and Pisa (c. 1320-1335)

The *Grieving Saint John* (Barber Institute, Birmingham), in tempera on wood, is dated 1320 but undocumented before 1932. The saint's emotions are beautifully expressed. This work is small in scale and was probably part of a triptych painted for a private patron.

The frescoed *Equestrian Portrait of Guidoriccio da Fogliano* (Siena, Palazzo Pubblico) is controversial. Documents show that *Simone dipintore* painted at least four pictures of castles in the Palazzo Pubblico in 1330 and 1331. Since *Guidoriccio* shows castles in the background, some scholars assume that it is among the documented pictures. However, the fresco was not mentioned by Ghiberti or Vasari, and it is not signed. Moreover, there are errors in the treatment of military details that lead some to conclude not only that the painting is not by Martini, but that it is later than the fourteenth century. A relatively recent discovery of a fresco containing a castle lower down on the same wall as *Guidoriccio* allows us to attribute that work to Martini in lieu of the disputed picture. But if *Guidoriccio* is by Martini, and the inaccuracies are due to sloppy restorations in later times, the fresco demonstrates the painter's innovativeness. The warrior, identified as Guidoriccio by his heraldry, rides alone immediately behind the picture plane, a broad landscape stretching far beyond him—an image without precedent in medieval secular palaces.



Simone Martini (1284—1344), *The Annunciation, with Saints Ansanus and Margaret*. Four medallions of prophets: *Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Isaiah, Daniel*. Tempera on wood, 265 by 305 centimeters. Uffizi, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The *Saint Ansanus Annunciation* (Florence, Uffizi) is signed by both Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi and dated 1333. It is painted in tempera on wood and is an early example of an altarpiece illustrated with a narrative scene. The work shows Saint Ansanus and an unidentified female saint (Margaret?) at either side and prophets in roundels. It was the first of four altarpieces for the cathedral of Siena, dedicated to the four saintly protectors of the city, one of whom was Ansanus. The frame was added in the late nineteenth century. The records of payment shed no light on the respective responsibilities of the two collaborators. Probably Martini painted the Annunciation and Memmi painted the two saints and the prophets. A fifth roundel most likely portrayed God the father. The Annunciation is noteworthy for its immediacy: Gabriel has just alighted, his cape still flying, while the Virgin recoils in fear. Elegant details include Mary's intarsia throne; the marble floor; and Gabriel's brocaded robe, plaid cape, and rose-tinged

wings. As in other Sienese Annunciations, Gabriel bears an olive branch instead of a lily. He also wears a crown of olive leaves. Symbolic of peace, these leaves perhaps allude to the coming of Jesus, the prince of peace. The words of Gabriel's announcement, *Ave Gratia Plena Dominus Tecum* (Luke 1:28), are in relief; they can thus be read metaphorically as the word that becomes flesh in Mary's womb at this instant.

The *Altarpiece of the Blessed Agostino Novello* (Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale) is a tempera painting in an old-fashioned *pala* format. Though it is unsigned and undated, most scholars believe that Martini was the artist. It was painted for Sant' Agostino in Siena and was first documented in 1638, together with the sarcophagus of the Beatus (now lost) that it decorated. Agostino, a hermit monk who died in 1309 outside Siena, was venerated locally. The central panel of the altarpiece portrays him standing amid four trees, book in hand, an inspirational angel at his ear. The side panels illustrate four posthumous miracles—two drawn from Augustinian texts, two unrecorded. Each contains two episodes, a disaster followed by salvation. Three of the four stories show Agostino saving small children, an emphasis compatible with the protohumanism of the early *Trecento*.

Martini and his workshop painted other polyptychs, typically showing a half-length Virgin and child in the center flanked by panels containing busts of saints. At least two rested on a predella, and all apparently were crowned with gables filled with bust-length figures. The altarpiece painted for Santa Caterina in Pisa (Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo) and signed by Martini seems to have survived intact. The others, broken up and with many panels missing, apparently were painted as altarpieces for churches in Orvieto and San Gimignano.

Avignon (c. 1335-1344)

The frescoes originally in the porch of the cathedral of Notre Dame des Doms, Avignon, were probably commissioned by Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi (d. 1341). When the badly damaged fragments that survive were transferred to the museum of the Palais des Papes, up to three layers of *sinopie* were revealed. Two works are completely lost: *Andrea*

Corsini Healing a Blind Man, a portrayal of a miracle that took place in the porch itself; and *Saint George and the Dragon*, known through a seventeenth-century copy. The extant fragments and *sinopie* portray the earliest known Madonna of Humility and an adult Jesus with an orb flanked by six angels. In the former, the donor kneels before the Virgin, and the child holds a scroll inscribed "I am the light of the world"; in the latter, the unusual orb contains a landscape framed between rippling water and a starry sky. The changes in the skillfully drawn series of *sinopie* suggest that the patron played an active role in the artist's progress.

The *Holy Family* (Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery) is signed and dated 1342. This small picture in tempera is a unique portrayal of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph immediately after the disputation with the doctors in the temple. The codex in the Virgin's lap contains an abbreviated quotation from Luke 2:48—"Son, why hast thou dealt with us thus?"—and the gestures indicate a parental reprimand of the defiant Jesus. This work is an unusual example of the Holy Family as an ordinary family with ordinary problems; as such, it reflects the human values of the time.

The *Virgil Frontispiece* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana) was painted on vellum for Petrarch between 1338 and 1344. A couplet inscribed on it states that the artist was Simone Martini. This painting was made for Petrarch's volume of classical texts, which included most of Virgil; it originally faced the first work, a fourth-century commentary by Servius on the *Bucolics*. The image seems to be an allegory explained by two other couplets that refer to the "unveiling" of the "secrets" of Virgil by Servius. It depicts Servius pulling back a curtain to reveal a reclining Virgil; nearby are a knight (representing the *Aeneid*), a farmer (*Georgics*), and a shepherd (*Eclogues*).

Two lost portraits by Martini probably also date from the Avignon period. The first, made for Petrarch, depicted Laura; it is known only through two of the poet's sonnets that refer to it. The second was of Cardinal Napoleone Orsini, and to it Martini added verses by Petrarch, which appear to come from the sitter's mouth. It was mentioned in a fifteenth-century text. These were the first-known individual portraits in Italy.

The seven surviving tempera panels of the *Antwerp (Orsini) Polyptych* (Antwerp, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts; Berlin, Staatliche

Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Paris, Musée du Louvre) are dated by most scholars to Martini's years in Avignon. Originally a double-sided work, the polyptych probably folded like a concertina. The panels portray Gabriel, the Virgin Annunciate, and the *Via Crucis* (backed by the Orsini arms), *Crucifixion*, *Deposition*, and *Entombment*. One narrative panel and a second set of the family arms are lost. The patron, shown in the *Deposition*, was one of the four Orsini brothers, all of whom became cardinals. Most remarkable is the *Via Crucis*, which includes perturbed children; a rare depiction of Simon of Gyrene bearing the cross behind Jesus (Matthew 27:32); and a compassionate Saint John already protecting the Virgin, before Jesus asks him to do so from the cross. The polyptych was signed by Martini.

Saint Ladislav (Altomonte, Santa Maria della Consolazione, Museo), a small devotional panel in tempera known only since 1929, is attributed to Martini on the basis of style. It probably was made at Avignon. The veneration of Ladislav was rare in Italy at this time, and the portrayal of a saint standing in isolation was also unusual.

Other Lost or Destroyed Works

Account books in Siena mention other works done in the city but no longer extant. In addition, Ghiberti cites an altarpiece for the cathedral of Siena, now lost, and frescoes on the facade of the Opera del Duomo and the Ospedale della Scala, both destroyed. Finally, Vasari refers to an untraced panel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence.

See also Duccio di Buoninsegna; Giotto di Bondone; Petrarca, Francesco; Siena

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Masegne Brothers

The brothers Pierpaolo (documented 1383, died c. 1403) and Jacobello (documented 1383, d. after 1409) dalle Masegne, sculptors and architects from northern Italy, were among the most important artistic personalities active in the Veneto and in Emilia at the close of the fourteenth century. They are best-known for their collaborative work on the marble altarpiece of San Francesco in Bologna (commissioned 1388) and the iconostasis, or choir screen, of San Marco in Venice (dated 1394) but they were also active in Mantua, Modena, and Milan. Scholars have tended to focus on determining the individual style of each brother, even though no documentary evidence has been found to substantiate the claim that Pierpaolo was largely responsible for the carving of the altarpiece in Bologna (which was actually commissioned from both), or that Jacobello played the leading role in the iconostasis in Venice (which is in fact signed by both).

The high altar of San Francesco, heavily restored, was carved from Carrara marble. It is complex in structure: two tiers of powerfully characterized activated figures are surmounted by slender finials; and the whole, which is framed by two polygonal end buttresses, rests on a predella comprising nine narrative reliefs. In shape and design the work is dependent on the traditions of *Trecento* painted altarpieces, especially Venetian, although its decorative exuberance invites parallels with ivory carving. Aspects of the figure style and facial types betray the influence of Nino Pisano; the dalle Masegne brothers would have known Pisano's Cornaro monument (Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice) if, as is believed, they spent their formative years in Venice, where their father Antonio had also been active as a stonemason. The figure types found in the brothers' other great commission, the San Marco

iconostasis, have greater expressive force, at least in the case of the apostles. Sharper in outline and crisper in finish, these dynamic statues engage more forcefully with the space around them.

The dalle Masegne, whose oeuvre is indebted both to Nino Pisano's suave style and to the more robust expressive force of contemporary transalpine art, left a lasting impact in northern Italy, in particular, but also in the Marches and parts of Tuscany, as Jacopo della Quercia's work in Lucca and the Riccomanni family's activity in Versilia testify.

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Maso Di Banco

Although Lorenzo Ghiberti described Maso di Banco (Florentine, fl. 1320s-1340s) as "a man of the greatest talents" and credited him with a fresco cycle in the church of Santa Croce, the documentary evidence reveals very little about him, for there are no signed or dated works

from Maso's hand. He was almost certainly trained in Giotto's workshop and has been considered Giotto's closest follower. Recent attributions of sculpture to Maso, also based upon Ghiberti's comments, have been more controversial and are not accepted by some scholars. Maso's frescoes and panel paintings show his profound interest in volume and mass, but his figures do not follow Giotto's emphasis on inner psychological states. Maso's experimentation with pictorial space in his frescoes, and the use of a narrow frame format in his panels, particularly that of the Santo Spirito polyptych in Florence (c. 1340), can connect him with contemporary developments in Sienese painting.

Maso's best-known work is a fresco cycle depicting the legend of Saint Sylvester and Emperor Constantine (c. 1336–1340) in the Bardi-Bardi di Vernio Chapel of Santa Croce. Much of the repainting that had been done during the 1930s was removed during a restoration of the chapel in 1994–1998. The cycle is based on Jacobus da Voragine's *Golden Legend*, but the unusual choice of Saint Sylvester—the pope believed to have converted Constantine to Christianity—was possibly related to the Bardi family's financial ties with the papacy. The frescoes and stained glass in the chapel may also have delineated the role of the church and secular authority in the struggle against heresy. In the famous scene of Saint Sylvester and the Dragon, the saint seals the dragon's mouth and raises two magicians from the dead within a remarkable setting of crumbling walls, meant to evoke the ruins of the Roman forum.

In the same chapel, within the arch of an *avello*, or tomb monument, Maso also painted an individualized Resurrection and Last Judgment. The risen Christ appears solely for a member of the Bardi di Vernio family, who appears to be rising out of his marble tomb below. The donor clearly had no doubts regarding his salvation, and the fresco has been described as one of the most hubristic images of the period.

Since no records documenting Maso's activity have been found after 1348, he may have perished in the black death.

See also **Giotto di Bondone**

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Massa Marittima

Massa was the ancient Etruscan center of a region rich in mineral deposits (iron, lead, silver, copper ores), but it had little municipal history of its own until the mid-ninth century, when the seat of the local bishopric (together with the relics of Cerbonius, an early sixth-century saint) was shifted there from Populonia, which had been destroyed by pirates (c. 835). Massa itself was destroyed by the Saracens in 935 but recovered and emerged by the early thirteenth century as an independent republic (1225-1335). In 1335, it came under Siennese rule, and not until 1555 did it pass to Florence under the Medici. Saint Bernardino of Siena was born in Massa in 1380. The town is divided into two principal parts: the old city (*città vecchia*) and the new city (*città nuova*). Both were enclosed by a thirteenth-century circuit of town walls. After conquering Massa in 1335, the Siennese constructed massive fortifications that divided the two parts of the city, and this new wall includes the Porta alle Silici, which is connected to the Torre del Candeliere by a long flying arch.

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Massa's longstanding importance as a center for the mining of metal ores had reached its

peak. In 1310, the first code of mining regulations (*Codice minerario*) ever issued in Europe was promulgated by Massa, although by the end of the century such mining came to an end. In 1317, the first silver coin, the *grosso*, was minted, bearing the image of Saint Cerbonius.



Ambrogio Lorenzetti (fl. c. 1311-1348), *Maestà*. Palazzo Comunale, Massa Marittima. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Massa is distinguished by its medieval survivals. The *duomo*, dedicated to Saint Cerbonius, was begun early in the twelfth century, revised through the thirteenth, and completed in 1304, emerging as a notable monument synthesizing the Tuscan Romanesque and the Gothic. On the facade, the marble architrave above the main portal has a series of relief sculptures depicting stories from the life of Cerbonius. In the interior are a baptismal font (1267) carved by Girollo da Como; a crucifix from the workshop of Duccio; and, in a side chapel, a painted panel of the *Madonna delle Grazie* (c. 1316). Executed by a member of the workshop of Duccio di Buoninsegna (if not by Duccio himself), this panel represents the trimmed central part of an originally much larger

Maesta that once adorned the high altar. One of the treasures in the cathedral is the marble *Area di San Cerbone* (the tomb of Cerbonius), signed and dated (1324) by Goro di Gregorio; this masterpiece in the Sienese style has relief sculptures of episodes from the saint's life.

Adjacent to the *duomo* are the Palazzo del Podestà (c. 1230) and the Palazzo Pubblico (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries). The Palazzo Pubblico has a fine *Maesta* painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (c. 1335). It shows the Madonna and child enthroned with allegorical figures of the three theological virtues: *Fides* (faith), *Spes* (hope), and *Caritas* (charity). Each is seated on a massive, chromatically symbolic step (white for *Fides*, green for *Spes*, red for *Caritas*). Some elements of the composition (e.g., the rows of saints) are reminiscent of Duccio's *Maestà* in Siena (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo), but Lorenzetti was consciously reinterpreting his source material in an analytical manner, giving it a moralistic, theological meaning. His *Maestà* was originally commissioned by the Augustinian friars for the high altar of their church, Sant' Agostino, which was begun in the Romanesque style (1299–1313) and completed in the Gothic style in 1348. The impressive *fortezza*, dating from the period of Sienese control (1335 onward), now survives only in part.

See also Coins and Mints; Duccio di Buoninsegna

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Master of Saint Cecilia

See Saint Cecilia Master

Master of the Dominican Effigies

The painter and illuminator called the Master of the Dominican Effigies (fl. c. 1328-1350) was closely associated with the artistic milieu of early *Trecento* Florence, and especially with a "miniaturist tendency" (Offner 1987) that thrived there under Pacino di Bonaguida and his entourage. The oeuvre and identity of the Master of the Dominican Effigies are still a subject of scholarly debate. He is currently named after a panel, the *Enthroned Christ and Virgin Attended by Seventeen Dominican Saints* (c. 1336; Florence, Santa Maria Novella). In the early twentieth century, some of the work now associated with him was attributed to the Master of the Lord Lee Polyptych, identified by Osvald Siren in 1926; or to the Master of Terenzano, as proposed by Bernard Berenson in 1930–1931. Some scholars, taking a more controversial line, have argued that the art of two other *anonimi*—the Biadaiolo Master and the Master of the Cappella Medici Polyptych—or even the art of one documented artist, the illuminator Ristoro di Andrea (fl. c. 1334-1364), should be assigned to the Master of the Dominican Effigies. These hypotheses, however, have not all found wide critical acceptance.

The artistic personality of the Master of the Dominican Effigies appears to have developed in the orbit of Pacino, from whom he inherited an interest in small-scale panel painting and manuscript illustration, which are both suited to engaging narrative, pictorial precision, and charmingly characterized figures. Indeed, in the unusually large gathering of saints shown in the panel in Santa Maria Novella (the work after which he is named), an attention to glance and

gesture results in a cohesive figural grouping that is not lacking in animation despite the symmetrical arrangement. There is also a concern for pattern and ornamental detail, especially evident in the decoration of the gabled throne, its tiered supporting structure, and the rich cloth of honor. These precious qualities also exist in the coeval work of Bernardo Daddi, whose exquisite, gemlike portable altarpieces would have provided the master with an example to follow in this regard, and with regard to the quality of execution. The Master of the Dominican Effigies was evidently a prolific artist who headed a successful workshop, as the range of the commissions he received, especially in illumination, testifies.

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Master of the Saint Francis Cycle

The fresco cycle in the upper basilica of San Francesco in Assisi depicting the legend of Saint Francis is one of the most important landmarks in the history of Italian painting. These frescoes, an early example of naturalistic painting on a monumental scale, have captured the imagination of viewers and artists for centuries. Yet the cycle is also one of the great mysteries of the Italian Middle Ages. Problems surrounding the work have hounded historians for centuries, and neither the identity of its artist (or artists) nor the date of its execution has been confirmed by modern scholarship. Relatively recently, specialists have proposed that the project was executed c. 1300 by a team of anonymous artists, one of whom has been dubbed the Master of the Saint Francis Cycle.

The *Legend of Saint Francis* appears on the lower nave walls of the upper basilica, directly below a series of biblical scenes executed in the early 1290s by the Roman painter Jacopo Torrid. The Saint Francis cycle is arranged in twenty-eight scenes that wrap around the church from one side of the transept to the other and recount the life and miracles of Francesco Bernadone (d. 1226), the merchant's son who initiated the mendicant order bearing his name. Francis is depicted as a humble man, pious in his devotion to Christ and subservient to the papal authority in Rome. Throughout the cycle, figures and spaces are produced with an energy, vibrancy, and naturalistic verve that were clearly innovative,

The lack of any archival references to the cycle and its painters has allowed popular myth to dominate scholarly interpretation. Tradition has long held that Giotto painted the *Legend of Saint Francis*. Ghiberti appears to support this idea when he states in his *Commentari* that Giotto "painted in the church of Assisi . . . , almost all of the lower part" (*dipinse nella chiesa d'Assiesi . . . quasi tutta la parte di sotto*). This remark, while seemingly clear enough, is actually rather ambiguous when one remembers that San Francesco has both an upper and a lower basilica. The *parte di sotto* that Ghiberti mentions could be interpreted as either the lower part of the nave in the upper basilica—the *Legend of Saint Francis*—or the numerous frescoes decorating the lower basilica,

some of which indeed seem to have been executed by Giotto's workshop c. 1310. Vasari is much more specific: he claims that Giotto was the artist of the Francis cycle (which he erroneously describes as having thirty-two scenes). However, his interpretation appears to have been driven both by his reading of Ghiberti's phrase and by his own propagandistic Florentine interpretation of Italian art history.

The words of these early critics have had an extraordinary impact on modern scholarship. Until quite recently, Giotto was almost unanimously identified as the painter of the Saint Francis cycle, and proponents of this view have usually found enough visual evidence to identify the forms and figures as examples of Giotto's "early style." Recent publications have called this interpretation into question, however. The visual evidence indicates that the Saint Francis cycle was painted sometime after 1297 and probably before 1307. Given the fact that Giotto worked in Padua between 1304 and 1306, when he was fully mature, and lived in Rome immediately before or after this period, one wonders if the great master would have had time for an extensive stay in the hinterlands of Umbria. Moreover, the stylistic discrepancies between the Saint Francis cycle and Giotto's paintings in Padua are great enough to cast doubt on the idea that the works in Assisi represent Giotto's early style. If this claim is correct, then Giotto dramatically, and inexplicably, altered his pictorial vocabulary in Padua in the span of only two or three years. Many scholars now argue that the Saint Francis cycle was not painted by Giotto at all, but rather is the work of anonymous masters who were familiar with his proclivities.



School of Giotto di Bondone (1266-1336), *Saint Francis Renounces His Worldly Goods*. Fresco. San Francesco, Assisi. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

However, no known artists have been offered as suitable alternatives. Current theories revolve around the concept that a team of painters worked on the twenty-eight scenes simultaneously. Three stylistic hands have been identified in the cycle, one of which is attributed to an anonymous artist known as the Saint Cecilia Master (owing to affinities with a panel in the Uffizi in Florence). This master is usually credited with scenes 1, 26, 27, and 28. A second painter—the one called the Master of the Saint Francis Cycle—is often thought to have painted scenes 2 through 19, which include *Francis in San Damiano* and the *Renunciation of Worldly Goods*, *Dream of Innocent*, *Miracle at Greccio*,

and *Stigmatization of Francis*. The remaining six scenes are attributed to a third anonymous artist. Of the twenty-eight scenes in the program, those produced by the Master of the Saint Francis Cycle are the most important, owing to their innovative designs and to the influence they seem to have had on other *Trecento* painters.

Although this master apparently has a naturalistic style usually found in the work of Florentine painters, a number of pictorial features suggest a Roman heritage. The depiction of architecture, the handling of figures and faces, and the repeatedly favorable representation of the papacy (and Rome) throughout the cycle suggest that the Master of the Saint Francis Cycle was well versed in the stylistic vocabulary of Pietro Cavallini and his Roman peers.

The scenes making up the *Legend of Saint Francis* and the artists responsible for their execution influenced nearly every important painter of the early *Trecento*, including Giotto, Duccio, and the Lorenzetti brothers. Artists throughout the century appropriated the physical and psychological appearance of the figures, particularly those executed by the Master of the Saint Francis Cycle. The Master of the Saint Francis Cycle, whose productivity outside Assisi is completely unknown to us, must be recognized as one of the most powerful and effective painters of the Italian Middle Ages.

See also Assisi; Francis of Assisi; Franciscan Order; Giotto di Bondone

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Matilda, Countess of Tuscany

Countess Matilda of Tuscany (1046–24 July 1115), is sometimes known as Matilda of Canossa after the chief fortress of the dynasty. Her father was Margrave Boniface III (d. 1052); her mother was Beatrice, daughter of Duke Frederick of upper Lotharingia (d. 1033). In 1054, the widowed Beatrice married Duke Godfrey the Bearded of Lotharingia (d. 1069), whose brother later became Pope Stephen IX (r. 1057–1058) and who was a frequent opponent of Emperor Henry III (r. 1039–1056). This marriage was a major reason for Henry's successful campaign of 1055, when Godfrey was forced to flee to the north and Beatrice and Matilda were taken as captives to Germany. To cement an alliance between Lorraine and Tuscany, Matilda was engaged to Duke Godfrey the Hunchback of Lotharingia—son of her stepfather from his first marriage—even before their return to Italy (1056). The marriage, which eventually took place in 1069, seems to have been unhappy from the start; a son, whom Matilda never recalled in even a single one of her many pious donations, died shortly after a difficult birth. In 1071, she separated from Godfrey the Hunchback and returned to her mother in Italy. With her mother, Matilda governed as the only heiress of the imperial fiefs and family allods (an allod, or allodium, is an estate held in absolute ownership) in Tuscany, Emilia, and Lombardy.

Mother and daughter, but especially Matilda, became fervent supporters of Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085), and of the reformed papacy in general. Nine letters in Gregory's register are addressed to them, and when Gregory proposed a crusade, he envisioned himself at the head of Christian knights in the company of Matilda, Beatrice, and Empress Agnes, the widow of Henry III. In the fight against Henry IV—who obtained absolution from his excommunication by Gregory VII in January 1077 at Matilda's fortress of Canossa—Matilda acted at first as an intermediary, through eventually became a determined military opponent of Henry. Under an imperial ban from 1082 on, Matilda suffered important territorial losses, largely because of the opposition of her own vassals to her policies, which included support of the Pataria in Milan and Piacenza. Nevertheless, she was able to defeat Henry IV in 1092 and never once wavered in her adherence to the papal cause.

Gregory VII had dissuaded her from entering a convent after the death of Godfrey the Hunchback (1076); and in 1089, at the urging of Pope Urban II (r. 1088-1099), she married the seventeen-year-old Welf II of Bavaria (duke, 1101–1120). Welf separated from Matilda in 1095. In 1079, she made the Holy See her sole heir, but evidently with the right not only to usufruct during her lifetime, but also to further alienations and additional dispositions. She confirmed this grant in 1102, but also concluded an agreement in 1111 with Emperor Henry V, who henceforth appeared as her heir. The resulting quarrel over the Matildine lands was finally settled in favor of the curia under Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (r. 1212–1250).

Matilda died at Bondeno, near Ferrara, and in accordance with her wishes was buried at the Abbey of San Benedetto di Polirone near Mantua. In 1634, Pope Urban VIII transferred her remains to Saint Peter's in Rome. Her tomb, designed by Bernini, depicts Henry IV's submission to Gregory VII at Canossa in the presence of Matilda.



Matilda of Tuscany. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 193r.

See also Canossa, Gregory VII, Pope; Henry IV, Emperor; Urban II, Pope

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Matteo D'Acquasparta

Macteo d'Acquasparta (c. 1237—29 August 1302) was a Franciscan theologian and cardinal and served as minister general of the Franciscan order from 1287 to 1289. He was descended from the powerful Bentivenghi family. Matteo joined the Franciscans c. 1254, was educated at the order's convent at Todi, and was then sent to Paris to study theology. He received his baccalaureate in 1268 or 1269, commented on the *Sentences* from 1270 to 1273, and was awarded a

doctorate in 1273. After lecturing at Bologna, Matteo returned to Paris in 1276 as regent master of the Franciscan *studium*. In 1279, he moved to the papal curia—where his brother was a cardinal—to serve as lector of the Sacred Palace. Eight years later he was elected minister general of the Franciscan order.

Severe tension between the Franciscan Spirituals and Conventuals dominated Matteo's brief generalate. His attempts to achieve equilibrium included freeing many Spirituals who had been in various forms of detention, among them the former minister general John of Parma. Matteo also brought a quick resolution to the long investigation of the prominent Spiritual theologian Peter Olivi for heresy. After Olivi was acquitted, Matteo appointed him to the chair of theology at the Franciscan *studium* of Santa Croce in Florence. In 1288, Matteo was made a cardinal; during the next year he left his generalate to direct the Sacred Apostolic Penitentiary.

Matteo became a very important figure at the curia during the reign of Pope Boniface VIII. Between 1297 and 1301, Boniface entrusted him with a series of delicate peace negotiations in northern Italy. In 1302, at a critical point in the pope's struggle with the French, Matteo was chosen to set forth the pope's position on papal authority to the legates of Philip the Fair. Later that year Matteo assisted in the drafting of *Unam sanctam*, Boniface's controversial bull defining the extent of the pope's power over the temporal sphere. Matteo died while *Unam sanctam* was still in preparation.

Matteo was an Augustinian in his philosophical and theological orientation and showed the strong influence of Bonaventure. His philosophical work reflects an interest, typical of his period, in the relation of the natural to the supernatural. His theory of cognition, which artfully blends Aristotelian concepts of the potential and agent intellects with the Augustinian notion of divine illumination, is considered one of the more original early attempts at a synthesis of Augustinian teachings with Aristotle.

See also **Boniface VIII, Pope; Franciscan Order**

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Matteo Da Perugia

Matteo da Perugia (Matheus de Perusia, d. by 1418) was born in the latter fourteenth century and belongs, officially, to the third and last generation of Italian *ars nova* musicians; however, his curious career and his stylistic focus make him almost a French musician.

Except for his presumed Perugian origin, we know nothing of Matteo's early life, although it is apparent that he chose to become a professional musician rather than a priest. At some point, he became a singer at the cathedral of Milan (which was then still unfinished), and in 1402 he was appointed to be its first choirmaster (*magister capellae* or *maestro di cappella*). This appointment is thought to reflect the influence of the colorful man who became Matteo's chief patron, Pietro Filargo di Candia (Petros Philargos). Pietro Filargo was born a Greek; joined the Roman church; studied and then taught theology at the University of Paris; was an adviser to Gian Galeazzo Visconti; was

made bishop, successively, of Piacenza (1386), Vicenza (1387), and Novara (1389); became archbishop of Milan in 1402; was made a cardinal in 1405; and became the antipope Alexander V in 1409.

Filargo took up his episcopal residence in nearby Pavia, where he could teach at its university and hold a lavish court. Matteo, loyally, came to this court to serve Filargo, so annoying his own employers in Milan that he felt compelled to give up his cathedral post in 1407 and devote himself fully to Filargo. In 1409, when Filargo was elected as antipope Alexander V by the Council of Pisa, Matteo presumably moved with his master to a new residence in Bologna. It was apparently then that Matteo participated in the preparation of one of the most important musical manuscript collections of the day (now in the Estense Library in Modena). When Alexander V died in 1410 (by poison), Matteo evidently stayed on with his successor, John XXIII, until John was assured of deposition by the Council of Constance. In May 1414, Matteo resumed his post at the cathedral in Milan, officially until October 1416. However, but not until January 1418—by which time Matteo himself seems to have died—was his successor given full status as *maestro di canto*.

There is no evidence that Matteo himself ever visited France, but French cultural influences had been present in northern Italy for decades, thanks partly to the proximity of the absentee papal court at Avignon. Filargo's Francophile tastes, in particular, probably caused Matteo to develop an identification with French rather than Italian musical styles—whether by imposition or voluntary affinity. Matteo's output of compositions must have been extensive, and what survives of it, though small by some standards, is the largest of any of the Italian *ars nova* composers. Aside from some six Latin liturgical pieces (two of them complex polytextual motets), the surviving works are secular. Only two *ballate* are in Italian. The remainder (four *ballades*, seven *virelais*, ten *rondeaux*, and one canon) are all in French, presumably to suit the Francophile tastes of his patrons. Most of Matteo's compositions are for three vocal parts, and in virtually all his work—sacred or secular—he applies the arcane techniques of isorhythmic integration, carrying them to elaborate extremes (disjunct lines, conflicting time signatures, etc.) in the style of the so-called *ars subtilior*, the "mannerist" school of exaggerated effects, which he seem to have embraced wholeheartedly.

Indeed, Matteo, along with Antonello da Caserta, was a leader of this imported stylistic movement.

Beyond his own authenticated compositions, there survive a number of substitute contratenor parts written for music by other composers. If these parts are indeed by Matteo, as is generally believed, they show him attempting, through these substitute voices, to update or enhance the work of earlier or contemporaneous masters (such as Machaut, Bartolino da Padova, and Antonello). It has been proposed that Matteo's supposedly "modern" style made him an important shaper of new musical directions for the *Quattrocento*; but there is also an argument against this idea, buttressed by the fact that Matteo's music survives in only a few manuscripts and apparently did not circulate widely. For all his fascination as a bold compositional personality, Matteo seems to have played a less significant role than the more focused and disciplined Johannes Ciconia in the transition from the age of Machaut to the age of Dufay.

See also Antonello da Caserta; Ars Nova; Bartolino da Padova; Ciconia, Johannes; Visconti Family

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Maurice, Emperor

The Byzantine emperor Maurice (Mauricius Flavius Tiberius; c. 539-602, r. 582-602) was of Armenian origin. An able and strict general, Maurice rose to high command in the east under Emperor Tiberius II (r. 578—582). Having no heir, Tiberius made Maurice his successor.

Maurice inherited a situation in which the surviving Roman empire faced war on several fronts simultaneously. Temporizing on the others, he concentrated first on the conflict with Persia, until a fortunate conclusion of peace (581) allowed him to focus on the Balkan regions, where the Avars and their Slavonic subjects had pierced the Danubian frontiers, requiring prolonged counteroffensives.

Though the emperors of this era were forced to devote themselves ever more narrowly to preserving the empire in the east, Maurice nevertheless gave careful attention to the western holdings, and it was in his reign that the organizational form of the exarchate came fully into existence: that of Carthage for North Africa in the face of the Moors and Berbers, and that of Ravenna in Italy in view of the Lombard menace there. The Lombards, who had invaded much of northern and central Italy in 568, were initially fought to a temporary

stalemate—with the aid of the Frankish king Childebert. The Lombard kings Authari (r. 584-590) and especially Agilulf (r. 591-616) then regained the initiative, and Agilulf, together with his subordinates, extended the devastation of contested territories as far as the gates of Rome. Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590-604) was on bad terms with Maurice—he resented Maurice's backing of pretensions by the patriarch of Constantinople, and they were at odds over monastic issues—and thus found it difficult to secure a stable defense. Nevertheless, by expanding the command structure, garrisoning cities, and augmenting forces, Maurice's government was able to maintain a precarious security in Italy for the rest of his reign.

In 597, a serious illness prompted Maurice to write a will in which he proposed to divide the empire between his two sons, assigning the western districts to one of them. He recovered however, and the scheme was put aside. Though Maurice was conscientious and capable, his propensity for harsh economies and unwise appointments prompted a military mutiny in 602 that swept him out of power. He and his sons were brutally executed by his rough successor, Phocas.

See also Agilulf; Authari; Exarchate of Ravenna; Gregory I, Pope; Phocas; Ravenna; Rome

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Mazzeo Di Ricco Da Messina

Nothing is known about the life of the poet Mazzeo di Ricco (thirteenth century), except that he was probably from Messina. He is the author of six refined *canzoni* in the Provençal tradition, but he probably belongs to the generation of poets who kept writing after the death of Emperor Frederick II (a patron of poetry) when Frederick's court ceased to exist: Guittone d'Arezzo (born c. 1235), dedicates one of his *canzoni* to *Mazeo di Rico ch'è di fin pregio rico*. This citation by Guittone d'Arezzo confirms the name Mazzeo di Ricco (or Rico), which is rhymed with the adjective *rico*; this would exclude an attempt by Torraca (1902) to identify Mazzeo with a certain Matteo de Riço. Mazzeo di Ricco also left a sonnet serving as a forum for the discussion of a moralizing topic: the need to know one's own shortcomings before blaming others.

See also Guittone d'Arezzo; *Scuola Poetica Siciliana*

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Medici Family

The prominent position of the Medici in Florentine politics, business, and finance during the fifteenth century was preceded by more than 200 years of the family's presence and activity there. Much of the early history of the Medici is known from a book of *ricordanze*, or records, compiled by Foligno di Conte de' Medici in 1373. Foligno's first cousin, Averardo, was the grandfather of Cosimo de' Medici, the most famous fifteenth-century member of the family.

The ancestral origins and unsevered roots of the Medici were in the Mugello, a mountainous but also agriculturally rich region some 20 miles (32 kilometers) north of Florence. Members of the family probably moved to Florence sometime in the twelfth century. The earliest documentary reference to the Medici there is in 1216, when a certain Bonagiunta de' Medici served on a communal council. Apart from this, the Medici did not achieve considerable political visibility until the end of the thirteenth century and the early decades of the fourteenth. Between 1291 and 1343, the Medici served twenty-eight times in the *signoria*, the highest executive body in Florence. In 1343, they participated in a revolt against Walter VI of Brienne, the so-called Duke of Athens, and thereby earned additional political respect. Between 1343 and 1378, the family was represented nineteen times in the *signoria*, a number that was exceeded only by the powerful Strozzi family. Several decades later, however, the Medici were on the losing side of the populist *ciompi* revolt (1378), and they accordingly found themselves out of favor with the more aristocratic regime that came to power in 1382. As the political fortunes of the family fluctuated considerably in the fourteenth century, its members also gained a reputation for both litigation and lawlessness. The Florentine archives preserve a rather colorful record of quarrels, assaults, and even homicides perpetrated by various family members. In fact, between 1343 and 1360, five Medici were sentenced to death for capital crimes, although they were not executed. The political fortunes of the family rose once again in the early fifteenth century under the stewardship of Giovanni di Averardo de' Medici, whose better-known son Cosimo would head the family until his death in 1464.

In the early fourteenth century, the Medici began to establish their business interests in banking and commerce. Not until mid-century, however, did these interests extend beyond the Italian peninsula and provide the basis for the family's sizable fortune. In Florence, the Medici initially located their homes and business interests in the *mercato vecchio* ("old market," now the area of the Piazza della Repubblica). In the mid-fourteenth century, they transferred their residence to a more spacious palace on Via Larga (now Via Cavour) in the area between the cathedral and the church and monastery of San Marco. This first Medici palace (now destroyed) was superseded in the midfifteenth century when Cosimo de' Medici built a new and much larger palace in the current Renaissance style.

See also Banks and Banking; Florence

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Medicine

The history of ancient and medieval medicine is known to us largely from the study of texts. During the Middle Ages, the writings of ancient authorities were read, copied, and translated by people who interpreted these works in the light of their own cultures and elaborated on them for the purposes of teaching and study. Medieval Italian medicine, unlike its counterparts in England or northern France, was never divorced from ancient textual roots, even though the ability to read

Greek was largely lost in the medieval period. This medicine also enjoyed the patronage of the Roman church and later that of the university and municipality. In short, learned medicine flourished in medieval Italian cities as nowhere else, from its beginnings in southern Italy to the great universities of Bologna and Padua.

Hippocratic Medicine

Learned medicine in western Europe had its beginnings with the Hippocratic physicians, whose writings can be dated c. 430-330 B.C. The existence of a historical person called Hippocrates is questionable, but it is certain that a group of healers began to distinguish themselves in ancient Greece at about the same time as the philosophers Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle began teaching. The Hippocratic corpus of texts is remarkable because these texts represent the first known attempt in the west to write medicine down. This was certainly done for didactic purposes, but other factors also seem to have been at work. The Hippocratics, like other ancient Greek philosophers, evidently used writing for persuasion: their texts were arguments, i.e., arguments for the superiority of their medicine over that of others, who have left no written record.

The Hippocratic physician, like the philosopher, claimed that his medicine was rational and had a long and honorable history. Other forms of healing, he argued, were based on superstition or mere hearsay. He was at great pains to dispel any notion that his medicine was irreligious; indeed, many Hippocratic texts recommend resorting to temple healing, a popular religious practice, when other measures failed. What lay at the bottom of most Hippocratic writing was not a glimmering of modern "objective" science, as has often been suggested. Instead, the Hippocratic physician argued that he had a special knowledge not granted to other men, knowledge that was a result of study, and thus required an experienced teacher. The Hippocratic physician, unlike other healers, could offer rational rather than magical explanations for disease. In addition, his piety and his study made him like a philosopher, rendering him more virtuous than the common person.

Hippocratic physicians were not writing just for other physicians; they were attempting to persuade patrons that their medicine was, among the many competing medicines, the one most worthy of patronage. There is good evidence that this persuasion took the form not only of the written word, but also of the spoken word. Hippocratic physicians seem to have debated other healers in public, and this agonistic or argumentative character of learned medicine joins philosophical rationality, moral virtue, and teachability as an essential quality of learned medicine in both the ancient world and the medieval world.

Galen and Roman Medicine

Aristotle's writings mention medicine in passing, and these bits of wisdom were gathered by medieval schoolmen, but Aristotle never devoted a treatise to medicine *per se*. It was the Greek physician Galen (died c. A.D. 210) who made medicine a worthy subject for advanced philosophical study. Galen came from Pergamon in Asia Minor and began his career in Rome with the unglamorous task of treating injured gladiators. He seems to have made a place for himself in imperial circles very soon after that, and he ended his life as physician to Commodus, son of the Stoic emperor Marcus Aurelius.

Galen wrote in Greek, then the language of philosophy, which was understood by every educated Roman. He stands as the foremost interpreter of the Hippocratic corpus, but his contribution goes beyond textual scholarship. Galen took up where Aristotle had left off by supplying medicine with a philosophical basis that would endure into the Renaissance. He also gave physicians arguments that allowed medicine to take its place among the liberal arts—those activities worthy of a free man.

Galen argued that the best physician was not only a philosopher but also a philanthropist, giving learned advice about the welfare of the body without charge. No one but a gentleman could afford to lead a life of genteel retirement, and it was to the Roman gentleman, the Stoic *paterfamilias*, that Galen directed his remarkable rhetorical powers. His public anatomical demonstrations were fabled (by his own account), as

were the scope and volume of his writings. Galen's work ranged over medicine, surgery, pharmacy, and Neoplatonic philosophy; he was the most prolific writer of western antiquity.

If the gigantic size of Galen's oeuvre seems excessive to modern eyes, one must understand the obstacles to his success, obstacles that were not ultimately to be conquered for more than a millennium. Galen had to argue not only against rival healers who claimed that medicine was easy and could be learned in a few months but against the entrenched opposition of the philanthropic Roman gentlemen themselves. From the time of the republic, stern-minded worthies such as Cato the Censor, Seneca, Cicero, and Pliny the Elder had asserted that the philosophical medicine of the Greeks was vain, unnecessary, and a threat to Roman manhood. A few simple herbs, known since early times, were all the medicine one needed; philosophizing about the body was, in a word, decadent.

Apart from a suspicion of all things Greek and a general distrust of any sort of intellectual "specialization," the Roman intellectual elite did not share with the Hellenic society an interest in physical culture. Gymnastics was for some Greek thinkers a liberal art, but the Romans idealized the lifestyle of the mature gentleman farmer, with his wife, children, relatives, and servants, over the community of clever athletic young men cultivated by the ancient Greeks. It was the medieval university, not the Roman ruling class, that adopted and extended Galen's bold plan for the philosopher-physician.

Christian Attitudes toward Medicine

Galen had been impressed by the presence in Rome not only of the educated and philosophically minded Jews, but also of a new sect, the Christians. The ultimate success of Christianity, both as a religion and as an organizing force in society, was to shape the character of learned medicine throughout the medieval period.

The three great religions of the medieval west—Judaism; Christianity; and, from the seventh century of the Christian era, Islam—were all religions of the book. Organization and criticism of texts were intrinsic to the thought of educated persons, and this method extended to more

secular writings as well. Saint Augustine of Hippo had enjoined Christian educators to "spoil the Egyptians" in his great work *On Christian Doctrine*, by which he meant that good teachers should select from the writings of the pagans the best and most useful, just as the children of Israel, after being captives in Egypt, were instructed to despoil the Egyptians of their gold and silver. Pagan learning, then, like that of Galen, needed to be examined from a Christian point of view, and this examination could best be performed only by the virtuous Christian man.

Augustine's theories of Christian teaching were realized in the sixth century by the Roman senator Cassiodorus, who founded monastic communities at Monte Cassino and Vivarium for the purpose of Christian study and reflection. Not surprisingly, the aristocratic Cassiodorus seems to have been more impressed with the paterfamilias model of simplicity and paternal medical care than with the Galenic one of philosophical inquiry. Cassiodorus, like Pliny before him, incorporated medicine into encyclopedic learning in his instruction for monastic textual study. Pliny, in his *Natural History*, wrote down what every virtuous gentleman ought to know. Cassiodorus, in his *Introduction to Divine and Human Readings*, directed his monks not toward gentlemanly study but toward the use of written knowledge for Christian purposes. He also instructed his monks to learn the uses of simple herbs and the techniques of the compounding of drugs, and to place their trust not in worldly medical advice but in divine counsel. Among the books he recommended were herbal writings by Dioscorides and Hippocrates, and Galen's *Therapeutics*, all in Latin translation (*Introduction*, 1.31).

The life of study and retirement adopted by the aristocrat Cassiodorus and his followers was to provide the home for learned medicine throughout the social and cultural disruptions that followed the decline of Roman authority. Various other monastic communities, such as the Benedictines and those which adopted a similar rule, assumed the same attitude as Cassiodorus—that medicine was part of an encyclopedic knowledge of the created world, but was not to be pursued at the expense of religious occupations. The Roman church became the ally and promoter of such learning, which was confined largely to a limited circle and had almost no audience outside the

monastery.

The School of Salerno

By the late eleventh century, southern Italy was also the site of western Europe's first medical university, the "school of Salerno." The presence of the celebrated Benedictine monastery at nearby Monte Cassino was no doubt a factor contributing to the establishment of such an institution. Constantinus the African, a monk at Monte Cassino in the mid-eleventh century, made translations of Islamic medical texts that provided the textual basis for medical teaching. Greek medical learning had largely been lost to the west after the decline of Roman authority, but it was understood and cultivated in Islam. Constantinus, an Islamic convert to Christianity, rendered into Latin Islamic interpretations of the Hippocratic corpus and the works of Galen, which joined translations of the writings of Hebrew and Byzantine physicians to form an early corpus of Latin texts that were to endure in medical universities well into the printed tradition.

Salernitan medicine was methodist in character: it was concerned with practical and methodological matters, and not with theory. Salernitan texts are, for the most, part guides to diagnosis and treatment, accompanied by simple descriptions of anatomy and physiology. The practical nature of Salernitan medicine reflects the secular character of the physicians associated with the university. Some appear to have been married men. One, sometimes called Trotula, was a woman, and she seems to have been one of many "Salernitan women" who were famous for their knowledge of learned medicine. Salerno was not a university in the usual sense, in that it lacked other faculties apart from medicine. It seems, instead, to have been organized by practicing physicians who wanted to use medical texts to improve their skill in healing arts, especially pharmacy.

The Rise of Northern Italian Medical Faculties

Scholastic medicine in Italian universities did not become prominent

until the thirteenth century, when the fame of the school of Salerno was fading. By then, the *Canon* of the great Persian physician Avicenna was available in Latin translation. Avicenna's skill as a physician was equaled only by his ability as a philosopher. The *Canon* combined a brilliant grasp of Galenic medicine, surgery, and pharmacy with a subtle understanding of the philosophy of Aristotle. Avicenna supplied arguments for scholars that medicine was indeed a part of natural philosophy, and that the physician himself was a man of dignity, virtue, piety, and learning, as he was in Islam.

Italy's first great medical university was at Bologna, and it educated both physicians and surgeons. Medical teaching also took place at a university in Padua; in Parma, Siena, and Florence; and in other urban centers. Medical teaching in northern Italy stood in contrast to that at northern European universities. Medicine at Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge was taught as one of the "higher," or graduate, faculties (the other higher faculties being theology and law). The liberal arts were taught in a "lower" faculty and were propaedeutic to medical studies. At Bologna and Padua, medical and arts studies (which included natural philosophy) were allied at the higher and lower levels, and the medical professors and students were closely integrated into town medical practice. Medical professors were often paid by municipal authorities, delivering opinions on matters of public health, hospital administration, and epidemic disease. These professors—in contrast to their counterparts at northern European universities—were not, as a rule, clerics. Some were married, and many obtained great wealth, prestigious patronage, and a high social position.

The success of learned medicine in medieval Italy was due to an interaction of complex factors that can be only imperfectly understood. The geographic location of Italy at so many cultural crossroads no doubt played a role, as did the interest of the church in nearly all kinds of learning. But perhaps the most important factor was the success of Italy's city-states themselves, which provided a ready source of civil patronage. The university-educated physician was, at last, a man of importance, whose opinions had an effect on the lives not only of the social elite but also of the humbler classes.

See also Cassiodorus; Constantinus Africanus; Salerno; Trotula of

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Meditation on the Life of Christ

Meditation of the life of Jesus was a devotional practice that originated in the twelfth century and grew in popularity throughout the later Middle Ages. In the early medieval period, Christ was pictured primarily as the divine conqueror of sin, death, and the devil. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, the humanity of Christ came to be emphasized to a greater degree, largely owing to the popularity of the new theology of satisfaction developed by Anselm of Canterbury. Anselm's doctrine gave the crucifixion the central place in the history of Christian salvation and drew increasing attention to the sacrifice and suffering of Christ. Contemporary preachers and devotional authors sought to elicit from their audiences strong emotional responses to these aspects of Christ's life, hoping to draw them to penitence and, gradually, to the higher planes of spiritual love traditionally pursued in western spirituality. The goal here was the "imitation of Christ"—conformation to the image of Christ (Romans, 8:39) and the sharing in the mystery of redemption this imparted. Continued meditation on the events of Christ's life was considered vital to this process.

During the twelfth century, Cistercians like Bernard of Clairvaux

were the most prominent proponents of the new devotion. In the thirteenth century they were joined by the Mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans. Francis of Assisi himself attempted a very literal imitation of the life of Christ, and he became the most important promoter of devotion to Christ's humanity in the later Middle Ages. Francis's focus was on the concrete details of Christ's life, and on the virtues contained in those details. His followers continued this tradition during the late thirteenth century and the fourteenth century, producing classic works on meditation such as Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, Jordan of Saxony's *Vita Jesu Christi redemptoris nostri*, and the anonymous *Meditationes vitae Christi*.

Throughout the later Middle Ages, meditation on the life of Christ centered on Christ's passion. Spiritual writers attempted to evoke its physical details, intensifying their readers' interest in associated relics like the crown of thorns and in pilgrimages to the sacred sites. Religious art, too, became filled with realistic depictions of the passion. By the fourteenth century the stations of the cross had emerged as a popular devotional practice, and the liturgical cycle included a large number of feasts commemorating aspects of Christ's suffering.

See also Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint; Francis of Assisi; Franciscan Order

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Melania the Younger

In the late fourth century, aristocratic Roman society was undergoing a dramatic transformation. The old families who had been most loyal to Roman paganism were beginning to adopt Christianity. Eastern ascetic Christianity was becoming popular in Rome, particularly among the women of the wealthy families, and this ascetic movement was to influence the development of the western church. Melania the Younger was one woman at the center of these developments.

Melania was born c. 385 into the oldest and richest of Roman families. Through her father (Valerius Publicola) she was a member of the *gens Antonia* and the *gens Valeria*, and her mother (Albina) was almost equally well descended as a member of the *Ceionii Rufii*. In 399, Melania married Valerius Pinianus—a marriage arranged to bring together two branches of the *Valeria* and provide a succession for the name and wealth of the family. These traditional Roman expectations clashed with new Christian aspirations. Melania and Pinian's two young children died, and Melania then persuaded Pinian to embrace a life of chaste, ascetic Christianity.

The couple began to liquidate their vast assets of land, gold, and slaves to embrace a life of holy poverty. Divestments on this scale profoundly affected the Roman economy. The liquidation was facilitated by the Visigothic invasion of Italy of the early fifth century.

Melania and Pinian fled to Sicily and then to North Africa, where they endowed monasteries and ransomed captives from the invading Visigoths. After seven years in North Africa, the couple went to Jerusalem, where Melania established many monasteries for men and women on the Mount of Olives.

Melania was involved with several religious developments of the late fourth century. She seems to have been attracted to Pelagianism and supported the heretic Pelagius in North Africa. She also was an adherent of Monophysitism. She supported the growing ascetic movement in Rome and the Holy Land. Finally, her example of Christian piety within the oldest Roman families encouraged others to convert. Wealthy, ascetic women like Melania shaped fourth-century Christianity in Italy and throughout the Mediterranean world.

See also **Monophysite Controversy; Pelagius and Pelagianism**

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Melfi



Castle, Melfi. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

Melfi, a city in Basilicata about 4 miles (6 kilometers) east of the Ofanto River, is first documented in eleventh-century chronicles. The Greeks recognized its strategic importance and had settled it by 1041, when the Normans occupied and fortified it. Norman leaders met there in 1043 to apportion their conquests in southern Italy. Melfi was left as a communal seat, but later it was annexed by Robert Guiscard, who built the cathedral and the castle. Its first bishop is attested to in 1059, when the synod of Melfi was held there. Robert later moved his headquarters to Salerno, but Urban II held a general council in Melfi in 1089, as did the antipope Anacletus in 1130. Melfi was severely chastised by Roger II for rebellion in 1133, and the city was sacked by Frederick I Barbarossa and the Genoese in 1167. Under Frederick II Hohenstaufen, Melfi and Potenza were the only cities of Basilicata to send delegates to parliaments. Frederick II held two such parliaments at Melfi, and the Constitutions of Melfi were promulgated at the parliament of 1231. In 1254, Conrad of Hohenstaufen held a parliament there, at which he poisoned his brother Henry. Melfi supported both Manfred and Conradin against Charles of Anjou and was seriously impoverished by Charles's retaliations. He retained the castle as one of four in Basilicata and taxed Melfi heavily to extend it. Melfi remained the largest town in Basilicata throughout the Angevin period. Joanna made it a duchy and granted it to Niccola Acciaiuoli in 1348, but he lost it to the Hungarians.

Later it passed to the Caracciolo. Melfi was a center for grain and wine production until the fourteenth century; later, its main product was sheep.

See also Anacletus II, Antipope; Charles I of Anjou; Conradin; Constitutions of Melfi; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Joanna I of Naples; Manfred; Melfi, Synod of; Urban II, Pope

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Melfi, Synod of

The synod of Melfi was an important church council that met at Melfi, a city in southern Italy (Basilicata). In August 1059, Pope Nicholas II (r. 1058–1061), along with Hildebrand (later Pope Gregory VII, r. 1073–1085), concluded an alliance with the Normans which sanctioned their conquest of southern Italy. Although the synod was called to promote ecclesiastical reform in southern Italy, its significance in history has more to do with the relationship between the papacy and the Normans, as well as the consequences of this relationship for the eastern church. At the synod of Melfi, Robert Guiscard (1057–1085) acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the pope, promised to support

the papacy, and agreed to pay it an annual sum. Robert also agreed to support the papal reforms in his territories. For this, Robert Guiscard was given the title of Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. On this occasion, too, Richard of Aversa was granted Capua.

To the papal reformers and to Nicholas II, the agreement with the Normans conferred the freedom to pursue their reforms by strengthening their position against the Roman aristocracy as well as the imperial court, both of which were opposed to Nicholas's decree on papal elections. In legitimizing the Normans' claims to southern Italy, the synod put the western church in direct conflict with the political and ecclesiastical interests of Byzantium there. It put an end to earlier efforts at rapprochement between Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople and seriously complicated future efforts at reconciliation.

The legal basis for Nicholas II's bestowal of the territory on Robert Guiscard seems to have been the Donation of Charlemagne, granting the duchy of Benevento to the Roman church.

See also Gregory VII, Pope; Melfi; Nicholas II, Pope; Normans; Richard I, Count of Aversa; Robert Guiscard

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Meloria, Battle of

The battle of Meloria, a major naval engagement between Pisa and Genoa on 6 August 1284, established Genoa's hegemony in the Tyrrhenian Sea and marked the end of Pisa's. Pisan power had been

waning as Genoa and Venice established their naval influence, while Lucca, Siena, and Florence prevented the development of a Pisan hinterland. Genoa and Pisa had been at war since 1282, and matters escalated when Pisan galleys under Guido Zaccia unsuccessfully attacked a Genoese convoy accompanied by an armed escort under Benedetto Zaccaria at Tavolara, off Sardinia. Zaccaria subsequently blockaded Porto Pisano, but a fleet of more than seventy Pisan galleys commanded by a *podestà*, the Venetian Albertino Morosini, escaped. Morosini sought to prevent Zaccaria's reinforcement by Oberto D'Oria and his fifty-two galleys still in Genoa's harbor. Fearing entrapment between the fleets, however, he returned to Porto Pisano. D'Oria ordered Zaccaria to withdraw his portion of the newly combined armada, thus taunting the Pisans with an apparently inferior force. Morosini took the bait and led 102 ships against D'Oria's sixty. Once the fleets had engaged, Zaccaria's reappeared and mauled Morosini's right wing, though his left, under Ugolino della Gherardesca, remained intact. Despite inferior forces and heavy losses, the Genoese captured thirty-three Pisan vessels and sank seven, killing some 5,000 combatants and capturing 1,272, according to the victory inscription on the Genoese church of San Matteo.

See also **Doria Family; Genoa; Pisa**

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Memmi, Lippo

Lippo Memmi (fl. 1317-c. 1350) was one of a family of Sienese painters that also included his father, Memmo di Filippuccio, and a brother named Tederigo, who is known only through documentary sources.

Lippo Memmi's earliest known work is a monumental fresco—the *Virgin and Child Enthroned (Maestà)*—in the council hall of the communal palace of San Gimignano, dated to 1317. Although a document (now lost) associated with this work appears to have named only Lippo's father, Memmo, the fresco itself is inscribed with Lippo Memmi's name and is generally accepted as his work. This fresco is a skillful and technically masterful translation into a new setting of Simone Martini's *Maestà* (1315), located in the council hall of the Palazzo Pubblico (civic palace) in Siena. Memmi's *Maestà* attests, even at this stage in his career, to the connections between his work and that of the more famous Simone Martini, who was also Sienese. Memmi was, in fact, the brother-in-law of Martini and sometimes collaborated with him. Memmi's name appears along with Martini's on a splendid altarpiece, *Annunciation with Saints Margaret and Ansanus*, painted in 1333 for the altar of Saint Ansanus in the cathedral of Siena (this work is now in the Uffizi in Florence). Their association is reflected, albeit accidentally, by Vasari, who calls Simone Martini "Simone Memmi" in his *Vita* (mid-sixteenth century) of the great Sienese artist; although this is a misnomer, it reminds us rather poetically of the relationship between Memmi and Martini.

Like the work of many artists in the circle around Simone Martini—called Simone's *chompagni*—Lippo Memmi's is difficult to distinguish from that of the larger group. Various attempts have been made, for example, to identify the nature and extent of Memmi's contribution to the Uffizi *Annunciation*, but no consensus has yet emerged. Memmi's manner does seem to be characterized by smoothly arched hatchings and contours, whereas Simone Martini's is characterized by a complex interweaving of surface planes. However, this criterion alone is insufficient to disentangle Memmi's work from that of the other painters in the circle.

Part of the problem is that there are only a few securely attributed works from which to judge. In addition to the *Virgin and Child* in San Gimignano and the Uffizi *Annunciation*, there exist only three signed works, all devotional paintings. A fourth work, a *Madonna of Mercy* in

the cathedral at Orvieto, is signed *lippus da sena* and is sometimes attributed to Lippo Memmi, but it is not universally accepted as his work. Recent attributions to Memmi, including the *Triumph of Saint Thomas* panel in the church of Santa Caterina in Pisa and the New Testament cycle on the south wall of the Collegiata in San Gimignano, have met with a mixed reception. The latter attribution, if accepted, would add an important piece to the puzzle of Lippo Memmi's oeuvre, supplementing the known devotional paintings with a significant and very accomplished sample of narrative painting.

See also **Martini, Simone; San Gimignano; Siena**

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Meo Abbracciavacca

Meo Abbracciavacca (d. between 1300 and 1313) was from the Ranghiatici family of Pistoia, who were politically Ghibelline. He may have been a money changer by profession, and he probably traveled throughout Tuscany (Pisa, Lucca, Florence) and to France (see the poem *Vacche né tora*). However, he left few documentary traces of his life.

Eight of Meo's nine extant sonnets (found along with his three *canzoni* and letters in the Pisan MS Laurenziano Redi 9) reflect his avid correspondence with contemporary poets in the principal form of literary exchange at the time, the *tenzone*. Four sonnets are addressed to Guittone d'Arezzo, two to Dotto Reali (Lucca), and one each to Finfo del Buono and Monte Andrea. The ninth, a feigned *tenzone* (*Amore amaro, a morte m'ài feruto*), recalls in its *incipit* Guittone's influential language and themes, which dominate Meo's works. In his *canzoni* and the sonnets *Parlare schuro* and *Vita noioza*, Meo pursues a difficult formalism, reinforced in its Pistoiese forms, worthy of Monte and Guittone. Yet Meo often distinguishes his views from Guittone's with regard to misfortune, moral doctrine, and poverty—although at the same time he adheres to Guittone's principle that love ennoble through womankind. Meo's eclecticism is reminiscent of Chiaro Davanzati, who was a poetic chameleon, taking on varying prosodic and thematic values, often those of his poems' addressees.

See also Chiaro Davanzati; Guittone d'Arezzo; Tenzone

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Meo Dei Tolomei

Meo dei Tolomei (c. 1260-c. 1310), a comic poet from Siena, is known for seventeen sonnets and a *discordo* or *caribetto* found in two principal manuscripts: Chigiano L.VIII.305 and Escorialense e.III.23. Until the discovery of the codex at El Escorial in 1914, scholars attributed many of his sonnets to Cecco Angiolieri because of thematic and stylistic similarities. Meo even shares the *capoverso* of a sonnet with Cecco: *I son sì magro, che quasi traluco*.

Meo is a master of *vituperium*, and he directs his wrath against a "trinity" of characters who seek his financial ruin: his mother; his brother, Mino Zeppa; and a friend, Ciampolino. One of his most dramatic poems, *Su lo letto mi stava l'altra sera*, describes in attempt by his mother to murder him in order to give his part of the inheritance to Mino Zeppa. Another poem, *Quando 'l Zeppa entra 'n santo, usa di dire*, describes the comical reaction of other parishioners to seeing Mino Zeppa, a habitual sinner, in church. *A nulla guisa meposso soffrire*, the *caribetto*, recounts his brother's legendary cowardice.

Meo was well-known in poetic circles, as witnessed by the fact that Dante Alighieri sent him a collection of poems accompanied by the sonnet *Sonetto, se Meuccio t'è mostrato*, and Cino da Pistoia sent him the sonnet *Meuzzo, i'feci una vista d'amante*.

See also Cecco Angiolieri; Italian Poetry: Comic

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Messina

Messina (in Latin, *Messana*) is a city at the northeastern corner of Sicily that sits directly across the straits of Messina from Reggio di Calabria. In the eighth century B.C., Greek pirates established a city on this site, which they called Zancle; that name—Greek for "sickle"—reflected the shape of the peninsula forming the harbor, which is one of the largest, deepest, and best-protected natural anchorages in the Mediterranean. Exiles from Messenia in the Pelopponesus took the city in the fifth century and renamed it *Messana*. Because of its extraordinary harbor and its excellent location, Messina has had great economic and strategic advantages during most of its history. It stands at the midpoint of the most direct sea route from the eastern to the western Mediterranean and dominates the straits through which most of the commercial and naval shipping of the central Medi terranean passes. In the Middle Ages, Messina became the favorite place for pilgrims and crusaders—most notably Richard Coeur de Lion in 1190—to rest and replenish their supply of food before continuing on to the Holy Land.

Messina remained essentially a Greek city through Roman times and into the Middle Ages. Under the Ostrogoth king Theodoric (r. 493-526), Messina was a Gothic garrison town. Belisarius occupied it in 535, and it remained an important center for Byzantine military and naval operations for the next 300 years. In 827, the Aghlabid emirs of North Africa began their conquest of Sicily. Messina fell to Arab forces in 842 or 843 and became the principal base of operations for the Saracens' attacks on southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries. The mainly Greek and Jewish commercial classes of Messina flourished under Arab rule, which gave them ready access to the markets of North Africa and the Levant. In 1038, the Byzantine general George Maniakes attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Messina with the assistance of Norman mercenaries. The Normans under Count Roger (the future Roger I) took the city in 1060–1061 and used it as a base for conquering the rest of

Sicily. In 1094, Roger confirmed the jurisdiction of the Basilian archimandrite of the monastery of San Salvatore in Messina over the many Greek monasteries and parishes in Sicily and Calabria. The *duomo* of Messina was constructed under Archbishop Robert in the 1090s.

Messina enjoyed more independence from royal authority than any other city in Norman Sicily. The merchant elite of Messina had a fairly strong civic consciousness and carried considerable political weight when they acted in concert. Henry VI Hohenstaufen awarded Messina a free port and preferential customs duties in 1194 for its support during his struggle with Tancred. Constance confirmed those privileges in 1197. However, Messina—unlike its commercial rivals Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, and Venice—never acquired a communal government. In the 1220s, Frederick II Hohenstaufen revoked many of the privileges of Messina, some of which the enterprising merchants had fabricated; he also stepped up tax collections in the city. Messina revolted in 1232. The savagery with which Frederick suppressed the rebellion so weakened the merchant class that it could no longer effectively counterbalance the landed nobility or resist the incursions of foreign merchants, who accelerated the export of the wealth of Sicily to northern Italy.

After the death of Frederick II in 1250, the warlord Pietro Ruffo attempted to establish a *signoria* based in Messina, but mercantile elements rebelled and established an autonomous commune in 1255. Manfred recaptured the city in 1258. Messina supported Charles of Anjou during the war against Manfred (1265-1268) and became the leading city of Sicily during the Angevin era. Indeed, after the Vespers uprising of 30 March 1282 in Palermo, Messina initially aided the Angevin king Charles II and did not expel its own French garrison until 28 April. However, Messina then held out heroically against Charles's attempt to recapture the city.

Peter III of Aragon became king of Sicily by right of his mother, Constance, the daughter of Manfred. He conferred privileges on Messina that extended its jurisdiction and promoted its industries, especially the production of silk. Messina prospered into the 1300s, but not as much as Palermo, which derived more benefit from the Aragonese connection. Messina declined during the protracted wars between the Aragonese and Angevin kings, which wrecked its

traditional commercial links with Naples and Calabria. The crown of Aragon treated Sicily as little more than a cash cow, a policy that encouraged the development of a wheat monoculture. The export of wheat—rather than the mixed economy of Norman and Hohenstaufen times—suited the fiscal interests of the royal government and the demands of the foreign merchants who dominated Sicilian commerce.

Messina experienced something of an economic revival under the administration of the Castilian king Ferdinand I the Just (1412–1458), who ruled Sicily through viceroys but brought an end to a period of civil strife that had seriously damaged the Sicilian commercial economy. Messina became a minor cultural center in the mid-fifteenth century. By the 1480s, it had developed a modest publishing industry. After the death of Ferdinand the Just, Spanish viceroys cut off all economic links with Messina's natural trading partners in the kingdom of Naples. The moral and ecclesiastical censorship that accompanied the Spanish Inquisition into Sicily in 1487 killed off the cultural revival. Expulsion of the Jews in 1492 contributed further to the decline of Messina. In general, Spanish rule produced an economic stasis, and the commercial life of Messina languished, despite its excellent harbor and strategic location.

Earthquakes in 1783 and 1908 leveled much of Messina, including most of the medieval city. The *duomo* and the churches of Santa Maria del Graeffo "La Cattolica," L'Annunziata dei Catalani, and San Francesco are among the few medieval buildings that have been reconstructed.

See also Arabs in Italy; Charles I of Anjou; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Normans; Roger I; Sicily

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Mezzadria

See Agriculture

Michael of Piazza

To Michael of Piazza (Michele da Piazza, fl. 1349–1361) is ascribed an anonymously transmitted chronicle of insular Sicily from the death of Frederick III in 1337 to late September 1361. Seventeenth-century notices—of uncertain validity and drawing on manuscripts now lost—provide us with the author's name; the information that he was a Franciscan friar; and a probably nonauctorial title, *Historia Sicula* (*Sicilian History*). The chronicle is a largely month-by-month account of events, with some gaps in the coverage of earlier years. Initially, Michael follows a schema analogous to those of other Sicilian chronicles, but he is independent from 1349 onward. The work as we have it is arranged in two books, of which the first lacks a preface and the second breaks off abruptly; thus, it may have been unfinished, mutilated in transmission, or both. It appears to have been written piecemeal starting at least as early as October 1353. It is famous for its account of the arrival of the black death in Messina in 1347 and of the spread of the epidemic there and elsewhere (1.27-29); it is also our primary narrative of the ongoing power struggle of the island's Catalan kings and their adherents (the *Catalani*, strongly favored by Michael) against their opponents (the *Latini*) supported by the Angevin kings on the mainland. The chronicle contains many summarized speeches and letters, whose wording seems essentially Michael's own; it preserves the text of important documents we otherwise would not possess, reports on economic and social as well as political matters, and is attentive to the sufferings of ordinary people.

Though his name would indicate an origin in what is now Piazza Armerina, Michael wrote as a citizen of Catania. He was evidently a religious person, and he has been tentatively identified as the warden of a Franciscan convent in Catani a. His Latin *style*, characterized by a sprawling linear syntax and by a predilection for proverbs, is often ungrammatical and sometimes obscure. Yet it can be quite forceful, especially in the numerous moral and political outbursts rhetorically addressed either to Sicilians as a whole or to inhabitants of a particular locality. These have the appearance of small homilies and suggest Michael's probable experience as a preacher. Other striking passages

recount the mutilation and partial consumption of count Francesco Ventimiglia's corpse by people of Geraci (1.9), compare Catania's lord Blasco Alagona and his son Artale to an eagle training its offspring (1.78), describe a plague of locusts and its associated human mortality and famine (1.116), and present a dialogue between Saint Agatha and a personified Catania in which Artale is praised as the city's sole angel of Christ, always ready to defend it with his blood (2.16). Much of the backdrop or basis of the chronicle is formed by notices of military actions and of occasional mob violence as cities, towns, and territories changed hands or allegiance, or as attempts were made to have them do so. Michael, who was heir to the national spirit of the *Vespers*, recorded his country's dismemberment during years of pestilence and civil strife.

See also **Catania; Chronicles; Historiography; Sicilian Vespers; Sicily**

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Michael Scot

Though famous as an astrologer and magician, Michael Scot (or Scott, c. 1175 or 1195-1235 or 1236) is chiefly important as a scientific translator. He was born in Scotland but went to Spain, where he learned enough Arabic to make Latin translations of numerous scientific and philosophical works, sometimes with a collaborator. The earliest of these works was al-Bitruji's defense of the Aristotelian astronomical model (Toledo, 1217), to which Aristotle's *De caelo* was a natural sequel, together with Averroes's major commentary on it. Equally important were Scot's translations of Aristotle's *History of Animals* and several related biological works. In addition to these major translations, which undoubtedly are the work of Scot, many others have been attributed to him (Minio-Paluello 1974). Like other Latin translations of Aristotle from Arabic, Scot's were replaced within a century by better versions from the original Greek, but his were the ones from which thirteenth-century scholastics worked.

By 1220, Scot had moved to Italy, where he remained until his death. His success as a translator gained him the patronage of the papacy, through which he secured several ecclesiastical benefices in England and Scotland (1224-1227); the income from these sinecures, which he never visited, apparently supported him for the rest of his life. From the papal letters of recommendation we learn that Scot was a priest and held a university degree (*magister*). Although some scholars have supposed that he studied and taught at Paris, his association with Bologna is better documented, for he was living there in 1220-1221 and predicted the future of the Lombard League for officials of Bologna in 1231.

Scot's most famous patron was Emperor Frederick II. A later generation (e.g., Salimbene, c. 1221-1290) would remember Scot as

"astrologer to the emperor," although it is not clear whether Frederick retained Scot at court or only consulted him occasionally. Certainly Frederick and Scot conversed from time to time, as Scot repeatedly recalled with pride. In 1232, Scot translated Avicenna's treatise on animals for Frederick, who used it in his own work on falconry.

Scot also dedicated his most ambitious work to Frederick. This was an untitled trilogy on astrology to which he devoted his last years. The first book, *Liber introductorius*, is a rambling introduction to astrology that is addressed to amateurs with little background in science. Scot fleshes out the dry bones of professional astrology with examples, digressions, and encyclopedic information that make this work more lively and engaging, though less useful, than its predecessors. The second book, *Liber particularis*, adds more advanced explanations, including some given in response to questions asked by Frederick. The third book, *Liber physionomiae*, deals with living creatures, notably mankind, and shows especially how human character can be deduced from physical signs. An abridged version of the last book was immensely popular (it was printed about forty times), but the rest remains unpublished except for excerpts. Unlike other scholastics, Scot wrote for nonspecialists; he was remarkable not so much for his learning as for his willingness to display and exaggerate it. His contemporaries were duly impressed and regarded him as a magician, but in the next generation, Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus insisted that he was a charlatan, and Dante put Scot in hell as a diviner (*Inferno*. 20.115-117).

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Astrology; Frederick II Hohenstaufen

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Milan

Physical Characteristics and Origins

The city of Milan is situated in the heart of the Po valley, and over the centuries it has played a major role—whether political, military, or economic—in the history of northern and central Italy. To its north are the Alpine passes; to its west, south, and east are the great navigable rivers: the Ticino, the Po (and its tributary, the Lambro), and the Adda. Beginning in Roman times, the city was near the crossroads (at Piacenza and Cremona) of two intersecting trade routes. One route ran from southern France and Genoa in the southwest to Friuli in the northeast (and from there to either the Balkans or the Danube regions); the other connected the Adriatic coast (especially Ravenna) in the southeast with central France in the northwest. Historically, the city has also benefited from the varied topography of its surrounding territory. The four geographic zones that make up Lombardy—mountains, hills, high dry plain, and marshy lowlands (called *la bassa*)—have each provided essential raw materials and agricultural products, thereby contributing to the remarkable economic vitality of the region. Then, as now, the Lombard plain was the most fertile region on the peninsula. For much of the High and Late Middle Ages, however, "Lombardy" extended far beyond its present boundaries to include parts of Venetia to the east and Emilia Romagna to the south.

Milan was probably founded by a Celtic tribe, the Insubres, who moved from cisalpine Gaul in the early fourth century before Christ and founded a settlement on or near the site of an Etruscan town. The

Celtic name they gave to this site (*met lan*) is thought to mean "middle land." After having captured the northern plain from the Etruscans, the Insubres found themselves confronting the Romans. In 222 B.C., the Insubres suffered a serious defeat at the hands of the Romans who occupied the *mediolanum* (Latin for "middle land"). However, the Insubres, together with the Boii, continued to threaten Roman hegemony in the Po valley. To guard their newly conquered territory from these Gauls, Rome established colonies at Cremona and Piacenza in 218 B.C. When Hannibal crossed the Alps that year, he found ready allies in the Gauls, but after his defeat the Gauls were once again at the mercy of Rome; by 194 B.C., their defeat was complete and Milan came under Roman control. In 89 B.C., the city was elevated to the status of a Latin colony; in 49 B.C., the Roman government rewarded it with the status of a *municipium* and its inhabitants received Roman citizenship. In the second century after Christ, Emperor Hadrian (r. 117–138) honored the city with the title of imperial colony.

The cities of republican Rome were built as a grid of perpendicular streets. In Milan the main *cardo* ran northeast to southwest (toward present-day Via Manzoni) and the main *decumanus* ran southeast to northwest (toward present-day Corso di Porta Romana). The city's first walls were built in the second half of the first century before Christ and were later enlarged, probably during the reign of Emperor Maximian (286–305), to a total perimeter of approximately 28 miles (45 kilometers). By the late empire, the principal buildings were the imperial *palatium* (near the present Carrobbio), the forum (now piazza San Sepolcro), the circus (alongside present Via Circo and Via Cappuccio), the theater (with a seating capacity of 7,000; it now lies beneath Palazzo della Borsa), the amphitheater (where Via Arena is today), the great baths dedicated to Hercules (where the church of San Vito in Pasquirolo stands today), the basilica Palatina (now the church of San Lorenzo), two octagonal baptisteries (San Giovanni alle Fonti, formerly attached to Santa Tecla; and Santo Stefano, beneath the *duomo*), and six Christian churches. These six churches were the two cathedrals and four basilicas: *basilica Salvatoris* (San Dionigi; demolished in the late eighteenth century), *basilica Virginum* (San Simpliciano), *basilica Apostolorum* (San Nazaro), and *basilica Martyrum* (Sant'Ambrogio).

History and Municipal Institutions

The history of medieval Milan is not as well known as that of the other three great northern and central city-states—Genoa, Venice, and Florence. Partly, this is either because the Milanese did not produce the range of documents found in the other three cities or because the documents were destroyed over time. But it is also true that the artistic, commercial, and political achievements of these other three cities have attracted far more historians than have the great industries and despotic rulers of Milan. In the High and Late Middle Ages, however, Milan was the great power of the northern plain or Po valley—the center of an enormous regional state which at its height, at the dawn of the fifteenth century (when it seemed on the verge of becoming the capital of a unified Italian state), stretched from Ventirni glia and Genoa in the west to Verona, Vicenza, and Padua in the east to the Alpine passes in the north and to Bologna, Pisa, Siena, and Perugia in the south.

Late antiquity (200-568). Milan rose to economic and political prominence in the third and fourth centuries and became the second largest city in the west after Rome. As the northern Italian center of a road system that connected Rome with Spain and Gaul to the west and Aquileia with the Danube and Balkans to the east, Milan became an important commercial and military post. In 286, Diocletian selected Milan as the capital of the west for his coemperor Maximian—a distinction the city enjoyed until 402. After the early fourth century, the city also became the residence of the governor (*consularis*) of the province of Aemilia Liguria, of the praetorian prefect, and of the vicar of Italy. It was there that Constantine and Licinius met in 313 to promulgate the Edict of Milan, granting religious toleration to all religions, including Christianity.

The leading Milanese figure in this period was Saint Ambrose (c. 340–397). Ambrose was born into a Christian family and pursued a public career, becoming *consularis Aemiliae et Liguria* c. 370. In 374, while still a catechumen, he was acclaimed bishop by a populace at odds over whether the newly vacant see should be occupied by an Arian or a Catholic. Despite his initial reluctance to accept his election, he soon emerged as the most authoritative church leader in the west. For future

Milanese bishops he became the model pastor, one who personally instructed his flock (Ambrose's erudition, eloquence, and piety were instrumental in the conversion of Augustine of Hippo) and who defended the church against heresy and secular encroachment. So great was his influence that the liturgy of the Milanese church is known as the Ambrosian rite. In his dealings with the Roman emperors, Ambrose followed the motto: "The emperor is within the church: he is not above it." In 386, when the Arian regent Justina, mother of Emperor Valentinian II, tried by military threat to force Ambrose to give one of Milan's churches to Arian believers (recent scholarship indicates that the church in question may have been San Lorenzo), Ambrose steadfastly refused, and he rallied the spirits of his besieged Catholic congregation by composing popular hymns, thereby initiating a practice of singing which was adopted throughout the western church. In 390, Ambrose excommunicated Emperor Theodosius I for ordering the massacre of Thessalonica's inhabitants. Ambrose also bequeathed to Milan at least two of its great paleo-Christian churches, the *basilica Apostolorum* (San Nazaro), and the *basilica Martyrum* (Sant'Ambrogio).



Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore and Roman columns, Milan. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The fifth and sixth centuries brought a series of disasters to Milan, and the city lost its preeminence in northern Italy to neighboring Pavia. In the face of the Visigothic invasion of Italy, Emperor Honorius abandoned his imperial residence in Milan and escaped to Ravenna, which in 402 became the new imperial capital of the west. In 452, Attila the Hun besieged Milan. Between 489 and 493, Ostrogoths swept into northern Italy and established their kingdom there, choosing Pavia as their capital. Ostrogothic rule was benign but short-lived. In 535, a

reinvigorated Byzantine imperial government under Emperor Justinian sought to recapture the former western provinces of the empire from the recently established Germanic kingdoms. In 538, the Byzantine forces captured Milan, only to lose it a year later to the Ostrogothic warrior Uraias after a prolonged siege. Uraias punished the Milanese severely for harboring the imperial forces. According to the Greek historian Procopius, the Ostrogoths razed the city, massacred the men, and sent the enslaved women north to the Ostrogoths' Burgundian allies. For northern Italy, the net result of the Gothic war and the reestablishment of Byzantine rule in 553 was devastation far greater than all the preceding barbarian invasions had produced. Oppressive Byzantine taxation (553–568) aggravated the situation, as did the Lombard invasions.

Early Middle Ages (568-1097): Lombards (568-774). The Lombards invaded the Po valley in 568 and easily captured Milan. The archbishop, most of the clergy, and many of the oldest and most distinguished families abandoned the city and took up residence in Genoa, which was part of the Milanese archdiocese and still under imperial control. Their absence lasted for nearly seventy-five years—until the mid-seventh century, when the Lombard king drove the Byzantines out of Italy. Milan also suffered when the Lombards made Pavia the capital of their kingdom; like other Lombard cities, Milan was governed by a duke.

Carolingians (774–887). In 772, Charlemagne crossed the Alps at the request of Pope Hadrian I to halt the Lombards' incursion into papal lands. The Franks besieged Pavia for almost two years before capturing the city and its king in 774; thereafter, Charlemagne adopted the title King of the Franks and the Lombards. Although Pavia remained the capital of the new kingdom of Italy (*regnum Italiae*), Milan began to emerge from the obscurity of the previous century, thanks to its archiepiscopal status. Administratively, Frankish counts replaced Lombard dukes, but in practice the archbishops wielded greater authority. This was in part because the religious reforms, privileges, and donations of Charlemagne and his successors strengthened the position of the archbishops, and in part because the archbishops resisted Charlemagne's centralization and succeeded in preserving a unique autonomy. When Charlemagne tried to create religious uniformity within his realm by ordering that the Roman rite replace all local

liturgical rites, Archbishop Thomas (r. 755-783) appealed to Rome. Pope Hadrian I sided with the Milanese and preserved the Ambrosian rite. This renewed identification with Saint Ambrose energized the Milanese church. In 784, Archbishop Peter founded the Benedictine monastery of Saint Ambrose next to the saint's great basilica. The basilica itself was rebuilt and became the burial place of rulers, among them Charlemagne's son Pepin and Emperor Louis II. The two greatest bishops of the Carolingian age—who were both responsible for the amplification and beautification of Sant'Ambrogio—were Angilbert II (in 824-859) and Ansper (868-881).



Palazzo della Ragione, Milan. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Italian kings (888-962). Following the deposition of Emperor Charles the Fat in 887, political chaos reigned in Italy. Milan's archbishops sought to restore peace by cooperating with the Italian kings, modeling themselves on the example set by Saint Ambrose in his relations with the empire.

Archiepiscopal rule (c. 980-1045). When the empire was revived in the mid-tenth century, the archbishops of Milan were its direct beneficiaries. The archbishops became close allies of Emperor Otto I, and he in turn granted the Ambrosian church new lands. His son, Otto II, was crowned king of Italy by Archbishop Landulf II (Landolph of Carcano, r. 979-998) in the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio. Otto II rewarded

the archbishop by naming him and his successors counts of Milan. Landulf extended his temporal power further by reaching out to the city's nobility and creating a new class of loyal vassals (*capitanei*), to whom he distributed church property. In 1004, Archbishop Arnulf II (r. 998-1018) crowned the future emperor Henry II (r. 1014-1024) king of Italy; Arnulf then supported the emperor against the forces of Arduino d'Ivrea (r. 1002-1014), who was attempting to establish a kingdom of Italy independent of the empire.

Archiepiscopal power and prestige reached their apogee during the archbishopric of Aribert of Intimiano (Ariberto da Antimiano, Herbert of Antimiano; r. 1018–1045), who combined a strong concern for the spiritual welfare of his flock with the political and military prowess of a great feudal lord. As a religious leader, he revived monasticism and the communal life of his clergy, provided for the reconstruction of churches, commissioned important works of religious art, assisted the poor, and attempted to eradicate Catharism. As a political leader, he tried to re-create a kingdom in northern Italy with Milan as its capital. On the death of Emperor Henry II, Aribert gave his full support to Conrad II, the Salian, against the wishes of most of Italy's imperial vassals. Aribert's coronation of Conrad as king of Italy took place in Milan (1026)—not in Pavia, as had been the tradition. This change not only increased the archbishop's personal authority it also signaled the end of Pavia as the political capital of northern Italy. At Conrad's imperial coronation in Rome (1027), the ascendancy of Milan was ensured when Pope John XIX elevated its archiepiscopal see above all the others, including that of Ravenna.

In 1035, on Aribert's triumphant return from a victorious military campaign in Burgundy, the minor vassals (*valvassores*) in and around Lombardy rebelled against him and his greater vassals (*capitanei*). The cause of the rebellion was the precariousness of their fiefs, which could be given and taken away at will. In fighting for the right to inherit their fiefs, the *valvassores* sought to share in the privileges of the *capitanei* and increase their opportunities for social advancement. To mediate this bloody dispute, Conrad traveled to Milan. When Aribert refused to present himself before the emperor, Conrad ordered his arrest. After a brief imprisonment, Aribert rallied all the inhabitants to his cause. Conrad attacked and laid siege to the city; when the Milanese did not

capitulate, he tried to win over the *valvassores* by issuing the *Constitutio de feudis* (1037), which granted them the long-sought right of inheritance. Despite Conrad's military and political maneuvers, the Milanese held firm. Legend has it that during Conrad's second siege of the city (1039), Aribert rallied the Milanese around the *carroccio*—a richly adorned wagon drawn by oxen, carrying an image of Christ and the insignia of each of the city's gates. The *carroccio* was driven onto the battlefield as a symbol of civic pride, and it continued to be used during the subsequent communal age. At the death of Conrad (1039), the imperial siege was lifted, and, in 1040, Aribert made peace with the new emperor, Henry III. No sooner had peace been achieved, however, than a new civil war broke out. Led by Lanzzone de Corte, a nobleman and archiepiscopal notary, the citizens (*cives*)—judges, notaries, merchants, and artisans—drove the archbishop and the nobility from the city. In 1044, when the warring factions successfully negotiated a peace agreement, their accord foreshadowed the future commune. By the time Aribert died in 1045, archiepiscopal power was in decline, never again to be revived.

Patarine uprising (1045-1075). For thirty years after the death of Aribert, the feudal and conservative Milanese church was disrupted as the city was convulsed by a series of popular revolts. The Patarine rebellion in the second half of the eleventh century began as part of the wider European movement to reform the church by eradicating clerical simony and concubinage. Although the origin of the name Patarine is not entirely clear, it is thought that because these reformers criticized the clergy's wealth, their detractors called them the *patarinus idest pannosus*, (ragged ones). However, although the movement had the support of members of the lower classes, it was led by noblemen and clergymen.

Backed by two cathedral canons—Anselm of Baggio (the future Pope Alexander II) and Landulf Cotta—the movement was led first by a deacon named Arialdo and then, after Landulf died, by Arialdo's brother Erlembald. Clerics accused of immorality were physically attacked and driven from their homes. In 1057, the pope sent two legates to Milan to investigate: Anselm of Baggio (by then bishop of Lucca) and the monk Hildebrand (the future Pope Gregory VII). Another papal legate, Peter Damian, was sent in 1059. Although Peter succeeded in restoring

relations between Rome and Archbishop Guido of Velate (r. 1045-1071), the peace was ephemeral. The archbishop, the higher clergy, and the feudal nobility all opposed the reforms, not only because members of the higher clergy came from noble families and had purchased their offices, but also because they feared that the Milanese church would become completely subservient to Rome. Erlembald, who staunchly supported Rome's primacy, traveled to Rome to seek the advice of his brother's former ally, Anselm of Baggio—by then Pope Alexander II (r. 1061-1073)—who offered his support by giving Erlembald the banner of Saint Peter and making him a gonfalonier (standard-bearer) of the church.

Violence again broke out after a Roman council in 1063 prohibited married priests from celebrating mass and instructed the laity to desert them. In Milan, the pope's order was viewed by many as an attack on the Ambrosian church, which had a long tradition of married clergy. Pope Alexander responded by excommunicating Archbishop Guido (1066), who in turn accused Ariald and Erlembald of sowing discord and attempting to enslave the church of Saint Ambrose. Ariald's and Erlembald's allegiance to Rome troubled even some of their supporters, and the two reformers found themselves increasingly isolated. Later that same year, Ariald was captured, tortured, and killed. Left alone to lead the movement, Erlembald once again requested an audience with the pope. On his return to Milan, he carried with him the pope's permission to convene an assembly of citizens and to elect a new archbishop. Once again pitched battles broke out, but by then the struggle to elect a new archbishop for Milan had become part of the larger investiture conflict between church and empire. Archbishop Guido resigned his office, though not before persuading the German king Henry IV (crowned emperor in 1084) to invest Guido's secretary, Godfrey of Castiglione.

To the Milanese, the new candidate was unacceptable, both because he was a simonist and because he was an outsider. After Guido's death in 1071, the Milanese cleric Attone (r. 1072-1085) was elected with the backing of the papacy. Henry IV naturally opposed the election and succeeded in having his candidate, Godfrey (1072-1075), consecrated not at Milan but at Novara. Soon after his own election as pope, Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085) excommunicated Godfrey. The following

year, Pope Gregory ordered the deposition of simonist clerics and the excommunication of both laymen who invested clerics and clerics who accepted such investiture.

In 1075, Godfrey and Erlembald both died (the latter was killed in battle); and although the violence subsided, the two opposing factions survived, each strengthened by royal or papal support. Almost overnight, what had been largely a local dispute turned into an international crisis: when the chaplain of the imperial court, Tedaldo (1075 to 1085), was invested by Henry IV and consecrated on 4 February 1076 against Gregory's express opposition, there followed the famous papal excommunication of Henry, and, a year later, the dramatic reconciliation at Canossa (1077). The end of the Patarine movement came in 1086 with the election of Anselm III of Rho. Invested by Henry IV and confirmed by Urban II, the new bishop embraced the reforms so long advocated by the Patarines. A small number of radical Patarines, however, survived and eventually merged with other heretical groups.

High Middle Ages (1097-1277): Commune (1097— c. 1240). In the wake of the Patarine struggle, the various factions tried to develop a more inclusive government. The archbishop continued to be the nominal leader, but power gradually passed into the hands of laymen. The commune (*commune civitatis*), first mentioned in a document of 1097, consisted of a popular assembly and an executive council composed of consuls elected from the city's three factions—*capitanei*, *valvassores*, and *cives*.

By the early twelfth century, political consolidation was accompanied by military and economic expansion. To gain access to central Italy and the Adriatic, Milan attacked Lodi and Cremona; to reach the Ligurian coast, it defeated Pavia; and to secure the Alpine passes, it destroyed Como. Milan's expansion brought it into direct conflict with Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1155-1190), who wished to reassert direct imperial rule over Italy. Twice, in 1158 and 1162, Frederick successfully besieged Milan. The second defeat was particularly severe: Frederick ordered the demolition of Milan's walls, gates, and towers, and the palaces of his principal enemies; moreover, he expelled the entire population, forcing them to live for four years in the suburban areas. Milan's isolation, however, was only temporary. Growing aversion to imperial rule among the communes of northern

Italy soon led to the formation of the Lombard League, whose forces defeated an imperial army at Legnano (1176). By the Peace of Constance (1183) the Lombard communes secured their de facto autonomy from the empire, while still recognizing their de jure sovereignty.

Communal liberty did not, however, put an end to Milan's social tension. In 1198, the city's shopkeepers and artisans formed an association known as the *credenza di Sant'Ambrogio* to protect their political and economic interests. Opposing them was the *motta*, composed of lesser nobles, wealthy commoners, and merchants; the great nobles for their part remained closely tied to the archbishop. To maintain peace and achieve political reform the Milanese increasingly resorted to the one-man rule of a foreign magistrate, the *podestà*. The policies introduced by the *podestà* included protecting the citizenry from arbitrary confiscations by the government (1205); laying the groundwork for the general assessment of properties (*catasto*); making commoners as eligible for public office as nobles were (1214); codifying customary law (1216); and constructing a new communal palace, or *Broletto nuovo* (1228). The renewed confidence of the Milanese became evident in 1220 when they not only refused hospitality to Frederick II (r. 1215-1250) as he traveled from Germany to Rome for his imperial coronation, but also opposed his coronation as king of Italy. In 1226, a second Lombard League (strengthened by papal support) was formed against Frederick II. This time the empire prevailed, at the battle of Cortenuova (1237). Within the city, the commoners, fearing reprisals from the nobility who had sided with the emperor, elected a new official—known as the *capitano del popolo*—to rule alongside the *podestà*. The first such *capitano* was Pagano della Torre (1240), who was already prominent as leader of the *Credenza di Sant'Ambrogio* and a member of the anti-imperial and pro-papal faction known as the Guelfs.

Della Torre signory (1240-1277). For the next four decades, Milan was ruled on and off by Pagano's relatives. What distinguished the Della Torre *signoria* from later ones was its plebian character. In opposition to the Della Torre, nobles and Ghibellines rallied around Archbishop Ottone Visconti (r. 1262-1295), whom the Guelf Della Torre had barred from the city. In the end, however, Visconti's forces prevailed at the

battle of Desio (1277) and the Delia Torre *signoria* came to an end.

Religious movements in the communal age. The demographic and commercial expansion of the communal age contributed to a great variety of religious experiences. As parishes were created (the first recorded parish was San Sepolcro in 1100), the cathedral became less central to the life of the citizenry. Moreover, new and sometimes heterodox religious movements flourished. Pope Innocent III, writing to the archdeacon of Milan in 1198, expressed concern at the city's large number of heretics: Cathars, Waldensians, and Poor Lombards. In 1252, Cathars killed the Dominican inquisitor Peter of Verona (Saint Peter Martyr) as he traveled to Milan. A local movement called the Humiliati ("humbled ones")—whose members earned their livelihood as textile workers and pursued the apostolic ideal of voluntary poverty, fasting, prayer, and public preaching—was initially suspected of heresy. In 1201, however, Innocent III approved a rule by which the Humiliati formed three orders: a first order of canons and sisters, a second order of celibate laypeople, and a third order of married men and women. According to their most famous member, the poet and chronicler Bonvesin da la Riva (c. 1250–c.1315), by 1216 the Humiliati owned 150 houses in and around Milan; the most famous of these was the convent of Brera, founded in 1201.

The mendicant friars established themselves in Milan soon after gaining papal recognition and approval. Saint Dominic visited Milan in 1219, and a year later his friars were given the paleo-Christian church of Sant'Eustorgio. The Franciscans arrived a few years later, living at first outside the city's walls. In 1233 they began construction on the church of San Francesco, now no longer standing.

Late Middle Ages (1277–1395): Visconti signory (1277–1447). For the remainder of the medieval period, Milan was governed by the Ghibelline *signoria* of the noble Visconti family. Ruling first as *signore perpetuo* and later as *signore assoluto*, Archbishop Ottone Visconti demoted the citizen council to a merely advisory body. He disbanded the two major political associations (the *motta* and the *credenza di Sant' Ambrogio*), and, in 1279, he created the *tribunale di provvisione* (composed of a *vicario* and twelve magistrates) to oversee all aspects of the city's economy. In religious affairs, he barred commoners from joining the metropolitan chapter, having stipulated that only the 200

hundred noble families he had selected would be eligible. Since, historically, Milan's archbishops had risen from the ranks of the metropolitan clergy, Ottone's action was designed to prevent commoners from heading the Milanese church. In 1287, Ottone obtained the office of *capitano del popolo* for his grandnephew, Matteo Visconti, who the following year became *podestà* as well. Between 1302 and 1311, the Delia Torre family made a brief comeback, but in 1311 Matteo Visconti was in power again, first as imperial vicar and then as *dominus et rector generalis mediolani* until his death in 1322. When Matteo made war on the Guelf rulers of neighboring cities, he incurred a papal excommunication, and Milan was placed under an interdict that was not lifted until the mid-fourteenth century.

Matteo's son, Galeazzo (r. 1322-1327), succeeded him as imperial vicar and continued his war against the papacy and its Guelf allies, particularly Florence and Naples. During the rule of Galeazzo's son Azzone (1329-1339), and of Galeazzo's brothers Luchino (1339-1349) and Archbishop Giovanni (1349-1354), the Visconti regional state began to take shape. In rapid succession the Visconti became lords of many neighboring cities: Bergamo and Novara (1332), Cremona (1334), Como and Lodi (1335), Piacenza (1336), Brescia (1337), Asti (1341), Parma (1346), Bologna (1351), and Genoa (1353). Under Azzone, Milan's municipal and guild statutes were revised and the Visconti court began to attract some of the greatest artists of the age. Azzone invited Giotto to decorate his palace (now destroyed), and the splendid Gothic church of San Gottardo in Corte was built during Azzone's reign. When Petrarch visited Milan in 1353, he lived as a guest of Archbishop Giovanni Visconti (the last of Milan's warrior-archbishops). Archbishop Giovanni reversed his father's imperial policy and formed an alliance with the papacy and the Guelf states of Florence and Naples. Nevertheless, when Giovanni changed course and attacked Florence, Innocent VI organized a military expedition against the city, fearing that the papal states would be Milan's next target.

At Giovanni's sudden death in 1354, his joint heirs were his three nephews—Matteo II (1354-1355), Galeazzo II (1354-1378), and Bernabo (1354-1385). After the premature death of Matteo II, Galeazzo II controlled the western half of the Visconti state, while Bernabo held the eastern half. This division so weakened Milan that Bologna (in 1355)

and Genoa (in 1356) successfully rebelled.

At Galeazzo's death in 1378, his son Gian Galeazzo (1378-1402) became Milan's ruler. Gian Galeazzo received the title Count of Vertus from his first wife, Isabel of Valois, daughter of John II of France. His second wife, Catherine, was the daughter of his uncle and ruler, Bernabò. This double relation did not, however, prevent Gian Galeazzo from throwing Bernabò into prison (1385), where he died within a few months. Under Gian Galeazzo's rule, the reunified Milanese state reached the height of its prosperity, power, splendor, and territorial expansion. Firmly in control of Lombardy, Gian Galeazzo went on to conquer Verona, Vicenza, Pisa, Siena, and Perugia. His anti-Florentine and pro-French foreign policy led him, in 1389, to marry his daughter, Valentina, to Louis, duke of Orleans, son of King Charles V. (It was on the basis of this marriage that the French claimed Milan when they invaded Italy in 1499.) When the French, however, refused to support his plan to conquer Tuscany, Gian Galeazzo turned to the empire, from which he received (for the sum of 100,000 florins) the imperial title of duke, which elevated him above all other Italian rulers. Thus, at the close of the fourteenth century it seemed almost inevitable that an expansionist Visconti duchy would soon become the heart of a unified Italian state. Then, just as Milan seemed on the verge of conquering Florence, Gian Galeazzo died (1402). After his death, the Visconti state gradually declined. The second of his two sons, Filippo Maria (1412-1447), was the last Visconti ruler. Gian Galeazzo is remembered not only for his political and military exploits, but also for his patronage of learning and the arts. In Pavia, he enlarged the university, which had been founded by his father, Galeazzo II, and he built the magnificent Carthusian monastery (*Certosa*, or charterhouse) as a family mausoleum. His enormous library (rivalled only by that of his brother-in-law Charles V of France) was for a long time regarded by historians as evidence of his direct involvement in commissioning luxurious manuscripts. More recently, however, scholars have found that Gian Galeazzo amassed most of his holdings by plundering the libraries of his vanquished foes. When, for example, he conquered Padua in 1388, he carried off Francesco da Carrara's entire library, which was famous for possessing manuscripts once owned by Petrarch.

Economic Life

Despite its location near the great southwest-northeast and southeast-northwest trade routes that converged in the Po valley, Milan never became a commercial capital like the maritime cities of Genoa and Venice. Instead, it relied on Genoese and Venetian merchants for the import of eastern luxury goods and the export to the Levant of its manufactured products, Milanese merchants restricted themselves to buying and selling grain and other local agricultural products, including salt from the Venetian lagoon, raw materials needed in industry (especially linen, wool, and iron), and locally manufactured goods. Nor, despite the early successes of Lombard money changers and bankers throughout northern Europe, did Milan ever become a major financial center, as Florence did. From Roman times down through the Middle Ages, Milan's real economic strength lay in its industries, notably in the production and export of textiles, arms, and metallurgy. Unfortunately, because of the relative paucity of surviving archival sources, far less is known about the way industrial production was organized and carried out in Milan than is known about other leading industrial centers, such as Florence.

Late antiquity and early Middle Ages (300-1100). During the fourth century, when it was the western capital of the empire (282-402), Milan was one of the principal producers of Roman metallurgy and woollen cloth. Little is known about Milan's economy following the disintegration of the empire, but there is evidence that during the Lombard period (568-774), Milanese merchants were traveling to France with their wares. The presence of an important mercantile sector is also attested to by the inclusion in the Lombard law codes of a separate order of merchants ranking just below the nobility, as well as by the fact that by the ninth century the Po valley was the site of regular seasonal fairs. As regards Milan, however, from the late sixth century through the tenth century, its economy was overshadowed by that of neighboring Pavia, where the presence of the royal court attracted a large volume of trade and gave the city's merchants exclusive rights to the importation of eastern spices, precious stones, raw silk, and costly fabrics. These positions were reversed beginning in the early eleventh century, when Milan began its rise to economic and political

prominence, largely at the expense of Pavia, which after 1026 ceased to be the capital of the kingdom of Italy. The earliest documented merchant corporation of the peninsula (the *ordo negotiatorum* of 1067) was Milanese.

High Middle Ages (1100-1300). Although there are no written sources to provide reliable evidence of population levels in the early Middle Ages, the extension of city walls throughout the peninsula in the course of the twelfth century attests to an increase in urban population. Milan shared in this trend: new wooden palisades atop earthen ramparts and surrounded by a moat were built between 1152 and 1158 around the expanding suburbs to protect the city from the attacks of Frederick I, only to be partially torn down by him in 1162. By end of the twelfth century, the city and its ramparts were rebuilt; and gradually—by the mid-fourteenth century—stone walls replaced the ramparts up to what is known as the *cerchia dei navigli*, the circle of canals that bounded the medieval city. Traffic in and out of the city passed through six large fortified gates (*porte*)—Comasina, Nuova, Renza (or Orientale), Romana, Ticinese, and Vercellina—and a number of smaller gates known as *pusterle*. For administrative purposes, the city was subdivided like wedges of a pie into six sections, each taking its name from one of the six main gates. At nearly 600 acres (approximately 240 hectares), Milan was the largest walled city on the peninsula; and this figure excludes the large suburban areas outside the city's walls.

By far, the most ambitious construction during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was not the city's defensive walls and moat, but rather the great canals that connected Milan to the nearby rivers and provided water essential for irrigation and transportation. In 1179, construction began on the Ticinello, a canal intended primarily for irrigation, which connected the Ticino River with the town of Abbiategrasso to the southwest of Milan. In the thirteenth century, the canal was extended to Milan itself and renamed the Naviglio Grande ("great canal"); by 1269-1271 it was large enough for navigation and was regularly used to transport foodstuffs and the raw materials and finished products of Milanese industry. Its terminal point at the wet docks (*darsena*) of Porta Ticinese helped to make that district one of Milan's busiest manufacturing areas, where water mills supplied power to the workshops in which arms, textiles, lumber, and paper were

produced. In the thirteenth century, the Naviglio Grande was connected to the Martesana, a navigable canal that linked Milan to the Adda River, and thus provided Milan with cost-effective transportation between the two great rivers. Additional networks of canals and irrigation ditches brought new lands into production and improved yields in fields already under cultivation. The most famous of these canals was the Muzza, built in the thirteenth century to irrigate the fertile lowlands (*la bassa*) south of Milan.

Indeed, the period from the twelfth century through the fourteenth was the great age of land reclamation in the Po valley. This reclamation was undertaken initially by private individuals, and then, in the fourteenth century, by order of the Visconti. The marshes of *la bassa* were drained and diked, and on these newly reclaimed lands a form of convertible agriculture became established in which arable farming and stock raising were closely integrated. This convertible husbandry was transhumant rather than stationary: every fall shepherds drove cattle, sheep, and goats from the Alpine mountain pastures to the lowlands, and there the shepherds negotiated with local landowners for pasturing rights or the purchase of hay.

Trade in the Po valley was stimulated not only because the vast network of navigable rivers and canals reduced transportation costs, but also because in the course of the twelfth century many Lombard towns began to link their own local weights and measures to those of Milan, thus facilitating market transactions. Moreover, in the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth century, the commune negotiated agreements with communities across the northern plain for free passage along roads and waterways. With the opening of the Saint Gotthard pass c. 1230 and the Simplon pass several years later, Milanese and other Italian merchants could travel more easily to France and Flanders. During this period, Milanese merchants traded less with Germany, because the mountain passes in the eastern Alps were not as accessible. For trade with the Levant and beyond, Milan depended on the great port cities of Venice and Genoa: until the mid-twelfth century it relied on Venice for the acquisition of eastern luxury goods and the export of its manufactures; from the second half of the century onward it traded more through Genoa.

Of the four principal industries in Milan—cloth, arms, metallurgy,

and leather—by far the largest in terms of numbers employed and sheer output was the cloth industry. In terms of profits and reputation, however arms and metallurgy (hardware, utensils, needles) ranked highest. The city had a steady supply of iron from Alpine territories under its control, though it also purchased German iron. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—an age of mercenary armies and constant warfare—Milan's arms industry reached its zenith. Milanese body armor, helmets, crossbows, lances, swords, and other weapons were prized all over Europe and, according to the fourteenth-century chronicler Galvano Fiamma, even by Tartars and Saracens in the east.

Milan produced a variety of textiles—woolens, cottons (*pignolati*), fustians, linens, and silks—of which the most important were woolens. At first the Milanese, like other Italian cloth producers, manufactured woolens that could not match the quality of those from northern Europe, for the wool available locally was inferior to that of England and France, as were the techniques of production. By the end of the thirteenth century, however, Milan was importing high-quality northern wool, and by the fourteenth century the city's weavers were manufacturing a fine woolen cloth (*panno di lana sottile*) that was as much in demand as northern cloths in Mediterranean markets. Less is known about the production of Milanese textiles than about Florentine textiles, but it appears that, unlike Florence, Milan's woolen industry was not strictly controlled by specialized craft guilds, but was largely run by the wholesale merchants who formed a *universitas mercatorum*. The wool merchants (*lanaioli*) were obliged to purchase their wool from members of the *universitas* and sell back the finished cloth to them. Only weavers of woolen cloths and finishers (*cimatori*) were organized into guilds (called *paratici*). During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Milanese cloth was manufactured in small workshops in and around the city in what is known as the "putting-out" system—but in the course of the thirteenth century, a kind of proto-factory system developed among the Humiliati. Manuscript illustrations from the period depict the Humiliati performing every stage of the cloth-making process (weaving, fulling, shearing, dyeing, etc.) in their monasteries.

After fine woolens—which only the affluent could afford—the most important textile produced by Milanese weavers was fustian cloth. This coarse, heavy cloth, made entirely from Egyptian cotton or from a

mixture of cotton and linen, was used for inexpensive winter garments and served as the poor person's substitute for woolen cloth. By the mid-thirteenth century, Milanese fustians were being sent to the Levant on Genoese ships. Other types of cotton cloths included *pignolati*. The Milanese *contado* also produced linen for export, and a limited amount of linen cloth. Finally, toward the end of the thirteenth century, the Arab art of silk weaving reached Milan, though not until the Visconti dukes actively promoted it—beginning in the mid-fifteenth century—did it become a leading industry in Renaissance Milan. The Milanese leather industry specialized in saddlery, linings for armor, shoes, gloves, and fur clothing.

In contrast to other medieval cities, which had guilds for nearly every artisanal occupation, Milan had only a limited number of guilds (*paratici*). Many specialized workers did not belong to a *paratico*, either because their work did not come under one of the existing traditional crafts or because the Visconti had refused requests for new guilds. At best, such artisans could form confraternities (known as *scuole*), but these were primarily devotional and mutual-aid associations and could do little to defend or promote the economic interests of their members.

Late Middle Ages (1300-1400). By 1300, with a population of at least 100,000 (and very possibly as high as 200,000), Milan reached the peak of its demographic size. Although Milan appears to have escaped the first outbreak of the black death in 1348, it suffered terrible human losses in the plague of 1361. Despite such losses, Milan nevertheless entered a long period of prosperity that was to last for 200 years and was to see it surpass its old rivals Genoa, Venice, and Florence as their economies stagnated or declined. The reasons for Milan's economic success are many, but historians agree that the principal cause was the establishment of the Visconti signory. In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Visconti, as mentioned above, extended their hegemony over many neighboring communes (Bergamo, Novara, Cremona, Como, Lodi, Piacenza, Brescia, Asti, Parma, and, for a short period, Bologna and Genoa), and in so doing they created a more vast and unified economic zone than had existed in the communal age. Furthermore, for the most part, the Visconti backed the interests of the rich mercantile elite against communal or feudal privileges and immunities. Finally, particularly from the late thirteenth century through the fifteenth

century, they spearheaded several initiatives to stimulate economic growth (e.g., drainage and irrigation projects and the development of the silk industry). All the evidence of economic prosperity should not, however, hide the fact that in Milan, as elsewhere during the late fourteenth century and the fifteenth century, the gap between the rich and the poor was growing wider, and that poverty was becoming more visible as vagabonds roamed the streets in search of food and shelter.

Art and Architecture

Architecture: Late antiquity and early Middle Ages (300-1100). For more than a millennium, until the construction of the Gothic *duomo* at the end of the Middle Ages, Milanese bishops celebrated the liturgy in two adjacent cathedrals. The first cathedral (where the present *duomo* now stands) was known as the *basilica vetus, minus, or jemale* because its small size made it ideal for use during the cold humid winters; next to it stood the baptistery of Santo Stefano, where Saint Ambrose was probably baptized. Shortly before 355, another cathedral—*basilica nova, basilica maior, or Santa Tecla*—was built just west of the *duomo*, beneath the current *piazza*, for use during the milder seasons. Archaeological excavations conducted in 1943 and 1961-1962 revealed that this was a large church (some 260 by 150 feet; or 80 by 45 meters) with a nave that could hold almost 3,000 people. Between 1462 and 1548 it was rebuilt twice and demolished three times to make room for the new *duomo*. Attached to Santa Tecla's southeastern side was the octagonal baptistery of San Giovanni alle Fonti (demolished in the mid-fifteenth century), which may have been built by Saint Ambrose and was the site of Saint Augustine's baptism.

South of the Roman walls stood the *basilica Palatina or Portiana* (now the church of San Lorenzo), actually a complex of buildings that included a tetraconch church (a square drum with a tower at each corner) and two attached chapels (Sant'Aquilino and Sant'Ippolito, both probably imperial mausoleums). The base of the entire complex was built using stones from another great building, very possibly the demolished amphitheater. Relatively recent scholarship suggests that it was built not by Ambrose (as was believed for centuries), but by a

fourth-century emperor whose identity is still disputed. Despite being rebuilt several times—first after fires in the 1070s, and again after the dome collapsed in 1573—it remains the finest example of paleo-Christian architecture in Milan. Facing its entrance is one of the few authentic remnants of Roman architecture: sixteen Corinthian columns of a propylaeum.

Beyond the Roman walls to the north, south, and west are the three churches attributed to Saint Ambrose—*basilica Apostolorum* (San Nazaro), *basilica Martyrum* (Sant'Ambrogio), and *basilica Virginum* (San Simpliciano). According to Ambrose's own writings, the first two were consecrated during his lifetime. The date of San Simpliciano, however, is still disputed. There is evidence that Ambrose intended to build such a church before he died (in 397), but some of today's scholars have argued that it may have been built as late as the fifth century. All three churches resemble each other in that they were built on the site of existing graveyards and were endowed with the relics of martyrs. San Nazaro and San Simpliciano were built as cruciform churches; Sant'Ambrogio's original plan is not certain, since the basilica was restructured several times between the late eleventh century and the thirteenth, but it probably had three naves and an apse. The church was built between 379 and 386, and in 397 it became the resting place of its founder. The original atrium was built by Bishop Anspert (868–881), during whose episcopacy the Milanese church was first called the Ambrosian church. The right *campanile dei monaci* ("monks' tower") is all that survives of the ninth-century Benedictine monastery that once stood next to Sant'Ambrogio.

Architecture: High and late Middle Ages (1100-1400). The Romanesque school of Lombard architecture had the most influence on the Italian peninsula; unfortunately, however, Milan's Romanesque churches do not preserve their original form, since all of them were restored over the centuries. Lombard architects typically used red brick, rather than stone (e.g., in Pisa's multicolored marble cathedral—one of the finest examples of Tuscan Romanesque). Two fires, in 1071 and 1075, destroyed or badly damaged a number of Milan's most important buildings and contributed to a wave of building projects beginning in the 1080s. The first of these was the renovation of Sant'Ambrogio, the city's greatest Romanesque church. Between the end of the eleventh

century and first half of the twelfth century, the nave and atrium were renovated and the left *campanile del canonici* ("canons' tower," 1128-1244) was built. The entire church was constructed with rib and groin vaults, round arches, and massive piers—all hallmarks of the Romanesque style. Other Milanese churches originally built as Romanesque churches or renovated in that style include San Nazaro, San Simpliciano, Sant'Eustorgio, Santa Babila, San Calimero, San Giovanni in Conca, San Celso, San Vincenzo in Prato, and San Sepolcro.

Early examples of Milanese gothic buildings include the commune's headquarters, called the *Broletto nuovo* or *Palazzo della ragione*. Begun in 1228 and completed in 1233 by the *podestà*, Oldrado da Tresseno (who is depicted in a bas-relief on the southern wall of the building), it is the largest of Lombardy's public buildings and served as the seat of the "council of 900." It was built with a rectangular open loggia on the ground floor and a single large hall on the second. Across from it stands the *Loggia degli Osii*, built by Matteo Visconti in 1316, a three-story building with Roman and Gothic arches, designed by Tuscan architects.

The largest and most famous Gothic building in Milan is the *duomo*, or cathedral. Begun in 1386 by Archbishop Antonio da Saluzzo and the citizens of Milan, it was supported only nominally by the Visconti and Sforza dukes. To oversee the cathedral's design and construction the citizenry created an administrative body, known as the *Fabbrica del duomo*. The archives of the *Fabbrica* date back to the foundation of the cathedral and represent one of the richest sources for the architectural and economic history of Milan. The *duomo* was made of marble from the lake district north of Milan, rather than from the traditional red brick of Lombardy, and it was designed by Italian, French, and German architects in what is known as the high, or international, Gothic style. The *duomo* is an enormous edifice (the third largest Catholic church in Europe), with five naves and more than 3,400 statues; it took five centuries to complete.

Painting: Early Middle Ages (eleventh century). A distinctive Lombard style in religious painting first developed in the early eleventh century, thanks to a fusion of Byzantine, Ottonian, and local painting traditions, and to the original vision of a several artists. The first distinctive feature of medieval Lombard church paintings was the prevalence of frescoes; Lombardy (unlike Tuscany and the Veneto) did

not produce many wooden altarpieces or crucifixes. More important, the Byzantine influence was less pronounced in Lombardy than in the rest of Italy. Although Lombard painting in the high Middle Ages has many Byzantine characteristics—dark outlining of the figures, almond-shaped eyes, striated drapery—it also has unique expressiveness and realism. There is no exaggerated elongation of figures and faces; faces instead tend to be round, sometimes almost square. A greater naturalism is also evident in the rapid and fluid brush strokes, and in the gestures and arrangement of the figures, which differ from the static, frontal poses and stylized gestures of Byzantine models.

The greatest patron of Lombard art in the first half of the eleventh century—and the man most responsible for making Milan the artistic capital of northern Italy in the Ottonian period—was Aribert of Intimiano, archbishop of Milan. While he was still only a subdeacon of Milan's cathedral, he repaired the church of San Vincenzo (of which he was keeper, or *custos*) in Galliano, a small community between Milan and Como, and commissioned an extraordinary series of frescoes for this church. The influence of Byzantine painting and Ottonian miniatures is clear in the magnificent (but badly damaged) apse fresco *Christ in Glory*, but the Lombard artist deviated from the Byzantine iconographic convention of depicting Christ enthroned, and instead painted him standing upright. Moreover, by painting highlights and shadows instead of the highly stylized folds found in Byzantine drapery, the artist succeeded in giving his figures an authentic shape and volume. In the tier below the apse fresco are *Scenes from the Life of Saint Vincent*, and it is here that this Lombard master's realism is most evident—in the individuality and expressiveness of the faces; in the use of architectural elements not just for decorative purposes, but also to create a sense of depth; and in the natural poses and arrangement of the figures.

The other great Lombard frescoes of the period are those in San Pietro al Monte in Civate (situated between Lecco and Como). Relatively recent studies date these to the end of the eleventh century. In *Heavenly Jerusalem*, painted on the vault of the atrium, the Byzantine style is again present, but the influence of Ottonian miniatures predominates. An enthroned Christ is framed on all four sides by small round faces peering out of arched windows. The most

realistic touches are the two trees flanking Christ; blown by the wind, they bring the fresco to life.

Painting: High and late Middle Ages (twelfth-fourteenth centuries). No masterpieces like those of Galliano and Civate survive from the twelfth century; there are only a few fragments of smaller frescoes (e.g., the *Madonna and Child* in San Celso, Milan). In the second half of the thirteenth century, however, Lombard painting was revived, partly as a result of a new influx of Byzantine works from Venice, and partly by the circulation of northern Gothic miniatures. The Gothic style produced in Lombardy due to the absorption of these outside influences can be seen most clearly in the works of a painter known as the Master of Angera, who appears to have been active in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The scenes in the Borromeo castle of Angera, depicting Ottone Visconti's victory at the battle of Desio, are a departure from the predominantly religious art of the period. Long thought to have been painted after 1314, these frescoes have more recently been dated to shortly after the Visconti victory in 1277, and as such they represent a more innovative style than was previously recognized. Perhaps influenced by northern miniatures depicting chivalric scenes, the Master of Angera sought to render battle dress and gear accurately, and to express the action on the battlefield by means of the soldiers' turning heads and swinging swords. Several great religious works have also been attributed to this master, including a *Deposition* in the church of San Lorenzo in Milan and a *Madonna and Saints* in the church of San Vincenzo in Galliano. The robust figures in both paintings have an unaffected and noble bearing, which nevertheless is imbued with tenderness. Similar tenderness and naturalness are found in the work of another master, who in 1267 painted a fresco for the tomb of Guglielmo de' Cottis in the church of Sant'Ambrogio. Here, within the confines of a lunette, a Madonna and child converse warmly with three other figures.

In the early fourteenth century, before the dissemination of Giotto's style, the greatest painter of the Lombard Gothic style was the Master of the Fissiraga Tomb (this tomb is in the church of San Francesco in Lodi). Giotto arrived in Milan in 1335 to decorate the palace of Azzone Visconti, although even before his arrival his work had begun to influence local painters, probably through the miniatures inspired by

his style. Nothing survives of Giotto's frescoes for Azzone's palace except a written description by a contemporary chronicler. After the 1330s, Giotto's direct influence can be seen in the works of the younger generation of Lombard painters, such as Giovanni da Milano's wooden altarpiece depicting an assembly of virgins (now in the Uffizi in Florence), and Giusto de' Menabuoi's *Final Judgment* in the abbey church of San Pietro in Viboldone.

Lombard painting, in the form of miniatures, gained international renown at the close of the fourteenth century and through the next century, when the demand of the Visconti and Sforza courts for luxurious books made Milan a center of production of illuminated manuscripts (or *ouvrage de Lombardie*, as they were known in France). The most famous of these, the *Visconti Hours*, commissioned by Gian Galeazzo Visconti and decorated in part by Giovannino de' Grassi, appear to have influenced artists in Tuscany and as far away as France.

Sculpture: Early Middle Ages (600-1100). The great age of Lombard sculpture during the eighth century left little mark on Milan, because Pavia was the chosen capital of the Lombards' Germanic kingdom. A century later, however, an artist named Wolvinus produced the golden altar—the *Paliotto*—over the tomb of Saint Ambrose in the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio. Commissioned by Archbishop Angilbert II (r. 824-859), this masterpiece of Carolingian art is decorated on all four sides with scenes from the New Testament in embossed gold and silver panels, framed by enamels and gemstones. Also from Angilbert's reign is a stucco ciborium above the altar, once thought to have been made during the later Ottonian period. During this latter period (tenth century) Milanese craftsmen, inspired by Byzantine models, produced small, finely carved ivory panels depicting religious scenes.

Sculpture: High and late Middle Ages (1100-1400). There is hardly any trace of Romanesque sculpture in Milan from the first half of the eleventh century, with the exception of a metal crucifix commissioned by Aribert of Intimiano (now in the museum of the *duomo*); but after the mid-eleventh century there was a sudden proliferation of ornamental work for church facades, pulpits, altars, and capitals. Byzantine, Lombard, and Muslim influences can all be found in the animals, vegetation, and geometric interlacing which were the most frequent subject matter; human forms were less common, but examples

are found in the capitals of Sant'Eustorgio and in the pulpit of Sant'Ambrogio.

After the mid-twelfth century, Milanese sculpture went into decline; it was revived in the mid-fourteenth century, however, thanks to Tuscan artists who came to Milan at the invitation of the Visconti and introduced the Gothic style. When Azzone sought an artist who could guide him in his beautification of Milan and execute private commissions, he hired the Pisan sculptor Giovanni di Balduccio (fl. 1318-1349), a student of Giovanni Pisano. Balduccio carved the votive tablets on three gates—the Ticinese, Orientale, and Comasina—as well as the magnificent tomb of Saint Peter Martyr in the church of Sant'Eustorgio (1335-1339). In the early 1340s, Balduccio's workshop produced Azzone Visconti's tomb in San Gottardo in Corte. Although parts of the tomb were subsequently lost and had to be reconstructed, it is clear that Balduccio's original design was meant to celebrate Azzone's military conquests. Surrounding the sides of the sarcophagus are ten kneeling figures representing the ten cities subject to Visconti rule, and behind each of these is a patron saint. Saint Ambrose stands in the midst of these figures and looks on while Emperor Louis of Bavaria makes Azzone imperial vicar of Milan. Atop the sarcophagus lies Azzone's effigy, attended by four mourners. Azzone's cousin Bernabo is the subject of an imposing equestrian monument (before 1363) carved from a single piece of marble by the Lombard master Bonino da Campione. The sarcophagus shows the influence of Tuscan sculpture (especially that of Nicola Pisano) in the fluid lines of the classically draped figures, but the figure of Bernabò astride his horse harks back to earlier Lombard sculpture—it is stiff and beautifully formal.

Literature

Chronicles. The earliest Milanese writings are chronicles by members of the clergy. Arnulf of Milan's *Gesta archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium* covers the period 925–1077, although the main focus is on the years 1027–1077—i.e., from the height of Aribert of Intimiano's reign to the decline of the Patarine movement. The chronicler Landulf the Elder (or Senior), who was born into a family of *capitani* and was

related to the late tenth-century Milanese bishop Landulf, promoted the ideals of his class and his office. Landulf's *Historia mediolanensis* opens with the election of Ambrose as bishop in 374 and closes in 1085, ten years after the death of the Paterine leader Erlembald. Compared with Arnulf's chronicle, Landulf's is full of historical inaccuracies and fabrications; nevertheless, it is a significant work because it presents a stirring defense of the Ambrosian church and its tradition of married clergy and lay participation. Landulf himself was a married member of Milan's higher clergy and a staunch opponent of the Patarines, whom he viewed as subverters of true doctrine. In the twelfth century, another Milanese cleric, Landulf the Younger (or Junior), wrote *Historia mediolanensis*, an account of the early commune (1095-1137).

Fourteenth-century chronicles such as Pietro Azario's *Liber gestorum in Lombardia* record the deeds of the Visconti rulers. The Dominican friar Galvano Fiamma wrote two chronicles—the brief *Manipulus florum* and the longer *Chronicon mains*, of which the fourth book on the Visconti was published separately as *Opusculum de rebus gestis ab Azone, Luchino, et Johanne vicecomitibus*.

Poetry and prose. The most famous of Milan's writers was Bonvesin de la Riva (c. 1240—c. 1315), a teacher of grammar and a member of the third-order Humiliati. He wrote three Latin works, of which the best-known—the panegyric *De magnalibus mediolani* (1288)—presents a vivid and accurate description of the inhabitants, buildings, religious life, culture, and economy of thirteenth-century Milan. Bonvesin also wrote some twenty vernacular poems that are among the first literature written in the Milanese dialect. Of particular interest is his poem *Vulgare de elymosinis*, designed to show how persons in all walks of life may gain eternal life by charitable works. Other thirteenth-century poets include Pietro da Bascapè (or Barsegape), one of the earliest vernacular poets, and the Dominican friar Stefanardo da Vimercate, author of several Latin poems.

See also Ambrose, Saint; Aribert; Bonvesin da la Riva; Della Torre Family; Frederick I Barbarossa; Fustians; Guilds; Holy Roman Empire; Lombard Leagues; Pataria; Visconti Family; Wool Industry in Italy

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Military Orders in Italy

The medieval military orders were associations of knights and other persons who followed a religious rule established by a pope or church council. They embodied ideas about reformed Christianity and ideal knighthood that had gained wide currency by the twelfth century, and they particularly exemplified a link between penitence and warfare that had been developing since at least the time of Pope Gregory VII, in the late eleventh century. The activities of these associations, which arose in the early twelfth century in the context of crusading, were viewed at least in principle as defensive. As organizations of regular religious (that is, as groups of persons who took vows to live by a *regula*, or rule of life), they were unusual in that their normative member was a lay brother rather than a priest. They were also unusual in that these lay brethren were generally warriors and often knights. In addition, they were usually answerable, at least in theory, only to the pope, not to local bishops or abbots.

There were three great medieval military orders: the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem (the Hospitallers); the Poor Knights of the Temple of Solomon (the Templars); and the Knights of the Hospital of Saint Mary of the Teutons or Germans (the Teutonic Knights). These orders all held property in Italy, whether agricultural, hospital, mercantile, or other. There were also many smaller military orders, which are known at least to have held property in Italy. These include the leper order of Saint Lazarus; the English order of Saint Thomas; and the Spanish orders of Mountjoy, Saint James (or Santiago), and Calatrava. Last, there were several small military orders that were created in Italy itself for one reason or another. These include the antiheretical orders of the Militia of Jesus Christ (in Parma) and the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary (also known as the Jubilant Brethren, or *fratri gaudenti*); the Order of Saint James of Altopascio; and the sixteenth-century Order of Saint Stephen of Tuscany, founded by Pope Pius IV and Duke Cosimo de' Medici to fight against the Turks.

Major Orders

Because the major military orders were created to defend Christendom from external foes, they did not usually maintain a significant military presence in Italy, despite their widespread holdings. The military orders were not supposed to fight other Christians, so there was little legitimate scope for their military-activities in Italy unless they fought heresy or mounted campaigns from Italian bases against the Turks.

However, they did have a special relationship with Italy from the beginning. The Hospitallers, for example, grew out of a hospice founded in Jerusalem around 1080 by merchants from Amalfi, and there is some evidence that the Amalfitans maintained their connections with the Hospitallers for some time for commercial advantage. Both the Hospitallers and the Templars used the ports of Italy extensively for shipment of supplies, recruits, pilgrims, etc.; and the Hospitallers, in particular, maintained commercial properties to facilitate this traffic in several Italian port cities, including (at various times) Otranto, Taranto, Bari, Messina, Venice, and Barletta. There is some evidence that the Hospitallers even built roads and bridges in support of the pilgrim traffic through Italy to the Holy Land. In addition, the Hospitallers possessed a considerable number of small, mostly scattered agricultural properties across Italy.

Like the Hospitallers, the Templars possessed a number of holdings in Italy. The Templars' banking activities helped to fund various papal activities, and the Templars played a role in papal and Roman politics as well. There is indirect evidence, for example, that in 1294 the Templar master Jacques de Molay may have been involved with Cardinal Benedetto Caetani in obtaining the resignation of Pope Celestine V and in elevating Caetani to the papacy as Boniface VIII. In the last decades of the Temple's life, c. 1300, the order maintained a full-time representative or ambassador to the papal curia, the lawyer and Templar procurator Pierre de Bologna. The Templars were otherwise involved in the religious life of Italy: for example, in the 1260s a Templar named Bonvicino, who was also papal chamberlain, was prominent in the flagellant movement. And the Templars played an important role in the government of Charles d'Anjou in the mid-thirteenth century.

The Teutonic Knights, though primarily a German order, had an important presence in Italy from the beginning, particularly in Sicily,

where their close relationship to the Holy Roman emperor Frederick II in the early thirteenth century gave them properties, privileges, and a role in government. The Teutonic Knights, like the Templars and Hospitallers, divided Italy into administrative regions or provinces, including (among others) Lombardy, Apulia, and Sicily. After the fall of mainland Syria-Palestine to the Muslims in 1291, the Teutonic Knights administered their remaining properties in the eastern Mediterranean, in Cilician Armenia, and in Cyprus from Apulia.

In 1291, the Teutonic order also moved its general headquarters from the Holy Land to Venice. Venice, which was approximately equidistant from the Teutonic Knights' holdings in the Baltic and in the eastern Mediterranean, served as the administrative center of the order for eighteen years, until Master Siegfried von Feuchtwangen moved the headquarters to Marienburg on the Baltic. With the exception of some operations in Latin Greece, the Teutonic Knights did not carry out further military activities anywhere in the Mediterranean theater, leaving it to the Hospitallers and concentrating on the Baltic instead.

In most cases, involvement in Italy benefited the military orders, but in some instances it harmed them. The Hospitallers deposited considerable sums with Florentine bankers, especially the Bardi and Peruzzi, and when these houses went bankrupt in the 1340s, the Hospitallers lost more than 360,000 florins, a loss which took some time to recover. When the Hospitallers and Templars were charged with enforcing papal blockades of trade with Egypt and other Muslim powers, as they were from time to time, they came into direct conflict with the interests of the Italian maritime republics. These powers could, and did, retaliate against the military orders by attacking them or seizing their vulnerable Italian properties. In addition, because the Hospitallers depended on Italian ports for the shipment of supplies, disruptions in the political well-being of Italian states had immediate and negative consequences for them (for example, the Sicilian Vespers of 1282 impeded the Hospitallers' logistics severely).

Minor Orders

In addition to the three great orders (Templars, Hospitallers, and

Teutonic Knights), a number of minor military orders operated to one degree or another in Italy. The Orders of Saint Lazarus and of Saint Thomas, and several of the Spanish military orders, as mentioned above, possessed properties throughout Italy, although there is little or no record of their participation in any military actions there.

There were a few small orders that were created specifically to address situations calling for military action in Italy. Some of these orders blur the distinction between a military order and a lay confraternity, but they also illustrate how military orders evolved over the course of the Middle Ages, and they show the imaginative ways in which the model created by the three great orders could be adapted to suit local conditions.

Two of these military orders were founded in northern Italy to combat heresy. In 1233, a Dominican bishop, Bartholomew of Vicenza, founded an order in Parma that he called the Militia of Jesus Christ, and he attempted to use it both to combat heresy in Lombardy and to bind the Lombard nobility more closely to the church. Members of this order were not obliged to take a vow of chastity (recalling the dispensation granted to the Spanish military order of Santiago), and they were not required to live in communal quarters. Pope Gregory IX gave the order a rule and put it under the religious jurisdiction of the Dominicans.

In 1261, another Italian order was founded to combat heresy: the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary, also known as the Order of Saint Mary of the Tower and the Order of the Knights of the Mother of God. Its members were commonly referred to as the Jubilant, or Jovial, Brethren—the *fratri gaudenti*—apparently because of their rather casual attitude toward their vows. Pope Urban IV gave this order a rule based on the Augustinian rule; its members—like those of Santiago and the Militia of Jesus Christ—could marry. Like members of the Militia of Jesus Christ, they were not required to live communally. The Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary was charged with keeping the peace in Italian cities, and also with defending the interests of the church. These were obviously conflicting goals, given the partisan nature of Italian politics and religion, and the order was not particularly successful in achieving them. The resentment it aroused was immortalized by Dante, who placed two Jubilant Brethren operating in Florence in the eighth circle

of hell with the hypocrites (*Inferno*, 23).

One other military order was founded in Italy shortly after the end of the Middle Ages. In 1561 or 1562, Pope Pius IV and Duke Cosimo de' Medici founded the Order of Saint Stephen of Tuscany to help resist the advance of the Turks. Locally, for a time, it rivaled and even surpassed the Hospitallers in recruitment; and it played a role in various leagues against the Muslims. Like the Militia of Jesus Christ and the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary, it departed from the original model for a military order in some respects, particularly in that the dukes of Florence were its grand masters.

These smaller orders were innovative in so many ways that some scholars might consider them hardly military orders at all. But they underscore that: the original impulse behind the foundation of the military orders—a twofold desire to protect the faith and to Christianize laymen, especially warriors—continued on beyond their origination in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, throughout the Middle Ages, in Italy as elsewhere.

It is interesting to note that today the last remaining military order, the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John (now known as the Sovereign Military Order of Malta), is based in Italy; its headquarters are in a villa on the Aventine Hill in Rome.

See also **Frati Gaudenti**

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Mino Da Colle

The comic poet Mino da Colle (late thirteenth century) came from Colle di Valdelsa. He was a distinguished teacher of Latin and rhetoric in the schools of San Miniato, Pisa, Volterra, and Arezzo, and the author of an *ars dictandi*. His sonnet *A buona se' condotto, ser Chiavello* is a bitter invective in the form of the *vituperium*, a theme used often by Rustico Filippi. Mino also wrote the response (*Oi ser Monaldo, per contrario avento*) to a *tenzone* initiated by ser Monaldo da Sofena (*Ser Mino meo, troppo mi dà 'n costa*), in which the two poets hurl insults at each other. The hallmark of Mino's poetic style is his use of equivocal and repeated rhymes, a technique also dear to Guittone d'Arezzo.

See also Guittone d'Arezzo; Tenzzone

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Mirabilia Urbis Romae

Shortly before 1143, an unknown author (it may have been Benedict of Saint Peter's) composed *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (*The Marvels of Rome*), a prose description. The first chapters of the text (Valentini and Zucchetti 1946, 3—65; chs. 1—10, 13-14) describe the city walls and then systematically list the gates, triumphal arches, hills, baths, palaces, theaters, places where Roman Christians suffered martyrdom, bridges, cemeteries (catacombs), judges at the Roman court, and obelisks. The second section (chs. 11-12, 15-18) contains six legends connected with some of the principal antique buildings in Rome (the capitol with Augustus's vision of the *ara celi*; the statues of the Dioscuri and of Marcus Aurelius; the Pantheon) as well as legends recalling important facts in the history of Christian Rome (the martyrdom of Abdon and Sennen; the institution of the feast of Saint Peter's chains). The third and last section (chs. 19-31) lists the ancient buildings roughly according to the topography of the city. The popularity of the text throughout the Middle Ages is proved by an impressive number of manuscripts and early prints.

Magister Gregorius's *Narracio de Mirabilibus urbis Romae* (twelfth or

thirteenth century) differs from the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* proper in many ways, and despite their similar titles the two should not be confused. Gregory describes what he saw and heard during his own visit in Rome. He shows a keen interest in individual Roman works of art and describes them at length, whereas *Mirabilia urbis Romae* enumerates monuments without offering many details.

Mirabilia urbis Romae, in its original form, is one of the most important literary examples of the so-called twelfth-century Renaissance, a period during which the antique empire, including Roman art, was seen as an ideal to be sought. Accordingly, the antique rhetorical devices of the *description* and *laudationes urbium* (descriptions and praise of cities) served as a model for the author of *Mirabilia*. These devices allowed the author to embellish and exaggerate certain aspects of the object to be described, so that the border between facts and fiction is sometimes transgressed: for example, he invented antique buildings in places where (during the Middle Ages) no ruins were visible, in order to be able to assign a palace to every important Roman emperor and a temple to each Roman god. However, his aim was not only to show the beauty and importance of ancient, pagan Rome but also to enhance the importance of the contemporary Christian city: the chapters on the catacombs, the places of Roman martyrdom, the vision of Augustus, the Pantheon, Abdon and Sennen, etc. show that Christian Rome was seen as a superior continuation of antique Rome.

Later adaptations of the text often misunderstand its original purposes and use it as a guidebook to the Roman antiquities; for example, John Capgrave (c. 1450) was often at a loss during his search for the buildings mentioned in the text. The ten fourteenth and fifteenth-century Middle English translations of *Mirabilia urbis Romae* still extant (the only adaptations in verse) primarily describe the Roman churches and merely transmit short abstracts from *Mirabilia urbis Romae*.

See also **Rome; Rome: Guidebooks**

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Modena

The city of Modena, in the region of Emilia-Romagna, dates from the Etruscan period. The oldest name on record, Muthuna, is of Etruscan origin and might be connected to Muthuno, the god of the fields and of fertility; the root *mut* is also found in Etruscan family names of noble origin. The Celtic term *mouden*, which indicates a rising terrain, might also be related to the toponym. At the time of the Romans, the name was transformed into Mutina, and over time there have been other changes, including Motina, Modona, Modana, and finally, in more recent times, Modena.

Modena is situated south of the Po River plain, some 25 miles (40 kilometers) northwest of Bologna, at the conjunction of the Secchia and Panaro rivers. It is about 100 feet (30 meters) above sea level. Located at the edges of two distinct morphological regions—the flat fertile plain stretching south of the Po River, and the northern slope of the Apennines—Modena has from the beginning been a crossroad of major communication and trade routes. Throughout the ages, its strategic position has deeply influenced its history and its economic development.

Prehistoric Times:

From the Etruscans to the Romans

No legend has been handed down about the origins of Modena. At one time, this area was covered by water, which gradually receded, leaving a vast marshy plain. Forests grew and became inhabited by people who lived by fishing, hunting, and agriculture and settled permanently in circular huts. Archaeological studies of the surrounding province indicate the spread of a single typical culture, *terremare*, a term designating characteristic heaps of terrain that are often stratified and contain the remains of abandoned or destroyed villages. Studies of excavations and remains have found evidence of sophisticated

agricultural and breeding techniques in the Neolithic period. Archaeological finds have also shown the remarkable artistic and technical level achieved in the manufacture of ceramic pottery. The Etruscans settled in this area around the sixth century before Christ and did significant land reclamation. Everyday objects, such as pins, buckles, vases, combs, axes, and votive statues, have been collected from numerous Etruscan necropolises surrounding the city and in its provinces (Savignano, Fiorano Modenese, Castelvetro). These objects document the permanent and flourishing influence of the Etruscan people.

In the fourth century before Christ, the entire area between the Secchia and Panaro rivers was invaded by the Gaulish Boii tribe. The Gauls were warrior people of Celtic origin who crossed the Alps in successive waves and settled on both sides of the Po River, driving out the Etruscans, who sought refuge in the mountains. These Gauls ruled this area for about two centuries, assimilating the cultural and economic system that the Etruscans had created and contributing to its improvement.



Wiligelmus, scenes from Genesis: *God in Mandorla*, *Creation of Adam and Eve*, and *Original Sin*. *Duomo* facade (detail), Modena. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The raising of swine was very important to the Gaulish economy.

According to the Roman historian Varro, the Gauls were expert at handling, preserving, and salting pork. The Gaulish army and the majority of the Gaulish population in Italy were fed with pork produced from this region. The Gauls also introduced new agricultural techniques in viticulture (*arbustus gal liots*). When the Romans began to invade and settle in this area in the second half of the second century before Christ, they did not need to experiment with new types of cultivation and breeding, for both had been extensively developed and well exploited.

From c. 225 to 192 B.C., the Gauls fought against the Romans, who had become interested in conquering and settling down in this region. Gradually, the Romans gained power, defeating the Gauls several times. Modena, which had become part of cisalpine Gaul, witnessed a great defeat of the Gauls by the Roman praetor Titus Manlius. After a series of violent battles from 200 to 190 B.C., the Gauls were defeated by the consul L. Cornelius Merula. Under the Romans the Gaulish settlement had acquired the typical town plan of a Roman military camp (*castrum*).

The construction of Via Aemilia by the consul Aemilius Lepidus in 187 B.C. was decisive for the future development of Mutina because it connected Rimini on the Adriatic coast to Piacenza in the middle of the Po River valley. Although initially built for military purposes, the road greatly facilitated trade and exchange of agricultural and pastoral products among all the colonies along it. Via Aemilia also augmented the strategic position of Modena, which became a Roman colony in 183 B.C. A further confirmation of the new importance acquired by the town is that the name Mutina first appeared in a cartographic document of the fourth and third centuries before Christ, the Peutinger Tables. In this archaic map, which depicts the entire road network of the Roman empire, Mutina is indicated by two small houses.

Documents about the Roman colony of Mutina mainly record military events toward the end of the Roman republic. The strategic military position of Mutina was clearly enhanced by its solid city walls, and this fact would explain why the town was often chosen as a stronghold by commanders and consuls. In 77 B.C., several conflicts broke out between Pompeius and M. Giunius Brutus, who was recruiting troops for C. Aemilius Lepidus to move against Rome. In 72

B.C., Spartacus defeated the praetor C. Cassius. In 43 or 44 B.C., immediately after the assassination of Julius Caesar, Mutina was the background for the famous *bellum Mutincuse*. During this war, Decimus Brutus, the appointed ruler of Cisalpine Gaul, was pursued by Mark Antony and was forced to seek refuge in Mutina. Cicero and the entire Roman senate gave strong support to Decimus Brutus and sent the consuls Octavius and Hirtius with their troops to assist him.

The siege of Mutina lasted four months. The account of the phases of the war given by the historical sources (among which is Cicero) is both detailed and fascinating. They relate at length the different stratagems adopted by Decimus Brutus's allies to communicate with him and resupply him with food stocks; among these stratagems was the extensive use of pigeons to dispatch secret messages. Decimus Brutus eventually managed to defeat Mark Antony and break the siege of Mutina, but the outcome of the war was soon overturned. Decimus Brutus was killed while pursuing Mark Antony in Gaulish territories, and thereafter past enemies quickly became new friends. Octavius agreed to join Mark Antony and Lepidus as the second triumvirate. The *bellum Mutinense* succeeded in overturning the political forces of the Roman state, setting the stage for a new political era. Thirteen centuries later, Dante mentioned Modena directly in connection with this war (*Paradise*, 6.75); thus, the war was a clear landmark not only for the history of the town, but for the history of Italy.

The colony of Mutina was rich and flourishing, with monuments, temples, thermal baths, a large forum, and probably an amphitheater. Judging from the refined decorations found on the lead water pipes (*fistule*), the thermal baths must have been very luxurious. Pliny the Elder praised the town as conducive to longer life. From a brief poem of Martial and other literary and archaeological evidence, we learn that one of Mutina's major economic activities was the production, dying, and trading of refined wool fabric. Connected to the wool industry was animal breeding. Every year, from the time of Nero on, an important sheep market was held in Campi Macri (now Magreta), just outside the city walls. The production and trading of pottery and ceramic artifacts continued to distinguish Modena; according to Pliny, these ceramic goods were widely exported. The cultivation of grapevines was further refined and developed, as numerous excavated amphorae and other

wine containers clearly attest. The production and consumption of the famous balsamic vinegar can be traced back to the Roman period. Vinegar, the most potent acid known in antiquity, was largely used to cook and preserve food and to disinfect wounds. Slaves, farmers, and soldiers also commonly quenched their thirst by drinking *posca*, a mixture of water and vinegar. From an agricultural treatise of Columella (first century after Christ), we know that the Romans also prepared cooked must, an economic and easily preserved sweetener that is the fundamental ingredient of balsamic vinegar.

Modena no longer has visible archaeological remains from Roman times; the only examples are parts of monuments and buildings that were built in later periods, such as two lions flanking the main door of the cathedral. These lions came from the Saint Lazarus necropolis in 1200 and were probably part of a sepulcher for a wealthy noble family. Roman necropolises were located outside the walls of Mutina, because of an ancient law that forbade the cremation or interring of corpses inside the town. In fact, most of the monumental sepulchers and memorial stones were found along Via Aemilia outside the city gates.

Early Middle Ages

At the time of Antony's defeat, Mutina was, according to Cicero, a splendid, flourishing, strong, and extremely safe and faithful Roman colony. Four centuries later, in A.D. 388, Saint Ambrose, returning from Bologna to Milan, described with pity and sadness the devastation of all the towns he encountered along his route; among these once splendid and wealthy cities was Modena, now reduced to semidestruction. In a letter to Faustino, Ambrose also observed that the Po River valley stretching from Bologna to Milan, and consequently a good part of the territory surrounding Roman Mutina, was now abandoned and had been left uncultivated. This drastic decline was connected to the overall decline of the late Roman empire, and to the subsequent ruin resulting from the barbarian invasions. The river valley lay at the center of the barbarians' routes as, for more than three centuries, the Goths, Huns, Lombards, and Hungarians descended in successive waves. Whereas Roman Mutina had developed and flourished because of its strategic

military position, that position became a major cause for its rapid degeneration during the third and fourth centuries. The decadence of the city and of its territory was, however, also affected by the deep economic crisis and by the general weakening of all the empire's administrative infrastructures. A direct consequence of this was a total abandonment of the maintenance of roads, buildings, and waterways. The neglect of the waterways soon had fatal effects: natural flooding in 589, 602-604, and 728 submerged and partially destroyed Mutina. Most of the citizens, now ruled by the Lombards, left and found refuge 5 miles (8 kilometers) away along Via Aemilia, on a sort of island that had been spared by the floods. Here they settled inside a fortified village named Cittanova. Only the clergy and the bishop remained in Mutina, to protect the sacred relics of the patron saint; thus, ultimately, it was because of the church that Mutina did not fall entirely into oblivion. For about 150 years, then, Modena was divided into a religious center and a political and economical center—Cittanova.

The evangelization of Modena and of its surrounding territories began around the first century after Christ and lasted three centuries. According to tradition, in the first century, Bishop Cletus erected a Christian church (Saint Peter) on the site where a temple of Jupiter had once stood. The completion of the conversion of Modena was due to Saint Geminian, who was bishop of the town from 358 to 397. Geminian became a legendary as well as a historical figure, and he was the object of a devout religious cult that is still alive today. According to popular belief Geminian sent a blessed, miraculous fog that hid the city from the fury of Attila and the Huns. A ninth-century manuscript of significant literary merit reports two sentinels' songs (*scolte Modenesi*), one of which specifically refers to this episode.

Feudalism

In the eighth century, the Franks took over the Lombard dominion and gradually established a more centralized and efficient administration. Modena continued to be divided, however, until Bishop Leodoino (r. 871-892) obtained permission from the emperor to rebuild the city and its wall. The medieval town did not rise on top of Roman ruins; rather,

its foundation was moved westward to stand on top of what had been a burial ground. More precisely, the medieval center of the town coincided with the grave of Geminian, whose follower bishop Teodulus ordered a church to be constructed on the saint's tomb. As Saint Jerome wrote, the choice of this new site for the foundation of the medieval town was not fortuitous but significant: in a time of confusion and insecurity, the citizens of Modena gathered together and laid the foundation of their town on the symbol of their new spiritual life.

Carolingian rule introduced feudalism, which created a new social and administrative system. While the organization of the countryside was in the hands of lay lords, the defense, fortification, and organization of towns were entirely delegated to religious authorities. Emperor Otto enhanced the bishops' role by giving them absolute power on civil matters. Bishops became the first defenders of Modena, of its citizens, and of its customs. Although the bishop maintained power over the city, Modena and its surrounding territories were officially part of the lands ruled by the Canossa family. For years Modena found itself at the center of the investiture battle, a political power struggle between the religious and the imperial authorities.

Between 1071 and 1091, Bishop Eribert succeeded in enlarging the town with a reconstruction of the city walls, and also in completing the restoration of the waterway system. The channeling of water not only protected the city against devastating floods, but was also very important economically because the canals ultimately connected with the Po River, the main route to the seaport of Venice. The restoration of the canals allowed Modena to strengthen and further develop its trade, thus establishing important relationships with Venice and other towns. The urban structure of medieval Modena developed along the narrow watercourse. Today, the ancient canals can be detected in Modena's toponymy, which includes street names such as Corso Canalchiaro, Canalgrande, and Canalino. Most of the buildings erected during Bishop Eribert's time took on distinct architectural features. The houses of the nobility were fortified palaces, built to offer protection and defense during frequent fights against other factions and other noble families. Common people lived in building blocks with similar dimensions and characteristics. Canals, which served as sewers and dumps, ran behind each block of buildings; streets ran in front. Trading

shops and workshops were on the ground floor; the artisans' living quarters were on the next floor up. Shop entrances were usually covered by wooden porticoes that formed an open-air extension of the shop, offering extra space for exhibiting goods.

The progressive expansion and the reconstruction of the town during this period denote a clear improvement of Modena's economic situation and a profound modification of its politics. Urban economic activities had become significantly differentiated from those of the rural areas. The relationship between artisans, merchants, doctors, and lawyers was no longer based on the feudal structure, and the various crafts were already beginning to organize themselves into guilds, whose power and influence would grow over time. Modena was gradually acquiring the independence typical of a free commune.

The Cathedral

With the rapid economic recovery and the spread of new wealth, citizens felt a need to build a new church that would replace the dilapidated building where the patron saint's relics were still preserved. In 1099, an assembly of civic and religious representatives autonomously made the historic decision to begin construction of a grand cathedral, the *duomo*, dedicated to Saint Geminian. The new *duomo* became the symbol of a city undergoing change. According to an inscription on the facade, work began on 9 June 1099; it was directed by Lanfranco, an architect from Lombardy. Master Wiligelmo designed and supervised the execution of the sculptures and reliefs that decorated the exterior.

The three doors of Lanfranco's original design all have decorations in which a vinelike plant with leaves and tendrils surrounds figures of men, monsters, and animals. Master Wiligelmo and his school of sculptors were able to synthesize the medieval vision of life with a primitive but extremely effective expressiveness. As in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the wild forest (*selva oscura*) is inhabited by monstrous beings of many species that become symbols of human vices and temptations. Sin is continuously menacing man's spiritual life.

Around the frame of the main doorway, the reliefs gradually disclose

the drama of human life: the believer is caught up in a dynamic struggle against lions, dragons, centaurs, and other incredible monsters that come straight out of the medieval bestiary tradition. Finally, in the architrave and archivolt, happy harvest scenes symbolize man's ascent toward salvation, evoking the lord's vineyard. Life's journey is difficult and full of perils, but the destination is always clear: people in the Middle Ages had to entrust their daily work, fantasies, and fears to divine protection.

Not all of Master Wiligelmo's art is strictly related to religious themes. The most fascinating and puzzling sculptures are those decorating the northern portal, called the *porta della pescheria* because it stood next to the bishop's fishpond. This doorway has scenes from secular life, and the archivolt is decorated with a battle scene: a line of horseman, one of whom is identified as Artus and is freeing the princess Winlogée from a castle where she was imprisoned. These relief sculptures provide evidence that the "matter of Britain" had reached Modena, and the interesting architrave presents animal scenes from Aesop's fables. Carved along the frame of the doorway is a typical theme of Romanesque culture: a monthly calendar portraying the agricultural labors that characterize each month; we see the growing cycle of wheat (sowing in November, harvesting in July, and threshing in August) and grapes (pruning the vines in March, crushing the grapes in September, and casking the wine in October). These scenes indicate a way of life whose rhythm was connected to that of nature, and they also remind the viewer of the bread and wine of the eucharist.

The third doorway—the *porta dei principi* ("princes' doorway") on the south side—combines the story of an ascent to heaven with a depiction of the human condition involving various craftsmen: sculptors, farmers, smiths, etc. In the architrave, a series of cartoonlike scenes tell Saint Geminian's story, showing his horseback ride and sea journey to Constantinople and his exorcism of the daughter of the emperor Giovianus.

On the facade, four stone slabs present stories from Genesis: the garden of Eden, Cain and Abel, and Noah's ark. Through these panels the artist tells a story in images that even the illiterate could understand. According to some studies, the source of these reliefs was not the Bible but an Anglo-Norman sacred drama, *Le jeu d'Adam*.

Surrounding these four panels are figures from the world of medieval symbolism: lions fighting snakes, stags drinking, a man fighting a lion, and two winged cherubs holding torches.

On 30 April 1106, in the presence of Bishop Dodone and Countess Matilda of Canossa, the sacred relics of Saint Geminian were transferred to the new cathedral.

The Commune

For the citizens of Modena, the new *duomo* was not only a place to pray but also a place to conduct discussions and legislate. Although the commune must have constituted itself at least a decade earlier, the first documentation of Modena as an autonomous municipal political and administrative government typical of medieval communes dates from 1135. With the Peace of Constance of 1183, Modena's existence as a free commune received official confirmation as a reward for its having helped to defeat the German emperor Frederick I Barbarossa at Legnano (1167).

A rapid growth in population during the twelfth century forced the city to alter its architectural identity once again. Some urban and suburban districts were newly organized and received new edifices, and on the city walls old gates were replaced by new ones. In 1169, a bell tower, called the Ghirlandina, was erected next to the cathedral; this tower would be extended with a Gothic pointed cone in the next century. (It would also soon preserve the famous "captured bucket," the emblem of the Modena's never-ending petty battles with Bologna, which the Modenese poet Alessandro Tassoni would immortalize in his mockheroic epic poem, *La secchia rapita*.) In 1195, work began on the construction of a municipal palace with an attached tower. The *duomo* and the Palazzo Comunale face Piazza Grande, the town's economic and religious center.

The growth in population, along with the development of trade, also created a need for experts—lawyers and notaries—who could supervise and regulate social intercourse, and this need led to the foundation of Modena's first school of law and rhetoric. The birth of the university suggests the lively cultural and intellectual life of Modena at the time,

and also indicates that Modena did not relish playing second fiddle to any of the other important communes of the Po River valley.

Meanwhile, the corporations or arts and crafts were acquiring increasing political power against the nobles, whose political position was continuously being weakened by internal family enmity and strife. In 1200, the long peaceful period that the Modenesi had enjoyed after the defeat of Frederick I came to an end. During the following two centuries, Modena engaged in a series of battles against neighboring cities; these conflicts undermined its stability and sometimes resulted in a complete loss of its independence.

Even though Modena now sided with the imperial faction (the Ghibellines), the town also had a papal faction (the Guelfs). Enmity toward, and resentment of, Bologna, which was a Guelf city, led to hostilities that culminated in the fatal defeat of Fossalta in 1249. As a consequence, King Enzo, the natural son of Emperor Frederick II, was imprisoned, and Modena was forced to accept Bologna's rule and supremacy for ten years. The heated rivalry between Guelfs and Ghibellines would recur again and again in the following years. In 1288, the city was so exhausted and impoverished that it offered its allegiance to Obizzo d'Este, ruler of Ferrara, in the hope of finding equilibrium and peace. Dominion by the Estense family brought the period of the free commune to an end and marked the beginning of the era of the signory. Except for a brief interruption between 1306 and 1336 (*respublica Mutinensis*), the Este family would rule and control the destiny of Modena until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

See also **Bologna**; **Wiligelmus**

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Monachus of Florence

Monachus of Florence (d. 1202) was a senior churchman in the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem. He is the ascribed author of an engaging 896-line Latin verse narrative variously called *De recuperatione Ptolemaidæ* (*On the Recovery of Ptolemais*, i.e., Acre or Akko), *De expugnata Accone* (*On the Capture of Acre*), and other versions of these titles. This narrative, written in single-rhymed accentual quatrains called Goliardic stanzas, is an eyewitness account of the Third Crusade from its

preliminaries in 1187 to the conclusion of the siege of Acre in July 1191. It seems, on internal evidence, to be the work of a well-placed Italian participant. Its able versification and possible classical, as well as biblical, intertextuality suggest an author of some literary culture. Passages of emotional involvement on the part of the speaker—e.g., recollections of military setbacks, missed opportunities, and an end to famine among the besiegers—add immediacy to the presentation. The attribution to Monachus comes from a sixteenth-century edition based on a manuscript now lost and is certainly plausible (he is thought to have been the only Latin prelate who experienced the siege in its entirety). However, an attempted ascription to him of a thirty-two-line crusader song in the same widely used verse form seems unpersuasive.

Monachus is identified by later medieval and early modern historians as bishop or archbishop of Acre and is now understood to have been successively chancellor of the patriarch of Jerusalem (1171-1181), archbishop of Caesarea (1181 or 1182 to 1194), and patriarch of Jerusalem (1194-before November 1202). He appears in his charters and in unambiguous contemporary notices simply as Monachus ("Monk," attested to as a personal name in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Florence and Pisa), and he is referred to in papal correspondence by the initial M. During the nineteenth century he was dubiously equated with someone named Haymar or Aymar, a conjecture that has given him many name forms. In English alone, one finds Haymar(us) Monachus, Aymar(us) Monachus, Aymar the Monk, Aimery the Monk, and simply Aymar and Aimery. He has sometimes been considered a member of a Florentine family, the Corbizzi. Several anonymously transmitted descriptive or historical prose writings about the Holy Land were formerly attributed to him.

See also **Crusades**

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Monasticism

Monasticism is the pursuit of spiritual perfection and communication with the divine through extreme asceticism—fasting, sexual abstinence, and other forms of personal privation—practiced in isolation from ordinary life. It is cultivated in Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, as well as in Christianity. During the early and High Middle Ages, western

Europeans commonly considered monasticism the ideal form of Christian life, most closely imitating the life of Christ and the apostles.

Asceticism was not uncommon among early Christians, but it was usually pursued within the social context of the Christian community. In the late third century, however, new ascetics emerged who separated themselves from ordinary social life, withdrawing to remote locations to pray and fast in isolation. New terms were coined for them: monk (*monachos*, one who lives alone), eremite (desert-dweller), and anchorite (one who removes himself). They appeared first in Egypt, settling in caves and abandoned buildings in the desert bordering populated areas. They professed to teach Christians how to deal with the world's distractions, and they took as their model Christ, who in the gospels had gone into the desert to fast and pray. As the monks' reputation for holiness spread, they drew vast crowds when they preached, again in imitation of Christ.

By the turn of the fourth century, there were whole colonies of both male and female anchorites at various locations in Egypt. Members of these colonies pursued their devotions privately in cells just out of sight of one another. They gathered only for communal prayer on Saturdays and Sundays, and for occasional instruction from spiritual guides. Gradually, small complexes of common buildings emerged: a church for group services, a bakery, and sometimes guest houses and other facilities to control the flow of visitors. The leader of a community—called father (*appa*) in male communities or "mother" (*amma*) in female communities—required the followers to work to provide the group with basic necessities, usually through the manufacture of small items that could be bartered locally by agents.

The fame of the Egyptian monks spread rapidly in the early fourth century. Of great influence was the *Life of Saint Anthony*, a biography of one of the most charismatic early hermits written by the famous Alexandrian patriarch Athanasius. Soon hermits appeared throughout the eastern Roman empire, often practicing extravagant forms of penance. Even before Athanasius's landmark work was written, however, a new mode of monasticism was developing. Pachomius, a Roman soldier who had embraced the monastic life, established at Tabennisi along the upper Nile the first group of Christian monks to live as cenobites, or community-dwellers, c. 320. Pachomius had tried to

live for some years as an anchorite, but he had finally concluded that asceticism was more easily and safely pursued with the support of a community of monks working together within the organized framework of a rule. His rule, which greatly influenced western European monks, emphasized fellowship among the members of the community and obedience to superiors, as well as a careful structuring of the monk's routine to balance communal prayer, private meditation, and manual labor. It limited heroics in penitential practice, but compensated by providing a stable spiritual environment for the psychologically taxing life of the monk. Tabennisi contained separate communities of men and women. By the time Pachomius died, in 346, he and his followers had founded many cenobitic monasteries along the upper Nile. His female communities were strictly enclosed; that is, removed from contact with the rest of the world. This would become an identifying feature of female monastic communities by the late Middle Ages.

A pivotal figure in the development of cenobitism was Basil of Caesarea. He visited both eremitic and cenobitic settlements in Egypt during the late 350s, then returned to his native Asia Minor to put what he had learned into practice. After several experiments he concluded that the best form of monasticism was organized cenobitism. The cenobitic community he founded at Caesarea became the model for many other monasteries in Asia Minor. His longer and shorter "rules"—really sets of precepts in question-and-answer form—created the dominant guide for later cenobitic communities: a spiritual family living in a single household, rather than the sprawling camps of Pachomius. Basil also strongly affirmed Pachomius's emphasis on obedience to superiors and manual labor as vital spiritual aspects of monastic life. Basil's rules proved decisive in the development of monasticism in the eastern Mediterranean and were extremely influential in the evolution of cenobitism in the west.

During the fourth century, monasticism spread throughout the eastern Roman empire and into the west. In the east, both cenobites and eremites flourished. Monastic centers often featured hermits living close to cenobite monasteries, as at Mount Athos in northern Greece. In the west, too, there was initial interest in both ways of life. Literature about the "desert fathers," especially *The Life of Saint Anthony*, and the direct

reports of pilgrims and religious refugees from the east, such as Athanasius, Hilary of Poitiers, and John Cassian, stirred considerable enthusiasm. Italy was first affected; Rome, Aquileia, Milan, Bologna, Verona, and Vercelli became monastic centers. Soon important religious leaders—among them Evagrius of Vercelli, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine of Hippo—were promoting the movement. Others, such as Marcella, Melanie the Elder, and Marina, founded influential monastic communities. By the late 300s, monasticism had spread to Gaul. At about the same time, monasteries began to be brought under the control of the local bishops in order to eliminate potential friction between monastic leaders and diocesan clergy. Augustine of Hippo and others went so far as to assert that the proper life for a bishop was monastic, and monks soon became favored candidates for vacant bishoprics.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, monasticism spread to many other parts of the western Roman empire, even as Rome's political authority disintegrated under the pressure of the barbarians' invasions. Western monasteries experienced novel challenges in the chaotic environment of a dissolving empire; often their survival depended on material as well as spiritual self-sufficiency. As a result, during the fifth century, Italy and Gaul became centers of cenobitic experimentation. The fruit of these experiments was the rule composed c. 520 by Benedict of Nursia, a brilliant synthesis of earlier efforts. Benedict's masterful collation eventually became the dominant rule observed in western European monasteries. The community that Benedict's rule described was not easy to enter; only after a year's postulancy would an applicant be admitted, and then he had to take a vow to remain for the rest of his life at the monastery to which he applied. He also had to vow chastity, poverty in common, and obedience to the monastery's abbot. The Benedictine rule was moderate in the privations it enjoined on the monks, but it stipulated constant occupation with prayer, study, or manual labor. The order and industry imposed by the rule ensured that Benedictine monasteries would prosper despite external upheavals.

For several decades, Benedict's rule was observed only at the monasteries he founded: iMonte Cassino, Terracina, and Subiaco. But in 577 the monks of these monasteries dispersed to escape marauding Lombards. When some settled in Rome, their discipline attracted considerable attention. One of their greatest admirers was Pope

Gregory I. His personal influence and the popularity of a *Life of Saint Benedict* that he wrote c. 594 ensured the spread of Benedict's rule in Italy. Gregory also sent Benedictines as missionaries to pagan England in 596; their success led both to the spread of Benedictine monasteries in Britain and to the founding of a vibrant missionary tradition among Benedictines. In the seventh and eighth centuries, English Benedictines revived Christianity in Gaul, converted the Low Countries, and moved into western Germany. From there they migrated east and north, reaching Scandinavia by the mid-tenth century.

Benedictines were not the only missionaries. Monks from the eastern Roman empire converted great numbers of Goths in the fourth century, and Gallic monks Christianized the Irish in the fifth. The converted Irish carried on the missionary tradition brought to them from the continent. In the sixth century, Irish monks attempted the conversion of northern England and southern Scotland. Meanwhile, Irishmen such as Columbanus revived Christianity in Merovingian Gaul and northern Italy, founding many monasteries in the process. These Irish monasteries were especially successful in converting the rural populations of Italy and France, which until then had remained obstinately pagan. Later they pioneered the conversion of Germany. Through their missionary efforts, Benedictine and Irish monks helped make Christianity the basis of a common European culture in the Middle Ages.

As important to Europe's cultural identity as the monastic missions were monks' efforts to preserve classical learning. Early monks had been generally illiterate and suspicious of the pretensions of learning, but the adoption of monasticism by the Christian intelligentsia in the fourth century brought a profound change. Meditation on the written word of scripture became a fundamental monastic exercise. Because Jerome, Augustine, and other prominent theologians insisted that the multifaceted meanings hidden in divine revelation could be understood only by exegetes sufficiently learned to decipher complex allegories and metaphors, it became an accepted principle that monks must be as educated as possible. This led western monks of the late Roman era—faced with the imminent collapse of urban educational systems as the empire crumbled—to seek intellectual self sufficiency by creating their own schools, libraries, and book-copying facilities. In the process, they

saved classical scholarship from oblivion. Monastic libraries and *scriptoria* preserved an enormous portion of ancient Rome's prose corpus when it was lost elsewhere. By the late seventh century, monasteries had become the center of western Europe's scholarship. Bobbio, for example, founded by Columbanus in 613, was the dominant cultural force in Italy between the eighth and twelfth centuries; and the era's greatest scholars—figures such as Theodore of Tarsus, Hadrian of Canterbury, and Bede of Jarrow—were all monks.

Monastic culture was especially vigorous under the patronage of the Carolingian kings of the eighth and ninth centuries. Most of the scholars at Charlemagne's court were monks, including his chief adviser, Alcuin. Conscious of the benefits of learning, Charlemagne and his successors attempted to ensure a continued level of education and devotion at the monasteries of the empire by regulating and occasionally reforming them. As a result, Carolingian monasteries produced several generations of distinguished scholars, notably Rabanus Maurus and Walafrid Strabo, whose comprehensive biblical commentaries profoundly influenced the direction of later scriptural exegesis. Carolingian monks also concentrated on the copying of decaying classical manuscripts to ensure that the cultural canon salvaged by previous generations of monks would not be lost. Their energy and effectiveness are revealed in a startling fact: for 90 percent of the classical works still in existence, the oldest manuscript is one of these Carolingian copies. These were the manuscripts that permitted the rediscovery of the classics during the renaissances of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

As the Carolingians reformed their monasteries, they also succeeded in regularizing them, at least to some degree. Especially effective was the Benedictine zealot Benedict of Aniane, who in 816 attempted to impose a uniform monastic observance on the entire Frankish empire. In order to implement his reform, Benedict was given the position of abbot general of all the monasteries between the Loire and the Meuse by the emperor Louis the Pious. Although Benedict's rigid program of monastic standardization was never fully realized, it did ensure that the Benedictine rule would become a universal model for reform in western Europe during the next several centuries.

When the Vikings, Magyars, and Saracens attacked western Europe

in the late ninth century and early tenth century, monastic observance deteriorated drastically. The decline spawned numerous reform movements. By far the most successful was that begun with the establishment of the Burgundian monastery of Cluny in 910. Cluny's founders thought they were reviving primitive Benedictine ideals; in fact, they were restoring the program of Benedict of Aniane, which included many liturgical activities not found in the original Benedictine rule. As a result, Cluniacs spent a great deal of time in the chapel, and virtually none at manual labor, which was now done by servants. Cluny's founders also followed Benedict of Aniane in maintaining the authority of the abbot of Cluny as abbot general of all monasteries founded by Cluniac monks. Neither practice was an aspect of the original rule of Benedict of Nursia, but both practices made the Cluniacs popular and effective. The Cluniacs' emphasis on liturgy drew the attention of a laity concerned to control divine wrath through prayer and ritual, and the careful supervision exercised by the abbot of Cluny over daughter houses ensured full observance of the rule when this was a rarity at monastic houses. To avoid interference from local bishops and lay authorities, Cluniac monasteries placed themselves under the protection of the Holy See. Cluny's reputation for observance of the rule led many other monasteries to seek annexation: it is estimated that by the late eleventh century more than 1,000 monasteries in France, Italy, Spain, and England professed allegiance to Cluny.

Cluny's influence on monasticism extended beyond its daughter houses. The Peace of God and Truce of God, movements sponsored by Cluniacs and intended to pacify fractious Christian warriors, popularized the notion that knights were protectors of Christians in the physical realm, as monks were in the spiritual—that both had a vocation to be "soldiers of Christ." This inspired some knights during the crusades to establish orders of warrior-monks bound by vows of common poverty, chastity, and obedience, and pledged to defend the recently captured Holy Land. The most prominent of these orders were the Templars and Hospitallars.

The Cluniacs' emphasis on the liturgical dimension of the monk's life, to the exclusion of manual labor, and the enormous wealth eventually accumulated by Cluniac monasteries, drew admiration in the tenth century but criticism by the twelfth century. In the interim, new

notions of monastic spirituality developed that idealized the primitive life of the early Egyptian monks. Italy led the way in the early eleventh century with an eremitical revival. The founders were Nilo of Grottaferrata, a Greek-speaking Calabrian who was influenced by Basil of Caesarea; and Romuald of Ravenna, a Cluniac who had been drawn to eremitism after reading the lives of the desert fathers. The thirty-odd monasteries Romuald founded, which later formed the Camaldolese order, had particular influence. The Camaldolese Peter Damian became a prominent Gregorian reformer and was able to enlist the support of the papacy for the new austere monasticism. In 1038, Giovanni Gualberto of Florence, another dissatisfied Cluniac, founded a monastery at Vallombrosa that combined literal observance of the Benedictine rule with complete seclusion from the outside world. Giovanni achieved this through the introduction of lay brothers—professed monks who specialized in administration of the community so that others might be isolated from society. Later, this practice was widely imitated by reforming orders. The spirit of monastic reform in the eleventh century also extended to secular clergy. Many began to organize themselves into houses of canons regular under the rule attributed to Augustine of Hippo. This allowed them to fulfill diocesan functions while renouncing individual property and participating in a monastic community. The practice began in northern Italy and southern France but quickly spread to the rest of Europe.

In the early years of the twelfth century, the Italian eremitical movement began to influence monastic reformers north of the Alps. The Breton Robert of Arbrissel founded a double monastery of hermits, male and female, at Fontevrault. Stephen of Muret in Auvergne was inspired by the hermits of Calabria to found a similar order at Grandmont. Stephen borrowed Giovanni Gualberto's practice of using lay brothers to run the monastery so that the monks might be free of mundane concerns. Also influenced by Italian practice were Bruno of Cologne and Guignes de Pin, who established a group hermitage at Grande Chartreuse in the Alps, and Norbert of Xanten and Hugues de Fosses, who founded a double house for canons and canonesses at Prémontré near Laon. They too used lay brothers to run their houses.

The twelfth century's most successful attempt to recapture the primitive life of the monk was the Cistercian order, founded in

Burgundy by Robert of Molesme. Robert sought a more primitive Benedictinism that rejected corporate wealth and restored the manual labor and private meditation abandoned by the Cluniacs. His Cistercians also refused to accept child oblates; reinstated the yearlong Benedictine novitiate abandoned by the Cluniacs; used lay brothers on a large scale to ensure the monks' enclosure; and practiced simplicity in housing, food, and drink. The order was moved from Molesme to Cîteaux in 1098 and grew quickly with the arrival of the energetic Bernard of Clairvaux in 1112. Several monasteries were established in France by 1120; in Italy houses were founded at Locedio and Santa Maria del Tiglieto in the 1120s, and at Chiaravalle near Milan and Tre Fontane in the Roman *campagna* in the 1130s. From there, Cistercians moved rapidly into Lombardy and the Veneto. The first abbey in England was established in 1132.

The Cistercians soon became the dominant religious force of the century. This was due in large degree to their austerity, but other factors also played a part. Bernard of Clairvaux's powerful moral voice, which had made him an international figure, lent his order enormous prestige. Aristocrats and the new university intelligentsia drawn to the elite image of the Cistercians provided highly trained and influential recruits. And the order's centralized organization, borrowed from Cluny but implemented with a new and distinctive device, the general chapter, enabled Cistercian leaders to regulate each monastery's activities closely.

The great success of the Cistercians irritated the Cluniacs, who felt they were being criticized. This "crisis of cenobitism" prompted strong exchanges, especially between Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cluniac abbot Peter the Venerable, but it also brought reforms to Cluniac monasteries in the 1130s. And even as Cistercians and Cluniacs quarreled, Cistercian practice began to decline. Popularity and rapid expansion led to huge endowments; the endowments required hardheaded management; and by the end of the twelfth century the Cistercians had developed a reputation for acquisitiveness as well as devotion.

Perhaps as damaging to the Cistercians' image as their new wealth were rapid changes in notions of holiness. In the late twelfth century, broad social and economic shifts—particularly the growth of towns—

altered concepts of apostolicity. The apostles were now seen by many townsmen as wandering preachers with no possessions who had begged for their sustenance. In comparison, the seclusion of the cloister seemed a lesser calling. These ideas motivated several mendicant groups during the late twelfth century. The earliest of them—the Waldensians of Lyon and Humiliati of Milan, for example—met with condemnation by conservative churchmen. But fear of rapidly growing heresies like Catharism, which were benefiting from the laity's new respect for the poor preacher, led progressive clergy to reconsider the value of mendicancy. Pope Innocent III approved Francis of Assisi's Friars Minor in 1210; Honorius III confirmed Dominic Guzman's Order of Preachers in 1216. The effectiveness of both orders at preaching and promoting religious revival among the laity soon made them the most popular in the church, and the most favored by the papacy.

The success of the Franciscans and Dominicans inspired others to follow their lead. In the 1240s and 1250s, the Carmelites, originally established as a monastic order in the Holy Land, reorganized as a mendicant order. In 1256, groups of hermits from Romagna, Tuscany, and Lombardy who sought a preaching apostolate in nearby cities were constituted as a new mendicant order—the Augustinian Friars Hermits, or Austin Friars. Both were extremely successful. Lesser orders influenced by mendicant ideals were the Servites, the Friars of the Sack, the Crutched Friars, and the Trinitarians.

The same forces that created the apostolic movement and the mendicant orders brought greater autonomy to religious women. Female religious houses had been prominent among the pioneering monastic institutions of the fourth century. Most were enclosed, as were male monasteries in that early period, and most were directly controlled by their abbesses, just as male monasteries were controlled by their abbots. But abbesses' autonomy ended with the Carolingians; later, feudal nobles and kings tried to bring nunneries under the authority of male supervisors. Consequently, the independent women's houses founded by reformers like Robert of Arbrissel and Norbert of Xanten during the eremitical revival of the tenth and eleventh centuries quickly passed under male supervision. But the apostolic enthusiasm of the thirteenth century created a different environment. Cistercian convents, the Poor Clares founded by Francis's friend Clare of Assisi,

and the female houses established by Dominic Guzman all asserted a good deal of independence, much to the discomfort of some male authorities. The Beguines, groups of devout laywomen living in semimonastic communities, were actually able to pursue an active apostolate, at least until they were brought under clerical supervision in the early fourteenth century. During the fourteenth and fifteenth, centuries female religious groups continued to assert their autonomy, with mixed success.

In the fourteenth century, monastic life suffered a serious decline. Mendicants lost some of their luster, developing a reputation for laxity. The institutional wealth that popularity had brought now weighed against them, as did embarrassing public quarrels over the proper observance of apostolic poverty. Equally damaging was hostile propaganda broadcast by secular clerics who were envious of the mendicants' status. The image of the greedy, gluttonous, and lascivious friar so familiar in later medieval literature was created at this time. Among cenobites, especially Benedictines, the major cause of decline was a fading of popular enthusiasm for institutions that specialized in liturgical celebration. The new, more interior spirituality heralded by the mendicants, tertiary movements, and lay mysticism left many laymen uninterested in supporting an old-fashioned piety. Falling endowments and an agricultural recession in the fourteenth century restricted income. To maintain what they considered a proper standard of living, many monasteries limited their membership. Laxity of observance created further difficulties, as the laity was becoming increasingly critical and spiritually self-reliant.

Major monastic and mendicant orders survived this late medieval crisis, but with diminished numbers. Some Benedictine houses attempted to restore discipline during the fifteenth century by grouping their houses into highly centralized congregations like that of Santa Giustina in Padua. Their success provided a model for the more systematic monastic reform that came in the wake of the Reformation.

See also **Benedict of Nursia, Saint; Benedictine Order; Camaldoli; Cluny and the Cluniac Order; Franciscan Order; Giovanni Gualberto, Saint; Gregory I, Pope; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Romuald of Ravenna, Saint; Waldensians**

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Monophysite Controversy

The Council of Nicaea (325) had determined that Christ was both human and divine. However, the question of how to conceptualize that union remained.

This controversy began as part of a struggle for power and intellectual ascendancy between two of the great sees of Christendom, Antioch and Alexandria. Alexandrians stressed the divinity of Christ, and Cyril, bishop of Alexandria in 430, vigorously forwarded that view and rebutted the Antiochene, Nestorius, who stressed Christ's humanity. Cyril claimed that there was only one incarnate nature of the divine word, and that any other formula which mentioned two natures represented Nestorianism.

By the second half of the century, many extreme Cyrillians insisted that in the incarnated Christ, human nature had become completely absorbed in the divine, so that only the divine nature was left. These

became known as the Monophysites—a term that means believing in one nature. Eventually, both extremes—Nestorians and Monophysites—would be found heretical.

In 449, Pope Leo I issued a *Tome* that expressed the Christology of the west. Leo said that both the divine and the human nature existed in one person, Christ, without confusion or mixing. The west accepted this explanation, but the Monophysites refused it because it claimed two natures in Christ.

The Council of Chalcedon met in 451 to define the nature of Christ in a way that might unite the opposing parties. The council read and approved Leo's *Tome* and used it as a basis for a new definition. According to the council, there were two natures united in one person, yet each nature retained in full its respective characteristics. This definition satisfied the west, where Monophysite ideas had never found much welcome; but in the east, for various cultural and regional as well as ideological reasons, large sectors of imperial territory were strongly opposed to the "orthodox" position of the Council of Chalcedon.

Monophysites wanted a return to Cyril's single-nature formula, and the resulting dispute involved emperors, churchmen, and the faithful for the next two centuries. In 482, the eastern emperor Zeno issued his *Henotikon* to attempt the first doctrinal compromise by decree. This led to the first schism between east and west when, in 484, the patriarch Acacius of Constantinople and Pope Felix III excommunicated each other. The schism lasted until 518, when the Chalcedonian emperor Justin I took the throne and pressed for a reconciliation between pope and patriarch.

Monophysitism was particularly strong in Syria and Egypt, and by the sixth century there was a separate Monophysite hierarchy in Egypt. Justinian I vacillated between staunch Chalcedonianism and schemes for a compromise, but his unremitting efforts made the conflict more bitter and more divisive. For another century, emperors and patriarchs continued efforts to satisfy the dissidents, who nevertheless remained intransigent. Sectarianism and regional dissent assisted the Persians in their brief seizure of Syria-Palestine and Egypt in the early seventh century, and seem even more to have assisted the decisive conquest by the Muslim Arabs in the 630s. With the loss of the territories where Monophysite sentiments were most strongly entrenched, opposition to

Chalcedonian orthodoxy in remaining imperial lands all but collapsed. The Sixth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (680) condemned Monotheletism, the last of the imperial compromise doctrines. Monophysitism effectively died out in the eastern empire, though some scholars find traces of its posthumous influence in Iconoclasm

See also **Henoticon; Iconoclasm; Justinian I; Zeno, Emperor**

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Monreale

Monreale—"royal mountain"—is a town created by a church, situated on a high shoulder over the Conca d'Oro of Palermo.

The young William II (1166–1189), eager to continue his predecessor's patronage of building and art, was inspired (it is said) by a dream in which the Virgin Mary indicated a place where he was to build her church, and the whereabouts of a hidden treasure with which to finance it. (A further motivation, however, may have been William's competition with the contentious archbishop of Palermo, Walter of the Mill, who was then rebuilding Palermo's cathedral.) William's church was begun in 1172 and was dedicated in preliminary form in 1176, but some construction went on into the next century, and the church was not formally consecrated until 1267. Though William did not live to see it fully completed, he pressed forward with its essential decoration, taking a personal interest, and he was rewarded in 1182 when Pope Lucius III elevated the original monastic foundation to the status of an archbishopric. Thereafter, the surrounding town evolved around it over the course of time.

The church's facade, dominated by two grand towers, includes a subsequent eighteenth-century portico but has a splendid pair of bronze doors signed by Bonanno da Pisa and dated 1185. The sixteenth-century portico on the north side frames another bronze door by Barisano da Trani (1179). The interlaced arcading of the facade is eclipsed by the vivacious stone decoration in Arab-Norman style on the apse exteriors.



William II Presenting the Church to the Virgin (detail). Cloister, *duomo*, Monreale. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

The majestic nave is lined with Roman columns, leading to an elevated choir platform; the lower walls are lined in marble, with characteristic bands of abstract Arabic decoration. In the south transept are the tombs of William I (in a fine porphyry sarcophagus) and William II (in a later casket of white marble made in 1575); in the north transept are the reconstructed tombs of William I's wife and two other sons, as well as a shrine to Saint Louis (King Louis IX of France), containing his heart. The wooden ceiling, partly restored, is decorated in Islamic style.

The cathedral's glory is its extensive mosaic decoration, completed in 1182 as an expansion of themes in the Palatine Chapel (Cappella Palatina) in Palermo. In two sequences between the nave windows and over the nave arches, and running consecutively from the south side around the west wall and through the north side, the mosaic scenes present the stories from Genesis, beginning with the phases of the creation and running through the story of Jacob. On the walls of the side aisles, the mosaics depict episodes in the life of Christ. Christ's passion is shown on the walls of the choir, and episodes in the preaching of saints Peter and Paul are likewise mounted, in relationship

to the portraits of each saint enthroned in the conches of the side chapels. In the main apse conch is the third of the great Byzantine-Norman mosaics of Christ the Pantocrator; below this figure is seen the enthroned Virgin with archangels and apostles; and below the Virgin is a series of saints on either side of the apse window. The middle figure on the right is Saint Thomas Becket—this is one of his earliest portraits, made soon after his death (1170), on orders of King Henry II of England, who was William II's father-in-law. In the sanctuary before the altar are two mosaic panels of explicit political statements. On the north side, over the place for the king's throne, William II is shown in Byzantine imperial garb receiving the crown from Christ—in imitation of an earlier portrait of Roger II in the church of the Martorana in Palermo. On the south side, over the place for the archbishop's throne, William II is shown offering the building to the Virgin in fulfillment of his pledge.

Augmenting the splendor of the cathedral itself is the adjacent cloister, another marvel of Norman synthesis of Islamic and Christian aesthetics. Its large circuit of 228 double columns shows endless ingenuity in the diversified decoration of the columns themselves, and in the symbolic or narrative representations on their capitals: Bible stories and allegorical subjects; portrayals of William's vision, vow, and presentation of the cathedral to the Virgin; and even a stylized representation of the *trinacria*, the age-old symbol of Sicily. To cap it off, there is a delightful Moorish loggia with a fountain in the cloister's southeast corner.

The Monreale cathedral is one of the most remarkable artistic creations in all of medieval Europe.

See also Palatine Chapel; Palermo; William II

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Montaperti, Battle of

The *castello* Montaperti, situated along the Arbia River east of Siena, gave its name to a decisive battle in which a large army of Guelfs led by the Florentines was defeated by the Sienese on 4 September 1260.



Plain of Montaperti, with monument to the battle on the top of the hill.
Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Emboldened by the Sicilians' coronation (1258) of Manfred, son of Frederick H, Florentine Ghibellines had fled to Siena after an unsuccessful revolt, and they and the Sienese Ghibellines had prepared to challenge the Florentine Guelfs' domination of Tuscany. Having offered fealty to Manfred, in May 1259, Siena received a small contingent of royal cavalry, which was reinforced in December by a larger force commanded by the new vicar-general for Tuscany, Giordano d'Anglona.

Successful attacks in the early spring of 1260 by Sienese and Hohenstaufen forces on Tuscan Guelf towns resulted in a futile assault

on Siena by Florence in April. By August the Florentines had recovered and prepared another expedition (outlined in the *Libro di Montaperti*). Joined by troops from Bologna, Prato, Pistoia, and Arezzo, the army marched on Siena, gaining more men along the way from San Miniato, Volterra, and San Gimignano. All told, about 20,000, including 2,000 knights and 1,000 crossbowmen, camped along the Arbia on 3 September.

The Sienese, whose patron saint was the Virgin Mary, had prepared for battle both militarily and psychologically. Religious rituals and patriotic demonstrations were intertwined, and Salimbene dei Salimbeni pledged 118,000 florins to pay the mercenary cavalry. On the morning of 4 September, the Sienese formed four corps, keeping one in reserve and one concealed on the Florentines' left. Two corps, led by counts Giordano and Aldobrandino, charged across the Arbia and engaged the Guelfs. The fresh Sienese troops that were held back probably decided the battle, but a treacherous act by Bocca degli Abati caused the Florentine standard to fall and disheartened the Guelph cavalry, which fled the field. According to the Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani, the abandoned infantry were slaughtered until the survivors surrendered, and according to Dante the battle was a "massacre and butchery that stained the waters of the Arbia red" (*Inferno*, 10).

Montaperti marked the high tide of Tuscan Ghibellinism. Florentine Guelfs fled to Bologna and Ghibellines returned to rule; most of Tuscany then surrendered to Manfred, and Rome and the papal states fell into his hands. However, Manfred's death in 1266 ended the Ghibellines' hegemony.

See also Bocca degli Abati; Florence; Ghibelline; Guelfs; Manfred; Siena

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Monte Andrea Da Firenze

The poet Monte Andrea da Firenze (fl. second half of the 1200s) was a fervent Guelf, and probably a money changer whose possible bankruptcy is alluded to in Guittone's letter to "Montuccio," *Bono e diletto amice* (Meriano 1923, letter 3). Numerous *memoriali bolognesi* place Monte in Bologna between 1267 and 1274. Much of Monte comes to light through poems exchanged in *tenzone* with at least eighteen correspondents, including Chiaro, Ser Monaldo da Sofena, Meo Abbracciavacca, and Pallamidesse di Bellindote.

According to manuscript Vatican Latino 3793, Monte is one of the three most important Tuscan poets of the *Duecento* before Dante (the others are Guittone and Chiaro). With few exceptions, Monte's 112 sonnets—most in his distinctive sixteen-verse form (10 + 6)—and eleven *canzoni* disclose a poetics characterized by hermetic syntax and extended experiments in equivocal, compound, and derivative rhyme. The rhetorical severity of his verses, described by his contemporary Puccio Bellondi as *del dragon maniera*, underscores their usually dark, sarcastic content: Monte's themes are misfortune and the socioeconomic realities of the political hegemony of wealth—*secondo il corso del mondo mess'ò* ['n] *rima* (*Tanto m'abonda*, verse 146). These two themes distinguish Monte's ethic from Fra Guittone's moralist vision. Monte's political expressions never aspire to the idealism of Guittone's *Ahi lasso, or è stagion* (in *Fiorenza, fior che sempre rinovella*), but they evince a sometimes violent partisan voice—e.g., *lagente ch'è contra Carlo fera; a' qua'/tor[r]à la vita!* (in *Coralment'ò*).

Monte's dissociation from Guittone is spelled out in their exchange of sonnets (*A te, Montuccio* and *Poi non son sag[g]io*).

There is little doubt that Monte had strong ties to the poetic traditions of Bologna, both through his poetic correspondence and through his travels. Monte's oeuvre includes echoes of Guinizelli's protostilnovist *Al cor gentil* (in the sonnet *Qui son fermo*); elements of erotica (*Oi dolze Amore* and *Di svariato colore*, in *tenzone* with Paolo Zoppo di Bologna); and widely diffused Occitan-Sicilian motifs (*Poi che lo ferro, la calamita, sag[g]ia*). Yet Monte's handling of these concepts and features always seems adapted to his signature of complicated prosodic experimentation, making him the Tuscan champion of the *trobar clus*.

See also Chiaro Davanzati; Guittone d'Arezzo; Tenzone

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Monte Cassino, Monastery of

The monastery of Monte Cassino, situated about halfway between Rome and Naples, is the second monastic foundation of Saint Benedict of Nursia, established c. 525, after Benedict's migration from his foundation at Subiaco. Benedict is thought to have written his rule—a document of primary importance in the history of western monasticism—at Monte Cassino; and he and his sister, Scholastica, are thought to have been buried there. According to Book 2 of the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540-604), Benedict built two oratories at Monte Cassino, one dedicated to Saint Martin and the other to Saint John the Baptist, on the site of a temple dedicated to Apollo.

After the destruction of Monte Cassino by the Lombards c. 580, the monks fled to Rome, where they were attached to the Lateran basilica. They remained there until c. 717, when Abbot Petronax of Brescia (d. 750) rebuilt the monastery at Monte Cassino with the support of Pope Gregory III and others. Because the monastery at Monte Cassino was thought to maintain the purest observance of the Benedictine way of life, monks in search of inspiration traveled there, and important royal and noble persons removed to Monte Cassino after their conversions. Willibald of Wessex, a kinsman of Saint Boniface, stayed at Monte Cassino as a monk before becoming bishop of Eichstatt; and Sturmi, the first abbot of Fulda, learned the Benedictine way of life at Monte Cassino. Carloman, brother of Pepin, retired to Monte Cassino after his abdication in 747 and was joined by the former king of the Lombards, Ratchis, a few years later.

Paul the Deacon (c. 720-c. 800) was a monk of Monte Cassino, residing there before and after his service in the court of Charlemagne in the first half of the 780s. After his return to Monte Cassino, Paul wrote his important work *Historia gentis Langobardorum*, the principal source for the Lombard history of the period. Charlemagne visited the monastery in 787, bestowing land and privileges on the abbey. As part

of his program to reform the Frankish church, he would later ask the monks of Monte Cassino to send him their copy of the rule of Benedict, considered an autograph copy from the hand of Benedict himself.

The church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist was rebuilt in the early ninth century by Abbot Gisulf (r. 796–817), who also built a monastery and another church at the foot of the mountain. The Saracens sacked the entire complex in 883, killing the abbot, Bertharius (r. 856–883), and causing the monks to flee once again. The monks then escaped to Teano, where the autograph manuscript of the rule of Benedict was lost in a fire. Later they removed to Capua, returning to Monte Cassino only about 950, under Abbot Alingernus (r. 948–985), a disciple of Odo, abbot of Cluny. The monastery remained under the influence of the princes of Capua for the next seventy years.

Monte Cassino reached the peak of its prosperity in the second half of the eleventh century under abbots Desiderius (r. 1058–1087) and Oderisius (r. 1087–1105), when the church was consecrated and the fame of the *scriptorium* was established. During the reign of Abbot Desiderius, the new buildings, constructed with the help of the Norman Robert Guiscard and the Byzantine emperors Michael VII Ducas and Alexius I Comnenus, were consecrated by Pope Alexander II in 1071. During this same century, two abbots of Monte Cassino attained the papacy: Frederick of Lorraine (abbot, 1055–1158) became Pope Stephen IX (r. 1057–1058), and Desiderius became Pope Victor III (r. 1086–1087). In the twelfth century, John of Gaeta, a monk of the abbey, became Pope Gelasius II (r. 1118–1119). Among the great lights of this golden age of Monte Cassino were the rhetorician and poet Alberic of Monte Cassino (died c. 1105); Alphanus of Salerno (d. 1085) and Constantine the African (died c. 1087), working in medicine; and the historians Amatus of Monte Cassino (d. before 1104), Leo Marsicanus (d. 1115), and Peter the Deacon (died c. 1153).

The twelfth century, however, saw the beginning of a decline that would not be reversed until the early sixteenth century. The Normans and Germans ignored the independence of the monastery; and its territorial possessions, the *terrae Sancti Benedicti*, suffered greatly during the struggles for the possession of southern Italy. During much of the thirteenth century, the abbey and its community were caught between the opposing forces of the emperor and the pope and

underwent siege and sack, banishment and abandonment. Conditions improved with the appointment of Bernard Ayglier (r. 1263-1282) as abbot. Bernard—a monk of Savigny, an abbot of Lerins, and a good friend of Charles of Anjou—restored monastic discipline and the authority of the abbey in the *terrae Sancti Benedicti*. He wrote a treatise entitled *Speculorum monachorum* and a commentary on the rule of Benedict, both attesting to his piety and learning, and should be considered among the great abbots of Monte Cassino.

When Pope John XXIII raised the abbots of Monte Cassino to the rank of bishop, the community endured the distress of absentee superiors (1322–1365). An earthquake destroyed the monastery in 1349; rebuilding was begun through the initiative and help of Pope Urban V (r. 1362-1370), a former abbot of Saint Victor of Marseilles. Urban reserved to himself the title of abbot of Monte Cassino, abolished the episcopal see at Monte Cassino, and directed all Benedictine institutions to contribute to the rebuilding of the abbey. In order to restore life to the monastic community, Urban invited monks from other monasteries to transfer to Monte Cassino.

When Monte Cassino joined the late medieval reform congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua in 1504, it once again attained peace and prosperity. The statutes of the congregation had the merit of leaving no foothold for a commendatory abbot, or indeed for an abbot living apart from the monastic community. Pope Julius II decreed that henceforth the congregation, because the name and dignity of the monastery headed all others, should bear the name Monte Cassino.

See also **Benedict of Nursia, Saint; Benedictine Order**

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Montefeltro Family

The Montefeltro family were Ghibellines of central Italy. In the thirteenth century, they gained an important political position in Romagna, especially in Rimini. Emperor Frederick II made them counts of Urbino in 1226. After the breakdown of imperial power in central and southern Italy, the Montefeltro family concentrated on consolidating their position in Umbria, but all their attempts to reestablish control over Romagna met with strong resistance, especially from the Guef family of Malatesta between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

Preeminent members of the Montefeltro family include the great Ghibelline leader Guido da Montefeltro (c. 1220–1298), a staunch opponent of Guef interests in Tuscany and Romagna who appears in Dante's *Inferno* (Canto 27); and Federico di Guidantonio (1422–1482), a famous *condottiere* and a patron of the arts, whose celebrated manuscripts are now at the Vatican library (*codices Urbinales*) and whose court was a center of Italian humanism. Pope Sixtus IV made Federico duke of Urbino in 1474. Federico's son Guidobaldo (1472–1508), the last ruling Montefeltro and another patron of the humanists, tried to maintain his position in the difficult years of the French invasion of Italy and the ambitious politics of Cesare Borgia. When Guidobaldo died childless in 1508, the duchy passed to the Delia Rovere family.

See also **Rimini**

OUTI MERISALO

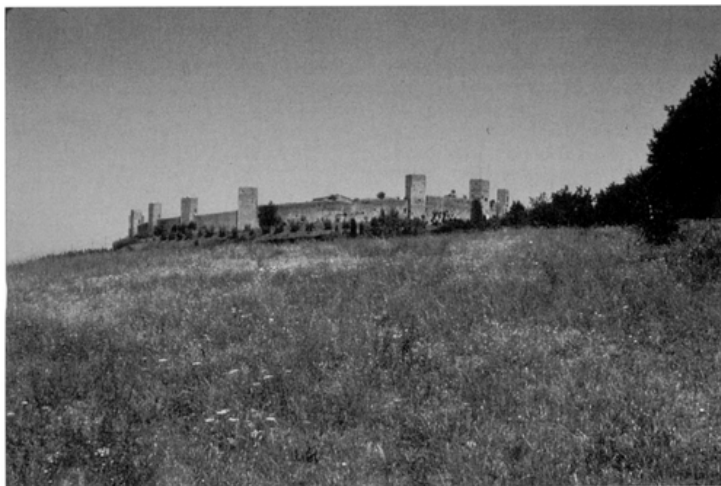
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Monteriggioni

The impressive medieval fortress town of Monteriggione lies some 10 miles (16 kilometers) northwest of Siena in the Val d'Elsa. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the fourteen towers on the perimeter of the city walls were much taller than they are today—perhaps twice as high. Indeed, they were so formidable that Dante used them in Canto 31 (40-44) of the *Inferno* as the terms of comparison for the proud giants who stand as mute sentinels around the ninth circle, the pit of hell: ". . . come su la cerchia tonda/Montereccion di torri si corona,/così la proda, che 'l pozzo circonda,/torreggiavan di mezza la persona/li orribili giganti . . ." ("just as on its round wall Monteriggioni is crowned with towers, so the giants with half their bodies showing stand towering over the bank, which runs around the pit").

In 1214, the Sienese began to transform Monteriggioni from a loose collection of rural buildings into a fortified town, a process that continued until 1219, with additional work completed in 1260-1270. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the town grew in importance and gained the additional prestige of having its own *pieve*, the parish church of Santa Maria, constructed at the center of the urban space. Because of its strategic location near the Via Francigena (the major commercial and pilgrimage route that led from the north to Rome) and at the boundaries of the Sienese and Florentine territories, Monteriggioni was contested by both communes and was the site of various sieges and battles.



Monteriggioni. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleirhenz.

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Montferrat, Marquisate of

Montferrat is situated in the region of Piedmont in the present-day province of Alessandria. It first achieved definition in the late tenth century and eleventh century, and it emerged to prominence in the twelfth century. With the reorganization of northern Italy under Berengar of Ivrea, and later under Emperor Otto I, a certain count of the Aleramici family was invested with lands in the area of Montferrat, and it was his son, Odo, who founded the Montferrat dynasty. Odo's descendants became the ruling families of the area and were dependent on the German emperors as overlords of local secular and ecclesiastical feudal vassals. Many of them were crusaders. These families developed

interests in the eastern Mediterranean world, especially through Byzantium. One member of the family (Ranier) became a son-in-law of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I and was murdered in subsequent dynastic strife. William V the Old was marquis from 1135 to 1190 and assisted Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in his war with Milan. His son, William Longsword (d. 1177), followed his father to fight in Palestine, where he married Sibyl, the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Another son of William V, Conrad (d. 1192), after typical Byzantine betrayals, found his place in the Third Crusade. After the crusade, Conrad became the Latin king of Jerusalem, having married Sibyl's sister Isabella; he fell victim to an assassin's knife. A third son of William V, Boniface I, emerged as the leader of the Frankish knights of the Fourth Crusade. After the Fourth Crusade seized Constantinople in 1204, Boniface was cheated out of the Latin imperial crown by his Venetian allies. In compensation, he took over the city of Thessaloniki and created a Latin regime there; it lasted until his death in 1207. His descendants continued to lay claim to the city after it returned to Byzantine rule. In 1305, with the death of the last male member of the Aleramici family, the principality passed to Iolanda of Montferrat, who had been married to the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II Paleologus in order to resolve the old family claims in the Byzantine world. One of their younger children, Theodore Paleologus (d. 1338), was invested with Montferrat by Emperor Henry VII, becoming the new ruler of the Montferrat principality; his line continued to the mid-sixteenth century. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Montferrat was caught between the aggressions of Savoy and Milan (Visconti) and was under pressure from Genoa.

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Mosaic

Mosaic (Latin *musaicus*, *opus musivum*, or *opus tessallatum*; Italian *mosaico* or *musacio*) is the technique of inlaying small *teserae*—tiles of stone, terra-cotta, glass, or glass paste (*pasta vitrea*)—or into a mortar

bed of lime or gypsum, and applied to walls, ceilings, and pavements. For mural mosaics, the stone or brick surface is generally covered with two or three layers of plaster, with the uppermost layer serving as the setting bed. *Sinopie*, or underdrawings, may appear on the *arricio* (lowest plaster layer) or the setting bed itself to serve as compositional guides to the mosaicist. Usually, tesserae were set into one small patch of plaster at a time, applied, as in the fresco technique, from the top downward.

Pebble mosaic pavements were produced as early as the eighth century B.C. in Asia Minor (e.g., Gordium near modern Ankara, Turkey); but the technique of setting more regularly shaped cubes or tesserae in close rows was not developed until the late third century B.C. in Hellenistic Greece. Mosaic was probably first introduced to the Italian peninsula in the late second century B.C. and was used, for the most part, in pavements, but also occasionally in niches in gardens, such as those found in Pompeii. Glass and *pasta vitrea* tesserae, which are the most common material for medieval mural mosaics, are found in Italy as early as the first century after Christ. Although mosaic continued to be used for pavements up to the thirteenth century, the most innovative and sophisticated production in medieval Italy is associated with interior decoration and, occasionally, exterior facades of churches, private mausoleums, and chapels. In these contexts, mosaic was used as a more luxurious alternative for fresco decoration, fulfilling broader didactic, narrative, and devotional functions. Because of the high cost of production, and the frequent need to import materials and craftsmen from the Byzantine empire, mosaic also tends to be associated with major centers of political power—especially Rome, Ravenna, Palermo, and Venice—and it brings with it certain ideological associations related to ecclesiastical and princely patronage.

Mosaic Pavements

The chronological survey that follows will focus on the history of mural mosaics associated with the major centers of production: Rome, Ravenna, Norman Sicily, Venice, and Florence. It should be noted, however, that pavements continued to be a vital part of mosaic

production. Among the first and most impressive early Christian mosaics are the pavements in the double cathedral complex of Aquileia, made during the reign of Constantine under Bishop Theodore (c. 314-318). In the south church, the mosaics represent biblical types of salvation and resurrection, comparable to those found in the Roman catacombs, including the the story of Jonah and the whale (in the sanctuary) and the Good Shepherd. Both the south church and the parallel church to the north also contain portraits or inscriptions of donors and a multitude of animals and birds. With their combination of stone and glass tesserae and their varied palette and iconography, the Aquileia mosaics are distinguished from the vast majority of pavements produced during the fourth to sixth centuries. Much more common, especially from the fifth and sixth centuries, are pavements such as those found in the nearby cathedral of Grado (579), in which geometric and foliate motifs, as well as donors' inscriptions, dominate the design, while the palette is limited to a few colors in stone.

Between the later sixth century and the eleventh century, there is little evidence of true mosaic pavements in Italy. The medium flourished again from the second half of the eleventh century to the early decades of the thirteenth century, but none executed with a more limited palette, and often in monochrome. Thematically, these later pavements focus on cosmological and allegorical themes. A particularly well-preserved ensemble is found at San Savino in Piacenza (c. 1160-1170). The crypt pavement features a cycle of the *Labors of the Months* and zodiac symbols set against the sea. In the sanctuary above, a more complex allegory represents the personification of the year, *Annus*, at the center of fortune's wheel, flanked by conflicting behavioral examples, including armed combat and dice as images of chance, and law and chess as models of reason and skill. Similar allegories and calendar cycles are found elsewhere in northern Italy at San Michele in Pavia, San Salvatore in Turin (1105), and the cathedral of Aosta (1110).

An exceptionally rich iconographic program is found in southern Italy at the cathedral of Otranto (1163-1166). The pavement of the nave is conceived as a vast tree whose branches are filled with a wide range of themes, including the conventional labors and zodiac symbols and the biblical narrative of Noah's ark, as well as ostensibly secular themes

of hunting, armed combat, Arthurian romance, and the ascension of Alexander. The choir mosaic includes rondels filled with mythical and fantastic beasts such as centaurs and sirens, in addition to biblical narratives of the creation and fall, and of Cain and Abel.



San Savino, Piacenza. Mosaic pavement in the choir representing *Annus* and *Allegories of Fortune and Reason*, c. 1160-1170. Photo courtesy of Thomas E. A. Dale.

True mosaic seems to have been eclipsed as the medium of choice for pavements in Rome and southern Italy by a revival of *opus sectile* pavements, beginning with the rebuilding of Monte Cassino (consecrated in 1071). The new fashion of laying out pavements called for a series of larger rectangular slabs of marble surrounded by frames set with multicolored stones and the establishment of cruciform or axial pathways formed of large disks of porphyry or *verde antico* to choreograph liturgical action within the church. This technique, ultimately inspired by Byzantine designs, was perfected by the workshops of the Cosmati in Rome; making use of extensive supplies of spolia from imperial monuments came to be standard in all the major Roman basilicas during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (e.g., San Clemente, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Santa Maria Maggiore, and Santi Quattro Coronati). It was also applied in combination with mosaic tesserae to liturgical furniture, including the *schola cantorum* or chancel, pulpits, and paschal candlesticks (e.g., San Clemente and San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura in Rome, the cathedrals in Salerno and Ravello, and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo). Further north, in the Veneto,

opus sectile was often combined with smaller sections of mosaic tesserae (e.g., San Marco and San Zaccharia in Venice and the cathedral in Murano).



Santa Pudenziana, Rome. Apse mosaic representing Christ enthroned with disciples in Jerusalem, c. 405-406. Photo courtesy of Thomas E. A. Dale.

Rome from Constantine to the Carolingian Renaissance (c. 312-840)



Santa Prassede, Rome. Mosaics of the Zeno Chapel, including Christ Pantocrator, procession of female martyrs, and the *Etimasia* flanked by Peter and Paul, 817-824. Photo courtesy of Thomas E. A. Dale.

Between the early fourth century, when Christianity gained official status in the Roman empire as a result of Constantine's Edict of Milan (313), and the revival of the Roman empire in the west under the Frankish King Charlemagne (r. 768-814), mosaic production flourished continuously in two metropolitan centers of power: Rome, which was the old imperial capital and the new ecclesiastical center; and its temporary successor as the western capital, Ravenna. Outside these two centers, mosaic production is certainly present, but only very fragmentary information emerges. From Milan, which served as temporary capital from 395 to 405, only two examples of Christian mosaics survive—those adorning the oratory of San Vittore in Cielo d'Oro at Sant'Ambroggio, representing portrait images of the titular saint and other Milanese saints; and fragments of a larger cycle in the chapel of Sant' Aquilino at San Lorenzo Maggiore. To the south of Rome, Naples preserves a single example of mosaic decoration in the cathedral baptistery.

The first phase of medieval mosaic production in Italy coincides with the rise of Christianity as a more visible, officially sponsored religion within the Roman empire, and with the gradual weakening of Rome's status as the political capital of the old empire. The earliest known mosaics with Christian subjects are those from the late third century representing Jonah, the Good Shepherd, and Christ as the sun decorating the walls and vault of the mausoleum of the Julii beneath old Saint Peter's in Rome. The last of these subjects, set within a grapevine against a gold ground, represents a syncretist approach common in the earliest Christian art.

Although there is scant evidence of figural mosaics commissioned at the time of Constantine in his first major church buildings, the *Liber pontificalis* does record that the semidome of the apse in the Lateran cathedral, begun in 312-313, "shimmered in gold" mosaic. It has often been assumed that the present apse mosaic in the Lateran, a nineteenth-century reconstruction of the thirteenth-century apse mosaic by Jacopo Torriti, at least copies a Constantinian mosaic depicting the floating head of a bearded Christ. Medieval legend associates this head with a miraculous vision of Christ at the time of the consecration of the new cathedral in 312-313, and in the thirteenth century mosaic an inscription records the reuse of the original as if it were an independent

icon.

A synthesis of Christian and pagan is found in the figural mosaics decorating the mausoleum associated with Constantine's daughter Constantina, attached to the funerary basilica of Sant'Agnese Fuorile Mura, now known as Santa Costanza. The circular-plan domed structure was adorned with an elaborate program of mosaics combining traditional pagan imagery of the grape harvest, funerary portraits, and an inhabited vine scroll in the vaults of the ambulatory with conventional biblical types of salvation in the drum of the cupola (including Daniel in the lion's den and Susannah and the elders). The mosaics of the ambulatory, though heavily restored, survive in good condition, but those of the cupola were destroyed in 1620 and are known from earlier watercolors and drawings by Francisco de Hollanda and P. Ugonio.

Not until c. 400 does mosaic decoration become the norm in Christian churches, largely under the sponsorship of the bishops of Rome. At a time when the western Roman empire was politically weakened by invasions from Germanic tribes, mosaics commissioned by the bishops of Rome proclaimed the new prestige of the Christian church under their leadership. In churches of the standard basilican design, with a single apse at the sanctuary, it became standard to represent a theophany of Christ based on the book of Revelation in the apse, and narratives from the Old and New Testaments on the nave walls above the colonnades. The first extant apse mosaic is found at the basilica of Santa Pudenziana on the Esquiline Hill, usually dated to c. 405-406. Here Christ appears enthroned between his apostles within the cityscape of Jerusalem. Immediately behind him rises the *crux gemmata* on Mount Calvary flanked by the four living creatures of the apocalypse (Revelation 4:2). Christ is thus presented both as human teacher, a model for the bishop who would have been enthroned below at the base of the apse, and as deity. A distinctly Roman ecclesiology is emphasized here by the elevation of Peter and Paul to the primary positions flanking Christ. Although Paul was not one of the twelve disciples, he appears opposite Peter (apostle to the Jews) as apostle to the gentiles and cofounder of the Roman church. It was on the basis of their alleged joint mission to Rome, and their martyrdom and burial there, that the bishops of Rome, starting with Pope Damasus I (r.

366-384), claimed primacy in the affairs of the Christian church. Peter and Paul came to be viewed as Roman apostles, the new Romulus and Remus of the Christian capital. Stylistically, the mosaic evokes a Roman classicism befitting the newfound temporal authority of the bishop of Rome at a time when the imperial administration had left Rome in favor of Milan (395-402) and later Ravenna (402-476). In contrast to the fourth-century frescoes of the Christian catacombs, the figures here are modeled volumetrically and set within an illusionistic foreground space, and the architecture of the cityscape is modeled on the atria and public monuments of imperial Rome. A comparable theme is suggested in the mosaics on the west wall of Santa Sabina, commissioned under Pope Celestine I (r. 422-432); here, two female personifications flank the dedicatory inscription to embody the two peoples united in the Christian church under the rule of the bishop of Rome: *Ecclesia Ex Circumcisione* (the Jews) and *Ecclesia ex gentibus* (the gentiles).

Just before the mid-fifth century, Pope Sixtus III (r. 432-440) commissioned the most extensive extant narrative program of mosaics from the early Middle Ages in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. The nave cycle originally presented more than eighty episodes from the Old Testament in forty-two panels (of which twenty-seven survive), placed within elegant gabled aediculae immediately above the frieze of the colonnade. The studied classicism of the architectural framing is carried over into the style of the mosaics. Well-modeled figures are set within a bright landscape, impressionistically rendered to convey a limited sense of space. Great battles scenes and details of armor in the Joshua cycle, in particular, reinforce the impression that Joshua is a Roman emperor or general on campaign; they are set within an epic narrative comparable to those of the triumphal columns of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan and in illuminated manuscripts such as the Vatican Virgil. The mosaics of the triumphal arch are closely related, but somewhat coarser in style. Executed on a larger scale, they seem to have been designed to take into account the long-distance view from the end of the nave. They are also easier to "read" from a distance because of the predominantly gold ground.

In contrast to the nearly contemporary fresco cycles in the naves of old Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's in Rome, the narrative begins not with the creation of the world but rather with a covenant established with

the patriarch Abraham (the *Offering of Melchizedek to Abraham*). Brenk (1975) has shown that the principal theme of the narrative, which extends through the careers of Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Joshua, is the passing of Abraham's covenant and blessing to the younger son of his descendants, culminating with the entry into the promised land under Joshua. Christianity is depicted, in turn, as the "younger son" and successor to Judaism on the triumphal arch, the visual climax of the basilica. Here, Mary's role as *theotokos*, or mother of God (recently proclaimed at the Council of Ephesus, as well as in the dedication of Santa Maria Maggiore) is apparently emphasized. Christ's infancy is narrated in seven episodes, ranging from the *Annunciation* to the *Adoration of the Magi* and an enigmatic, probably apocryphal episode usually described as Christ met by Aphrodisius in Egypt. Spain (1979) proposes, by contrast, that Old and New Testament figures are intermingled on the arch to suggest the fulfillment of the promised blessing to Abraham. She re-identifies the Annunciation scenes in the upper tier as relating to Abraham and Sarah; and the enigmatic "Aphrodisius" scene is interpreted as David greeting the Christ child—an unprecedented narrative combining the two testaments in one image. A specifically Roman gloss to the program as a whole is proclaimed at the apex of the triumphal arch, where the Roman apostles Peter and Paul flank the *Etimasia* (the empty throne prepared for the Messiah) as representatives of the assembly of Jews and Gentiles under the leadership of the bishop of Rome.

The last mosaic to adhere to the tradition of late antique illusionism in Rome is the mosaic inserted into the apse to consecrate an elegant Roman temple in the forum as the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian, (Santi Cosma e Damiano, dedicated by Pope Felix IV, r. 526-530). Here, in contrast to the terrestrial setting of the composition in Santa Pudenziana, Christ appears standing amid clouds at his second coming, flanked by Peter and Paul, who present to him the physician saints Cosmas and Damian, as well as the pope and Saint Theodore. A lower frieze of lambs—the first extant example of a common theme in Rome—converges at the *Agnus Dei* in reference both to the eucharistic sacrifice, and to the apocalyptic vision of the lamb. Stylistically, the figures are monumental, their bodies solid and their limbs well-articulated beneath heavy draperies. Relatively small tesserae are set in

tight rows, and flesh areas fashioned using glass tesserae are strongly modeled in chiaroscuro with bright coloristic highlights.

Later in the sixth century, perhaps under the impact of the Byzantine conquest of Rome in 536–545, the style of mosaics in the city was dramatically transformed from the sculptural to the abstract. Four churches have iconic portraits of saints that highlight the presence of relics, fulfilling the essential function of funerary portraits originating in the catacombs: the triumphal arch of San Lorenzo, commissioned by Pope Pelagius (r. 579–590); and the apse mosaics of Sant'Agnese Fuori le Mura commissioned by Pope Honorius I (r. 625–638), Santo Stefano Rotondo commissioned by Pope Theodore (r. 642–649), and the chapel of San Venanzio (attached to the Lateran baptistery) commissioned by Pope John IV (r. 640–642). In all these mosaics, almost immobile figures of saints stand isolated from one another against a stark gold ground. They seem not so much to stand within the landscape as to float or hover over it, their feet pointed downward on the diagonal, set against abstract color fields—symbolizing, rather than describing, the landscape of paradise. Bodies are flattened by draperies, and faces are dematerialized by much looser disposition of tesserae and by large staring eyes. It is as if the form of these portraits is intended to diminish the saints' apparent corporeality in favor of the ethereal existence of their souls, already thought to reside in heaven.

From the eighth century, a single mosaic scheme is known from existing fragments and later documentation: the oratory of Pope John "VII" (r. 705–707) in old Saint Peter's. Designed to hallow the pope's tomb, this chapel is an early example of a private burial space created within the walls of a preexisting church. The program focused on an iconic image of *Maria Regina* with hands outstretched in the orant gesture (now in San Marco, Florence), and on the pope himself as donor and self-described "servant of the mother of God" standing at her feet. The narrative, arranged in three zones around the Marian icon, recounted the infancy and passion of Christ, culminating in the new Byzantine image of the *Anastasis*—Christ's descent into hell to raise the dead—an appropriate plea for the pope's own resurrection.

Early medieval mosaic production in Rome reached its zenith during the Carolingian Renaissance—a period of vital artistic activity that coincided with the Franks' conquest and occupation of Italy under

Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious. The first and most distinctive mosaic decoration, that of the *triclinium*, or banquet hall, in the old Lateran Palace, contains the only explicitly political message: the renewal of an "Augustan peace" in a Christianized empire in which church and state are in harmony. Known from seventeenth-century engravings, as well as from the present heavily restored mosaic transferred to a new location adjacent to the Scala Santa (1743), the *triclinium* apse mosaic depicts Christ commissioning his apostles; in the spandrels of the triumphal arch, Christ himself bestows authority on kneeling figures of Pope Sylvester (or Saint Peter) and the first Christian emperor, Constantine; and at right, Peter, vested as the first pope, bestows authority on Charlemagne as a "new Constantine" and on Pope Leo III, who crowned Charlemagne emperor.

The first of the four Carolingian sanctuary mosaics, though more conventional in iconography, is unusual in its selection of themes. In the mosaics of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo, commissioned by Pope Leo III (r. 795-816), the standard image of a triumphal arch drawn from Revelation 4 is replaced by three narratives: the *Annunciation*, the *Transfiguration* (at center), and a rare scene of the Madonna and child acclaimed by an angel. More standard religious iconography, mainly reviving early Christian types, appears in the other four mosaic programs of this period.

The conches of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere and Santa Prassede, both commissioned by Pope Paschal I (r. 817–824), and that of San Marco, commissioned by Pope Gregory IV (r. 828–848), follow the model of Santi Cosma e Damiano in depicting Christ at the second coming, flanked by Peter and Paul, who present Roman martyrs and the donor pope holding a model of the church. The fourth apse mosaic at Santa Maria in Dominica, also commissioned by Paschal I, depicts another early Christian iconographic type, the Madonna and child enthroned receiving homage from apostles and saints holding crowns; the same theme appears in the sixth-century mosaics at Sant'Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna.

The most innovative of the four mosaic programs is that of Santa Prassede. The outer triumphal arch depicts the rare theme of angels guiding processions of the saints into the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem. The mosaic seems to refer to a claim by Pope Paschal I that

he translated the relics of 2,300 martyrs within the city walls of Rome to be deposited in the church of Santa Prassede. Another novelty here is the introduction of a customized mosaic program for the burial chapel of the pope's mother, Theodora Episcopa. The upper parts of the vault present Christ Pantocrator and processions of saints into the heavenly paradise; at a lower level, Theodora herself is portrayed above her tomb in the company of the local patron saints and the Madonna and child. As in John VII's chapel, the Byzantine *Anastasis* image appears above her burial as a promise of salvation.

For the first time, one can speak of a relatively homogeneous style of mosaic production in the six monuments decorated during this period of political stability. Although the figures have some of the flattened features of their seventh-century counterparts, they are now more agile in their movements, and their proportions are more elongated. Draperies are modeled in a sparse linear fashion with double parallel lines—a distinctive device which Davis-Weyer (1966) connects to Byzantine manuscript illumination (e.g., the *Sacra Parallella*). Faces, though more elongated and oval than their fifth-century counterparts, do appear to revive the impressionistic handling of the mosaics, such as those at Santa Maria Maggiore: tesserae are arranged in relatively loose rows, and bright orange and blue are used to represent highlights and shadows.

The political and ecclesiastical stability that fostered the efflorescence of mosaic production in Rome from Leo III to Gregory IV came to an end with the decline and breakup of the Carolingian house in the 840s. No longer sustained by a strong imperial supporter, the papacy was left in the hands of local clans, and Rome itself was increasingly vulnerable to external threats. Conditions were not ripe for another sustained period of mosaic production in Rome and southern Italy until the late eleventh century.

Ravenna between the Fifth and Seventh Centuries

Ravenna, the second great center for mosaic production in early medieval Italy, rose to prominence first as the capital of the western Roman empire between 402 and 476, later as the capital of the

Ostrogothic kingdom, and finally as the seat of the Byzantine exarch. The earliest wall mosaics in Ravenna decorate a cruciform mausoleum attached to the monastery of Santa Croce (c. 430–450), generally known as the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. In this intimate structure we see an early example of a hierarchical program of images designed to reinforce the funerary function of the space. The vaulting over the crossing presents the apocalyptic vision of the cross—the "sign of the son of man" (Matthew 24)—adored by the four living creatures and heralded from below by eight apostles. Over the entrance to the mausoleum, the Good Shepherd appears in a bucolic landscape as an allegory for entrance into the heavenly paradise. The intercession of the martyrs is evoked in the mosaic on the opposite lunette, showing either Lawrence or Vincent of Saragossa (Mackie 1990) holding a cross-staff and standing triumphantly adjacent to the fiery gridiron of his martyrdom. Finally, the rich foliate ornament on intradoses and barrel vaults of the arcosolia evokes the organic metaphor for resurrection and regeneration.

A second mosaic program that reinforces the function of the space it decorates was commissioned in 458 by Bishop Neon for the cathedral baptistery. The vault over the font is given over to a grand ceremonial composition focusing on a fictive oculus in which is depicted the baptism of Christ—the historical model for the ritual of Christian initiation. In the next of two concentric zones, two processions of the twelve apostles, led by Peter and Paul, converge immediately beneath Christ. Inhabiting a paradisiacal landscape, they hold diadems as symbols of the heavenly rewards offered to all those who have been baptized. In the lower zone, the *Etimasia* is represented four times in alternation with gospel books displayed on altars. Set within illusionistic colonnades with coffered soffits, these elegant garden spaces still belong essentially to the tradition of Greco-Roman illusionism represented in the frescoes of Pompeii

Within fifty years, the style of mosaics in Italy would be dramatically transformed by the impact of Byzantium. Roman rule in Ravenna was ended when the Germanic leader Odoacer (Odovacar) conquered the city in 476. Odoacer succumbed in turn to King Theodoric of the Ostrogoths in 493. Though nominally a "barbarian," Theodoric had been raised as a privileged hostage in the imperial palace at Constantinople,

where he acquired a taste for both ancient and contemporary Byzantine culture. When he established a new cathedral and baptistery for his own Arian faith, Theodoric had the composition of the earlier baptistery mosaics adapted to this new context. The dome composition again focuses on a fictive oculus with the baptism of Christ in the center and a procession of apostles bearing crowns in the surrounding zone. Now, however, the subtle architectural constructions of the lower zone are omitted and the apostles are set against a solid gold ground, giving them a greater monumentality. At the same time, the ground line on which they are standing has been flattened, and the draperies appear somewhat metallic in execution.

For his palace chapel, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (c. 500), Theocloric commissioned an ambitious program of mosaics comprising three components: in the lowest zone, immediately above the colonnades, two parallel processions of female and male martyrs proceeding respectively from the port of Classe and the palace of Theodoric to a Madonna and child enthroned and an adult Christ enthroned at the apse end; standing figures of apostles and prophets between the windows of the clerestory; and finally, in the uppermost zones, small rectangular panels depicting episodes from Christ's ministry on the left wall, and from the passion on the right. Of particular interest is the way in which the decoration reinforces liturgical themes: for example, the *Last Supper* is positioned adjacent to the sanctuary to emphasize the historical institution of the eucharist celebrated there, and the processions themselves seem to offer a parallel for the offertory procession down the central nave to the altar. Such elements would seem to originate in the Byzantine east. The lower frieze of processional figures was reworked shortly after the Byzantine conquest of Ravenna in 540; at the same time, figures of Theodoric and his court were obliterated from the intercolumniations of the palace mosaic, leaving stray hands and shadows in the gold background. In these Byzantine additions, the process of dematerialization is further emphasized: figures are flattened by a proliferation of gold in garments and by the omission of halftones, and they no longer give any pretense of standing within a shallow illusionistic space.

Although the architecture of San Vitale was begun under Ostrogothic rule during the episcopate of Ecclesius, the celebrated mosaics in the

presbytery were probably produced entirely after the Byzantine emperor Justinian's forces conquered Ravenna and much of the Italian peninsula in 540, and they were completed sometime between 546 and 548. The sophisticated iconographic program is essentially western in spirit. The apse is occupied by a theophany in which angels present the titular martyr and the founding bishop and donor Ecclesius before Christ. The vault represents a vision of the lamb of God supported by angels. As Deichmann (1969-1989) has shown, the side walls present in a vertical sequence a summary of the three eras of sacred history. The first, *ante legem* (before the law), includes the lunette panels depicting the offerings of Abel and Melchizedek at right, Abraham entertaining the angels, and the sacrifice of Isaac. The subjects of these lunette panels, mentioned *in the* canon of the Roman mass, also serve as types for the eucharistic sacrifice and thus reinforce the function of the space below.

The second era, *sub lege* (under the law), is represented in the spandrels of the lower level by Moses receiving the ten commandments and beholding the vision of the burning bush. The figures of the four evangelists flanking the openings into the gallery on the upper level collectively embody, with the lamb of God in the vault, the era *sub gratia* (under grace) from the incarnation to the second coming of Christ. A political accent is given to the program by the celebrated portrait panels on either side of the apse windows depicting Justinian and Theodora with their retinues in procession. Although Justinian and Theodora never set foot in Ravenna, their presence is insinuated by these proxy portraits, and their beneficence as donors seems to be recorded in the ostentatious display of liturgical silver that both of them carry—Justinian, the patten; and Theodora, the chalice.

It is also generally accepted that the prominent portrayal of Archbishop Maximian—the only figure to be labeled in the portrait panels—immediately next to Justinian was designed to strengthen his position as imperial appointee. Since the head of Maximian appears to have been altered and the inscription added after the original portraits were made, Andreescu-Treadgold and Treadgold (1997) have plausibly argued that Maximian's predecessor Victor was originally represented with Justinian, and the substitution was made only after Maximian was imposed on Ravenna in 547. These scholars believe that among those

accompanying Justinian and Theodora, it was not so much the bishop as the lay aristocrats—whom they identify as General Belisarius and his wife Antonina—who needed to assert their legitimacy by association with the emperor.

Stylistically, the mosaics represent a synthesis of traditional Greco-Roman pictorial illusionism in the representation of figures and landscape with a new abstraction in the representation of space. While individual figures are illusionistically modeled and framed within scenic landscapes, the spatial distinction between frame and framed has been blurred; figures seem less to inhabit the landscape than to be set against a landscape backdrop, placed close to the picture plane. Spatial ambiguity is particularly pronounced in the Justinian panel, where all the figures in a procession, moving to the right, are presented with the same frontality and dangling feet, and the emperor is given due prominence by overlapping figures who should be in front of him—and by his position on the central axis. A similar programmatic manipulation of spacial relations is seen in the panels of offering scenes: table and altar are represented as if in an aerial view with parallel edges placed on orthogonals that converge ideally in the space of the real altar below: the actual priest and his altar are thus united pictorially with the just offerers of the Old Testament.

A second mosaic program was completed in 549 under Maximian in the apse of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, the port of Ravenna. Ecclesiastical politics were once again a primary motivation for the iconographic scheme. The focal point of the conch is Saint Apollinaris, said to have been a disciple of Peter and the founding bishop of Ravenna, whose relics were transferred from the adjacent cemetery to a place beneath the high altar of the new church. Apollinaris stands in a verdant landscape of paradise beneath a symbolic composition of the Transfiguration. Christ is represented in a medallion bust at the center of a jeweled cross. After the defeat of the Arian Goths, this iconographic shift may have served to stress the Orthodox view that Christ was at once fully human and fully divine in his terrestrial life. Apollinaris appears not only as a defender of orthodoxy, but also as head of the apostolic succession. His "flock" appears in the form of twelve sheep proceeding toward him from either side, and at the base of the apse stand five of his successor bishops from the fifth and sixth

centuries, who represent the institutional church over time and strengthen the legitimacy of Maximian's claim to metropolitan authority in the regional church. More than a century later, such ecclesiastical claims were reinforced by a narrative panel added to the left side of the base of the apse by Bishop Reparatus (r. 673-679). Here the claim of Ravenna to be an autocephalous church is affirmed at left by a mosaic modeled on the Justinian panel at San Vitale, showing Reparatus with his sponsor, the Byzantine emperor Constantine IV (r. 668-685). At the same time, two more mosaics were added: the corresponding panel on the opposite side of the apse, representing Abel and Melchizedek as models for the eucharistic offering; and the triumphal arch mosaic showing the vision of Christ amid the four evangelists and processions of sheep from the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

These mosaics, which lack the sophisticated spatial manipulation seen at San Vitale, mark the end of a golden age of mosaic production in Ravenna. Ravenna was politically eclipsed by Venice in the eighth century and would not commission another major mosaic program until the twelfth century, when it had to call on a workshop based in Venice.

Monte Cassino, Rome, Southern Italy, and the Revival of Mosaic in the Late Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

The art of mural mosaics in Italy was virtually extinguished between the mid-ninth century and the late eleventh century. In his *Chronicle of Monte Cassino* (1071), Leo of Ostia writes that the arts of mural mosaic and *opus sectile* pavements, which had not been practiced by Latin masters (*magistra latinitas*) for centuries, were revived under Abbot Desiderius (r. 1058–1087), who called on Byzantine artists from Constantinople to decorate the new abbey church of Monte Cassino. According to Kitzinger (1972) and Toubert (1970), Desiderius, who was closely associated with the reform movement of Pope Gregory VII, the former Abbot Hildebrand of Monte Cassino, deliberately revived the medium, as well as the iconography of early Christian church decoration, to visually embody the return to the *ecclesia primitiva* and what was considered the golden age of the papacy. Although the

eleventh-century abbey no longer survives, Leo informs us in general terms of its decoration, which included mosaic on the triumphal arch and apse and probably mosaics of the Old and New Testaments in the atrium. As Kitzinger has shown, the style and revivalist iconography of these mosaics can be glimpsed in the fragmentary decoration of the triumphal arch at the cathedral of Salerno, completed c. 1085 under Desiderius's close colleague Archbishop Alfano. Iconographically, a bust-length bearded Christ, flanked by half-length figures of the four evangelists recalls early Christian schemes found in Rome (e.g., at San Paolo Fuori le Mura), while the stylized vegetal ornament in the borders evokes examples found in the Lateran baptistery. Stylistically, a new wave of Hellenism from the Byzantine east seems to be reflected in the strong chiaroscuro modeling of the flesh of the angel and in the clinging folds of his drapery.



Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna. Apse mosaic with Apollinaris beneath a symbolic *Transfiguration of Christ*, c. 540-549. Photo courtesy of Thomas E. A. Dale.

The same combination of Byzantine style and Roman revivalist ornament and iconography is adapted in Rome within a more innovative ecclesiological iconography in the early twelfth-century apse mosaics of San Clemente (c. 1119-1125) and Santa Maria in Trastevere (1143). In San Clemente, the familiar vision of *Christ with the Four*

Living Creatures—almost identical in style and iconography to the Salerno mosaic—reappears in the upper zone of the triumphal arch. In the lower spandrels, however, the Roman saints appear in a new triumphant guise: Lawrence, seated with Paul at left, tramples the gridiron underfoot; and Clement, seated at right with Peter, holds the anchor and treads on the ship associated with his martyrdom in the Black Sea. The reformers' interest in typological interpretation is reinforced in the lowest zone of the arch by Isaiah and Jeremiah, who hold scrolls with prophecies of the messiah. The conch represents, as the inscription indicates, an allegory of the church as a vine, which is caused to flourish by the cross but is potentially desiccated by the "law"—usually interpreted as Mosaic law, in contrast to Pauline grace or, taking into account the church's conflict with imperial authority, secular law (see Matthiae 1967, 1:283-286). A Byzantine crucifixion scene of the relatively new "dead Christ" type marks the central axis, and from its base stems a luxuriant vine scroll. The vine is an apt symbol of ecclesiastical renewal promoted by the reformers, and its form is one of a series of explicit references to celebrated early Christian monuments of Rome—in this case, the *triclinium* of the Lateran baptistery. The renewal of the *ecclesia primitiva* is reinforced by other early Christian images, including the stags drinking from the four streams at the base of the cross, the shepherds tending their flocks, and the lower frieze of sheep proceeding from the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, representing the union of Jews and gentiles in the Roman church.

The apse mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere reveals a similar combination of antiquarianism and innovation. The early Christian iconography of the *Maiestas domini* is repeated again in the upper zone of the triumphal arch, and, following the lead of San Clemente, Old Testament prophets appear in the lower spandrels. Other early Christian motifs include the lower frieze of lambs and the shell motif at the apex of the conch; a veneer of more patently pagan antiquity is lent to the decoration by the inclusion of half-naked putti holding drapery filled with fruit. The figures of Christ and the crowned Virgin Mary enthroned together on the central axis constitute one of the earliest representations of the coronation of the Virgin; yet, as Kitzinger (1980) was the first to recognize, the figure types of both are based on the most

venerable icons of early Christian Rome that were used in the public procession of Assumption day. The royal attributes of Mary evoke the eighth-century Marian icon of Trastevere itself, but also suggest a triumphant image of a newly emboldened *Ecclesia* under the strong rule of Pope Innocent II. Innocent II himself appears as donor in the company of a line of early Christian predecessors starting with Peter, who embody the origins of ecclesiastical authority in Rome.



San Clemente, Rome. Apse mosaic showing *Crucifixion* and vine as allegory of the church, c. 1119-1125. Photo courtesy of Thomas E. A. Dale.

The apses of Santa Maria in Trastevere and San Clemente are only two of the best-preserved examples of extensive, nearly continuous mosaic production in Rome between 1100 and the early thirteenth century. Other examples include the apse in Santa Maria Nova in the Roman forum (1160s), which depicts an enthroned Virgin and child flanked by apostles; the facade of San Bartolomeo all'Isola, of which only a bust of Christ remains; the destroyed apse and triumphal arch of old Saint Peter's, featuring the early Christian *Traditio legis* flanked by Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) and *Ecclesia Romana*; the apse mosaic of San Paolo Fuori le Mura (c. 1218–1226), showing the enthroned Pantocrator between apostles; and, finally, the mosaic (since destroyed) installed by Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227-1241) on the exterior facade of old Saint Peter's showing Christ enthroned between Peter and Paul, the

four evangelists, and (in the lower zone) the twenty-four elders. The San Paolo mosaic, though completely remade after fire destroyed most of the church in 1823, is of particular interest because Pope Honorius II is documented as having written to the doge of Venice to request mosaicists to work on the project. This indicates that mosaic production in Rome was waning by that time and had been eclipsed by production in Venice, which had developed the art of mosaic under the tutelage of Byzantine craftsmen from the eleventh century on.

Norman Sicily in the Twelfth Century

However much Roman mosaicists may have benefited from the arrival of craftsmen from Byzantium at Monte Cassino in the late eleventh century, their production remained essentially Roman, for they were quite deliberately drawing on a rich tradition represented in the city's early Christian and medieval churches. The twelfth-century mosaics of Norman Sicily, by contrast, were produced *ex novo* and relied entirely on the technical expertise and formal repertoire of mosaicists imported from Byzantium—they are essentially Byzantine mosaics on western soil. The Norman kings—who were themselves foreigners in Sicily, having conquered the territory from the Muslim rulers in the late eleventh century—seem to have appropriated Byzantine mosaic decoration in their churches as a kind of artistic koine of sacred authority for their rule. Four surviving churches, all connected with court patronage, were decorated with mosaics by Byzantine artisans in the course of the twelfth century: the Palatine Chapel (Cappella Palatina) in Palermo (sanctuary, 1142-1148; nave, 1154—c. 1166), the Martorana in Palermo (church of Saint Mary of the Admiral, 1142-1143); and the cathedral in Cefalù (1148) and Monreale. Examples of secular mosaic decoration are found in the so-called *stanza di Ruggero* of the royal palace in Palermo, as well as in the Torre Pisana and the Zisa. The first three churches were decorated primarily during the reign of Roger II; the last example was decorated under William II. Stylistically, they represent two broader phases of contemporaneous Byzantine artistic production during the Comnenian dynasty: the early Comnenian and late Comnenian "baroque" styles. Kitzing (1960) has demonstrated

that the Old Testament mosaics in the nave (throne room) of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo and the nave of Monreale Cathedral make use of the same designs for single figures and entire compositions, perhaps drawing on standard model books in the workshop, but the figure style was dramatically transformed at Mon reale. The clinging draperies that calmly model the figures of Palermo are transformed into windblown garments, expressing the movement of more energetic, more emotional figures. The modeling of faces and cloth is also transformed by an exaggerated contrast of light and shadow.

The ideological rationale for using Byzantine mosaicists and primarily Byzantine iconography is most clearly demonstrated in the first two churches decorated under Roger II. In the Martorana, a Byzantine-style central-plan domed church built by George of Antioch, Roger is represented in a donor panel as if he were a Byzantine emperor, dressed in a gold-embroidered imperial *loros* and crowned by Christ; the accompanying inscription transliterates his Latin title (*Rogerus Rex*) into Greek characters. The rest of the mosaic decoration, focused on the Pantocra tor in the central dome, is otherwise a quite faithful adaptation of the middle Byzantine scheme of mosaic decoration.

A more complex adaptation of Byzantine iconographic schemes is found in the mosaics commissioned by Roger II for the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (1143-1148). The program of the east end of the chapel adapts the "classical system" of middle Byzantine mosaic decoration to a rather narrow barrel-vaulted transept with a central dome supported on squinches, taking into account the ideal viewpoint of the king himself in an upper-level balcony at the north end of the transept (Kitzinger 1960). The Byzantine Pantocrator, surrounded by archangels, dominates the program from the apex of the dome. Two theophanies—the *Ascension of Christ* and the *Pentecost*—usually reserved for domes, are here adapted to the barrel vaults on either side, with Christ represented at the top of the vault in each case. The rest of the feast cycle, ranging from the *Nativity* to the *Entry into Jerusalem*, is focused primarily on the south wall of the transept opposite the royal balcony. In this way the king faced directly the scenes that most identified him with the sacrosanct rule of Christ, especially in the enlarged scene of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Similarly, the

program of single saints is oriented to the royal viewpoint. For example, the *Hodegetria*—a traditional intercessory image for the Byzantine emperor—appears on the east wall of the north transept, slightly off-center so that it can easily be seen from the adjacent royal balcony.

The program of mosaics in the "nave" represents, by contrast, a much more Italian scheme of decoration: an Old Testament narrative over the nave arcades, and cycles of the lives of Peter and Paul in the side aisles echoing early Christian church decorations of Rome. Tronzo (1997) has demonstrated that this scheme represents a later phase of decoration, added perhaps by William I at a time when the space, which originally functioned as a royal audience hall, was transformed into a more conventional nave. Essentially the same pattern would be applied on a much grander scale at the cathedral of Monreale, decorated under William II in the 1180s. Here, while the execution and style of the mosaics remain authentically Byzantine, the last vestiges of a Byzantine iconographic program are to be found in donor portraits which echo their counterparts at the Martorana, as well in the monumental bust of the Pantocrator, now relegated to the central apse in the absence of a dome.

Venice and the Upper Adriatic from the Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries

In Venice, as in Norman Sicily, the production of mosaics began with the importation of craftsmen and materials from the Byzantine empire. In the course of the twelfth century, however, Byzantine-trained Venetian workshops became increasingly western in their leanings, even as they responded to repeated waves of Byzantine artistic transformation up to the mid-fourteenth century.

The earliest mosaics in the Venetian ambient are to be found in the cathedral of Torcello, a direct dependency of Venice. The twelve apostles in the lower zone of the central apse follow closely the style of the mid-eleventh-century mosaics of Hosios Lukas in Greece, and are most likely the work of Byzantine artisans. These compact figures show the same tendency toward essentially linear modeling and a certain harsh contrast of light and shadow, which gives the draperies a metallic

quality. Also attributed to the same Byzantine workshop at midcentury are the mosaics of the right side chapel and the lower zones of the *Last Judgment* on the west wall. The chapel mosaics, once erroneously thought to be as early as the eighth century, represent a middle Byzantine type of enthroned Pantocrator in the apse flanked by archangels, four bishops in the hemicycle below, and, in the vault, four angels supporting a medallion containing the lamb of God—a composition that evokes the presbytery vault of San Vitale in Ravenna. The west wall of the Cathedral Torcello displays a vast composition of the *Last Judgment* in four registers, faithfully transmitting distinctive Byzantine elements of iconography, including the central Deësis (Christ with Mary and John the Baptist as intercessors) in the upper zone, the *Etimasia*, and the regurgitation of the dead by creatures of the land and sea. Christ appears again farther up the central axis on the west wall in the *Anastasis* and the *Crucifixion*. These mosaics were conceived and originally executed in the second half of the eleventh century, but Andreescu-Treadgold (1972) has shown that parts (e.g., the upper body of Christ in the *Anastasis* and the upper bodies and heads of the trumpeting angels on the right side) were restored after the earthquake of 1117. This earthquake also led to the restoration of the upper parts of the apse and triumphal arch: here the *Virgin and Child-Hodegetria* in the conch, and the *Annunciation*, including the dynamic striding figure of the archangel Gabriel, were not completed until the second half of the twelfth century.

The late eleventh-century mosaics of Torcello have close relatives elsewhere in the upper Adriatic: in the surviving heads of Mary, John, and Peter from the destroyed apse mosaic of the basilica Ursiana at Ravenna, firmly dated by inscription to 1112; and the slightly later mosaics of the Madonna and child and apostles in the left apse of San Giusto in Trieste. These mosaics, in turn, are closely related to the earliest mosaics in San Marco in Venice. Although mosaics may already have decorated the first ducal chapel constructed to hallow the relics of the adopted eastern apostle, translated from Alexandria in 828-829, the present church was not begun until the mid-eleventh century (it was dedicated in 1094); and the earliest extant mosaics in it are generally accepted to be those of the Virgin and child, apostles, and evangelists set within the niches surrounding the central portal from the western

narthex. Demus (1984) dates these to the 1070s. The elongated figures, standing in rather rigid poses with limbs held tightly to the body, are related in style to mid-eleventh-century mosaics at Torcello; but the cloth, now less metallic, is more softly modeled in a way that is closer to the early Comnenian style of Byzantine art c. 1100.

The original mosaics on the interior were begun as early as 1084 and were largely complete by the mid-fourteenth century. The interior space of San Marco, which copies the three-aisle, five-dome cruciform plan of Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, also reflects, in part, the decorative program of that church. The Venetians wanted to justify their appropriation of Mark from Alexandria by setting his relics within a church that would be appropriate for an eastern apostle. Adapting the middle Byzantine convention, the three domes on the east-west axis are occupied by theophanic visions of Christ, who appears at the apex of each composition in the heavenly realm. However, the subjects are arranged in chronological sequence in three broader eras of sacred history according to standard western schemes. The eastern dome features an *Emmanuel* with Old Testament prophets foretelling the coming of the messianic Christ; the central dome depicts the *Ascension of Christ*, the culmination of Christ's terrestrial mission and passion narrated on the supporting barrel vaults; the western dome represents the beginning of the era of apostolic mission and the present church with the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

Stylistically, these mosaics of the central axis also reveal a general progression of work from east to west, moving from the statuesque, restrained figures of the apse to the agitated, emotionally expressive figures, in late Comnenian style, of the central dome and the passion cycle (c. 1180s-1190s) to the more restrained and monumental figures in the Pentecost dome representing the trans-European "style of 1200."

This broader narrative of biblical history is customized by the extensive mid-twelfth-century narratives that show how Mark became the apostle of the regions of the "Venices" and patron saint of the city (Dale 1994). Mark's supposed mission to Roman Aquileia on the *terra firma*, which Venetians used as the basis for their own claim to Mark as a local apostle, is represented symbolically in the hemicycle of the central apse by the passing of the gospel from Peter to Mark, and thence to Saint Hermagoras, the first bishop of Aquileia. A more

extensive narrative was added to the vaults over the two choir chapels in the mid-twelfth century. In the chapel of Saint Clement, the pre-Venetian history of Mark is represented: his mission to Aquileia and the consecration of Hermagoras as his successor and first bishop of Roman "Venetia" on the terra firma; his mission to Pentapolis; and his mission and martyrdom in Alexandria. The cycle in the chapel of Saint Peter is devoted entirely to the theft of Mark's relics and their translation to Venice. The culminating scene showing the ceremonial reception of the relics by the doge and patriarch of Venice-Grado, reminiscent of the Justinian panel in Ravenna, confirms the importance of Mark's relics for the sacrosanct authority of the Venetian state and church.

Early in the thirteenth century, the program of the interior was expanded by two significant narrative cycles. In the north transept, the life of the Virgin Mary is narrated in a distinctively Venetian "late Romanesque" style, marked by heavy contours, disproportionately large eyes, emphatic gestures, and rather clunky architectural props. Another, more sophisticated workshop of Venetian mosaicists was responsible for the extensive cycle of the *Agony in the Garden*, narrated in an unprecedented six episodes. Here, for the first time in Venice, the Byzantine gold ground gives way to an extensive landscape setting. We see here, too, an emphatic use of gesture. The figure style as a whole represents a more monumental version of the late Comnenian style applied in the mosaics of the crossing (the "Ascension workshop").

Two more mosaic cycles of the thirteenth century update the Venetian version of Saint Mark's career. First, two large panels on the west wall of the south transept, probably made under Doge Ranieri Zen (r. 1253–1268), represent the doge, clergy, and people of Venice praying for, and witnessing, the miraculous recovery, or *apparitio*, of the lost relics of Mark in 1094. Set within recognizable cross sections of San Marco, these scenes not only recorded sacred history, but also served as models for the ongoing ritual commemoration of the "invention" or rediscovery of Mark's relics on the annual festival of the *apparitio* instituted under Doge Zen. A second, updated narrative of Mark's mission and translation to Venice begins on the vault of the Cappella Zen, once an open portal facing the Piazzetta and the Grand Canal, and extends across the west facade over each of the four side portals. The cycle on the vault of the Cappella Zen includes a new emphasis on the

writing of Mark's Gospel and adds a crucial prophetic scene known as the *Praedestinatio*: a vision in which Mark learns, on his way to Alexandria, that his relics will one day "return home" to Venice. The *Translation* cycle, much more detailed than the earlier version, appears to add one new episode over the Porta di Sant'Alipio—the sole surviving panel from the thirteenth century, which may be interpreted as a rededication of the present church of San Marco after the recovery of the relics (Dale 1994). It shows the reception of the relics by the doge, patriarch, and Venetian populace at the door of the present church, complete with marble revetment and bronze horses added to the facade after the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

Paralleling this latest edition of the legend of Mark, an Old Testament cycle was added to the cupolas and barrel vaults of the L-shaped narthex or "atrium" between the 1240s and 1270s. The narrative begins in the southwest corner of the atrium with the creation of the world and the story of Adam and Eve and extends up to the life of Moses in the easternmost bay of the north branch. Executed in a distinctly archaizing style and iconography, in an unusually dense narrative sequence, most of the atrium cycle (up to the second bay of the north branch) is based on a fifth-century manuscript, the Cotton Genesis. According to Demus (1984, Vol. 2), the Venetians may have acquired this manuscript in Alexandria and used it to reinforce both their claim on that city's apostle and their own connection to the apostolic era. The scope of the cycle, which culminates with the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, was also probably designed to reinforce a notion of the Venetians as a new "chosen people," following their participation in the Fourth Crusade.

The last significant medieval additions to the mosaic program of San Marco date from the time of Doge Andrea Dandolo (r. 1343-1354). The baptistery mosaics include an extensive cycle of the career and martyrdom of John the Baptist and a mosaic over Dandolo's tomb featuring a portrait of the doge beneath the crucifixion; the mosaics of the chapel of Saint Isidore on the south side of the church narrate the trial and martyrdom of the titular saint whose relics were translated by Doge Domenico Michiel from Chios in 1125. Both cycles, as Pincus (1990) has argued, were designed to amplify the role of the doge in the sacred history of Venice and underline the presence of its saintly

protectors. Stylistically, these mosaics represent a Venetian synthesis of Palaeologan art at the Byzantine court with the rarefied costume and jewel-like palette of contemporary French art. The iconography and technique of the mosaics remain thoroughly Byzantine, but the elegant costumes and somewhat elongated proportions of figures, such as Salome in the baptismery, reflect a broader assimilation of French models in Italian painting of the fourteenth century.

The Maniera Greca and Mosaic Production in Rome and Tuscany in the Late Duecento and Trecento

Pope Honorius turned to Venetian craftsmen to execute the apse mosaic of San Paolo Fuori le Mura in the 1220s, but by the end of the *Duecento*, mosaic work was again flourishing in Rome, and for the first time under the tutelage of well-documented, celebrated artists who worked in fresco and panel painting as well. Among the pantheon of Vasari's first age—the *primi lumini* of the Renaissance—Pietro Cavallini, Jacopo Torriti, and Giotto are the most prominent artists to have designed mosaics in Rome. They drew inspiration from renewed contact with Byzantine art—which was also the main impetus for the flourishing craft of panel painting—and also from close study of early Christian and medieval monuments in Rome itself.

Pietro Cavallini, who participated in the restoration of the early Christian frescoes in the nave of San Paolo Fuori le Mura between 1282 and 1297, was also called on to restore and supplement the twelfth-century mosaics of Santa Maria in Trastevere in the late 1290s. The scenes of the life of the Virgin, arranged as a predella-like frieze beneath the *Coronation of the Virgin*, synthesize a predominantly Byzantine iconography with a solid figural modeling and an exploration of illusionism in architectural settings that Cavallini seems to have developed in part from his study of early Christian monuments in Rome. While scenes such as the *Presentation* use stage-prop pavilions, viewed from different angles of vision, the *Nativity of Mary* is presented within an interior space, set against curtained walls—the same spatial conventions that are developed further in the Isaac cycle of the upper church of San Francesco in Assisi. Coloristically, Cavallini's

mosaics have the lighting techniques of his own frescoes: strong contrasts of light and shadow within the same hue lend sculptural presence to his figures.

Cavallini's contemporary Jacopo Torriti was favored with two important commissions by Pope Nicholas IV. Following the insertion of a transept before the sanctuary of the Lateran, Torriti executed mosaics for the facade and apse (dated 1290), based largely on early Christian predecessors: a bust of Christ, connected with a miraculous vision at the foundation of the basilica by Constantine, hovers over a gemmed cross from which spring the rivers of paradise. Both mosaics were almost entirely remade by nineteenth-century restorers.

Much better preserved is Torriti's apse mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore, completed in 1295, three years after Nicholas IV's death, by the Colonna family. The conch presents an updated version of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in Santa Maria in Trastevere: Mary and Christ, still based on icons used in the liturgy for Assumption day, are now enthroned within a mandorla, flanked by throngs of angels on either side and by two processions of saints standing in the earthly paradise below. Highlighting her roll as mediatrix in the festival of the Assumption, Mary appears here with arms outstretched in prayer while Christ places the crown on her head. An inhabited vine scroll, which folds the upper reaches of the conch, and a shell motif at its apex both evoke the apse of San Clemente as a model. Paralleling Cavallini's work in Trastevere, the life of the Virgin is narrated in a frieze immediately beneath the conch. In this case, however, Torriti places the *Dormition of the Virgin* out of narrative order on the central axis directly beneath the *Coronation* in order to emphasize her bodily resurrection. The precise chronological relationship between the two mosaics is still a matter of debate: Gardner (1973, 9–10) sees Torriti's scheme as improving on Cavallini's "earlier" model to produce a better-integrated design; but Tronzo (1989, 169–171) argues that the Cavallini mosaics postdate those of Torriti to c. 1298 and were added by the Stefaneschi family to update the apse of their church in a spirit of competition with their rivals, the cardinals of the Colonna family. Stylistically, Torriti is much closer than Cavallini to contemporary Byzantine art: he is much less interested in the exploration of spatial illusionism, allowing his figures to remain close to the picture plane. In the modeling of figures in the conch, he

uses the convention of gold highlights and coloristic contrast more than chiaroscuro modeling. The proliferation of gold, together with a rich palette combining delicate pearl, rose, and lilac with deep red, azure blue, and green, enhances the decorative unity of surface.

Torriti's work in the interior of Santa Maria Maggiore was complemented by mosaics on the west facades and exterior of the main apse, executed at least in part by Filippo Rusuti in a closely related Byzantinizing style. According to Gardner (13-41), these mosaics were completed under the Colonna cardinals before their fall from grace in 1297. Both projects were designed to proclaim, in a very public way, the cult of the Virgin Mary and her icon, the *Salus Populi Romani*, housed within the church, and must have been addressed to the throngs who joined the Assumption day procession and other outdoor manifestations related to the stationary liturgy. (Comparable facade mosaics survive or are known to have existed at Santa Maria in Trastevere, old Saint Peter's, and San Paolo Fuori le Mura.) The mosaic (no longer extant) of the apse facade depicted the *Salus Populi Romani* icon flanked by Virgin saints. The mosaic of the main facade, partly damaged and obscured by the later benediction loggia, has in its upper zone the enthroned Christ, following the same type as the apse mosaics, flanked by angels and an abbreviated hierarchy of saints headed by the Roman apostles, Peter and Paul, set against a gold ground. Filippo Rusuti's name appears in the border of the mandorla at the feet of Christ. The lower zone, following a format similar to that of the lower zone of the apse mosaic within, is devoted to four narrative panels relating how the church was founded through the intervention of the Virgin Mary. The *Madonna of the Snows*, shown in these mosaics following the type of the *Salus Populi Romani*, is said to have appeared independently to Pope Liberius and the patrician John, urging them to found a church in her honor and outlining the ground plan of the church in the fresh-fallen snow. Three of the four scenes are represented in highly illusionistic domestic interiors that push Cavallini's experimentation with interior backdrops farther in the direction of the Francis cycle at Assisi and Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel. The inclusion of the Colonna family arms in this zone helps date the project as a whole either before 1297, as Gardner argues (22ff), or during the restoration of the Colonna family after the death of their rival Pope

Boniface VIII in 1303 and before the death of Cardinal Pietro Colonna in 1337. Wollesen (1998, 105ff) dates the lower zone to c. 1306–1307, largely on the basis of stylistic connections with the *Legend of Saint Francis* in the upper church at Assisi. It is often assumed that a different artist was responsible for this zone, but it is also possible to see the greater illusionism of the architectural setting as a distinctive stylistic mode, appropriate to the vernacular subject.

The most celebrated mosaic made in Rome at the end of the Middle Ages is Giotto's *Navicella*, which represents the story of Peter walking on water to meet Christ in the midst of a storm (Matthew 14:24-32). This mosaic was commissioned by Cardinal Stefaneschi (d. 1341) for the atrium of old Saint Peter's, perhaps as early as 1308-1310. It was heavily restored in 1618 and was dismantled and removed to its present location in 1629, before the destruction of the medieval atrium, but at least its iconography was faithfully recorded in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century drawings and a full-scale cartoon on linen (commissioned from Cosimo Bartoli in 1628). It was also copied as early as the fourteenth century in a fresco at Saint Peter's in Strasbourg (1320) and in Andrea di Bonaiuto's fresco in the Spanish chapel at Santa Maria Novella in Florence (1365). The composition was dominated by a great ship containing the apostles, set on a diagonal in the midst of stormy waters. As is typical of Giotto's work, the apostles' individual emotional responses were conveyed through varied gestures and facial expressions. Peter appeared just to the right of the ship before a larger than life-size figure of Christ. Near the lower border a fisherman sits on the bank, opposite a kneeling figure of the donor. As far as one can tell from two angels thought to have come from an upper border of the mosaic, Giotto applied to this work the same sculptural chiaroscuro modeling that he used in his Ognissanti Madonna c. 1310. Mosaic, as it had been in late antiquity, was once again assimilated to illusionistic painting.

The design or execution of mosaics by well-traveled and much sought-after artists such as Giotto and Cavallini contributed to a transformation of mosaic art in Tuscany, at the same time that Giorgio Vasari would describe Tuscan painters as surpassing the *mankra greca* or Byzantine style. Cenni di Pepi, known as Cimabue, establishes a direct link between Rome and Tuscany: he is recorded in Rome as early

as 1272 as *pictore de Florencia*. His only firmly documented work still extant is a mosaic figure of Saint John the Evangelist in the apse of the cathedral of Pisa. In September 1301, he took over the execution of the larger mosaic featuring Christ enthroned between Mary and John from a certain Francesco di San Simone a Porta a Mare, and in February 1302, after ninety-four days of work, it is documented that he had completed the figure of Saint John (White 1993, 175–176). The Pisan mosaic as a whole, completed in 1321, is strongly influenced by Byzantine art; its composition adapts the conventional *Deësis* intercessory group by substituting John the Evangelist for the John the Baptist. Cimabue's figure, however—with its monumental, sculptural forms achieved by bold chiaroscuro modeling and firm, rounded contours; and with the softness of its cloth—reveals the artist's experience of mosaics and frescoes by Pietro Cavallini in Rome.

In Florence, there appears to have been an efflorescence of mosaic decoration in the last four decades of the thirteenth century. Parallelling the contemporary rise of panel painting in Tuscany, the art of mosaic seems to have been inspired to a large extent by Byzantine models, albeit transmitted earlier in the Italian tradition. Mosaics survive in three of the most important civic churches in Florence: the Romanesque basilica of San Miniato al Monte, which has the remains of the city's first martyr; the baptistery, which was also the primary focus of the cult of a more recently acquired patron saint for the city, John the Baptist; and the cathedral itself. In San Miniato, mosaics depicting Christ enthroned flanked by Mary and the patron saint appear both on the exterior facade (c. 1260) and in the main apse (1297) to reinforce the intercessory presence of Florence's first martyr. Both mosaics repeat Byzantine iconographic conventions and are formally quite conservative, using gold highlights for limited modeling of draperies; but the jewel-like palette may owe something to mosaic work in Venice.

The baptistery contains one of the most impressive ensembles of mosaic decoration outside Rome and Venice, and it draws inspiration from both sources in its formal vocabulary and iconography. The mosaics in the barrel vault over the sanctuary represent the *Mystic Lamb* in the middle of a wheel supported by four telamons and surrounded by prophets; and on the haunches of the vault there are iconic enthroned images of John the Baptist and the Madonna and

child. These mosaics have often been attributed to a certain Franciscan named Jacobus and dated as early as 1225 on the basis of an inscription in the sanctuary. However more recent scholarship discounts this date and favors instead a connection with the painter Coppo di Marcovaldo starting in the 1260s. Some of the work in the baptistery is attributed to Coppo's followers. The monumental figures of prophets and the two iconic images appear to have been executed by or under the inspiration of Venetian masters c. 1300.

The interior decoration of the octagonal cupola, originally executed c. 1240-1310, is dominated by a vast *Last Judgment* on the west side, featuring an immense figure of the enthroned Christ, flanked by angels, apostles, the celestial paradise, and hell. The figure of Satan with three ravenous mouths devouring sinners in hell may be counted among the visual sources for Dante's vision in the *Inferno* of a three-faced Satan in the lowest circle of hell. The remaining portions of the vault are divided into six zones, framed within illusionistic colonnades. Extending the eschatological program of the *Last Judgment*, the upper two registers at the apex of the cupola represent the celestial paradise and Christ flanked by the nine orders of angels. The lower four registers are devoted to the Old Testament narrative of Genesis (from the creation to Joseph) in two registers, the infancy of Christ, the passion of Christ, and, finally, the life of John the Baptist. The basic program here, and even specific aspects of the iconography of the Old Testament, evoke a long-standing Roman tradition of church decoration that can be traced back to two early Christian basilicas: old Saint Peter's and San Paolo Fuori le Mura.

Stylistically, the mosaics of the dome are difficult to attribute, owing to extensive restorations. They were repaired in the late fourteenth century, and again in the fifteenth century, and underwent particularly extensive restorations in the late eighteenth century, in the early nineteenth century, and again at the beginning of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, a number of original documents, together with the accounts of Giorgio Vasari and other sixteenth-century sources, indicate the names of some of the artists who worked on the vault and tribune mosaics between the 1260s and the 1340s. Most prominent among the artists recorded by Vasari are Andrea Taffi, who is said to have initiated the work in the upper tiers after learning the craft from

Venetian mosaicists; a Byzantine artist brought from Venice named Apollonio the Greek; and Gaddo Gaddi (the father of Taddeo), whom he assumes Taffi took on to assist in completing the mosaics of prophets in the tribunes. Other, better-known Tuscan painters who have been connected with the mosaics through documentary evidence and stylistic comparisons include Coppo di Marcovaldo (especially with regard to the composition of hell), Cimabue or a closely related master (with regard to the birth and naming of John the Baptist), and Deodato Orlandi (with regard to the last part of the John the Baptist cycle).

To Gaddo Gaddi, one of Vasari's masters in the baptistery, is also attributed the late thirteenth-century mosaic of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the lunette over the central doorway of the interior facade of the *duomo*. The central figures of Christ and Mary, which combine Byzantine physiognomic types and conventions of chrysography with a greater sculptural quality and a tentative exploration of space in their turning poses, suggest the influence of another great name associated with the mosaic art in Tuscany, Cimabue. Perhaps, as Giusti suggests (Paolucci 1994), this mosaic was made as early as the 1280s for the facade of Santa Reparata and was later transferred to the *sopraporta* of the new facade, completed by Arnolfo di Cambio in 1296.

Eventually, the quintessentially medieval medium of mosaic, inextricably associated by Vasari with the bad influence of the *maniera greca* on Tuscan painting, no longer enjoyed the same prestige it had claimed for 1,400 years. Mosaics continued to be produced—primarily to replace damaged medieval examples with new compositions, or for the purposes of restoration. But in an era dominated by artistic personalities, mosaic ceased to be an autonomous medium hallowed by traditional modes of design and a certain inherent abstraction. In the hands of great Renaissance painters such as Castagno, Titian, and Tintoretto, all of whom worked on the mosaics of San Marco, the overall unity of design by which medieval mosaicists bound figures to surface was transformed by the introduction of modern costume, perspective, and illusionism.

See also Cavallini, Pietro; Palatine Chapel; Palermo; Ravenna; Torriti, Jacobus

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Moschi, Lorenzo

Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the life of the Tuscan poet Lorenzo Moschi, except that he probably lived during the second half of the fourteenth century. The most complete collection of his poems survives in Riccardi manuscript 1103, which, however, was not transcribed in Tuscany. The section of his poetry begins with the sonnet *Gli occhi che mi ferir si dolcie mente* under the title *Sonetto dilorenzo moschi dafirenze*. Although this would lead one to believe that Moschi was Florentine, no mention of him has yet been found in historical records. Moschi's chief literary models are the *stil novo* poets and Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca). Petrarch's influence is notable in *Benedetto, sia l'ora e la stagione; Rallegrati, querceto, e le tue fronde*; and *Spirto, che fai che pur pensi d'amore*. Moschi's diptych of sonnets—*Iddio vi salvi, donne oneste e care* and *Ben vegni tu che per lo tuo parlare*—represents an imaginary colloquy between the poet and a group of young women, a motif not uncommon in the work of the *stilnovisti* (compare Dante's *Rime* 70 and 71; Cino da Pistoia's *Gentil donne valenti, Vedete donne*, etc.). Similarities have also been found between Moschi's verses and those of Francesco di Vannozzo.

See also Dolce Stil Nuovo; Francesco di Vannozzo; Petrarca, Francesco

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Moscoli, Neri

Neri Moscoli was a prolific but undistinguished Perugian lyric poet of the *Trecento*, Little is known of his life: manuscript Vaticano Barberiniano 4036, the sole manuscript source for his poetry, describes him as coming from Città di Castello, and he is mentioned in a Perugian document of 1333. He was thus a contemporary of Cecco Nuccoli and Marino Ceccoli, and he seems to have taken part in poetic *tenzoni* with the latter, but his large output—two *canzoni* and more than 100 sonnets—lacks, on the whole, their verve and emotive power. Though some of his work is clearly indebted to *poesia giocosa*, the bulk of it belongs to a more self-consciously elevated tradition, deriving from the *dolce stil novo* and based on the idea of love as service to the lover's lady. The melancholy note struck in many of Moscoli's sonnets has led critics to detect a particular affinity with Cavalcanti.

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Cecco Nuccoli; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Marino Ceccoli; Perugia.

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Motet

The motet was probably the most important form of polyphonic music—both sacred and secular—during the Middle Ages. Originally a sacred composition that developed from the liturgical trope, the motet eventually became the preeminent form of secular art music by the late medieval period. Its basic structure contained a fundamental musical line, called the tenor or *cantus firmus*, arranged into a continually recurring rhythmic pattern, above which one or more voices (up to three) would move at a generally faster rhythmic pace, with different Latin or French texts. The motet itself evolved and was adapted structurally in different areas of Europe, so that its history and composition can vary greatly during the same time period in different geographical areas.

The motet originated from the school of sacred composers centered on the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris in the middle to late twelfth century. By the thirteenth century, the most important developments in the motet were the formulation of rhythmic modes, the loosening of the tenor rhythm, and the introduction of the vernacular into texts. By the fourteenth century, the styles of certain composers were being followed enough to allow scholars to refer to certain motet styles—such as the Franconian style, named after Franco of Cologne, and the Petronian style, named after Petrus de Cruce. The *ars nova* composers in France in the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth, especially Guillaume

de Machaut, developed the motet into a complex rhythmic structure that helped to create our modern system of musical notation. Features such as isorhythm and numerical symbolism came to the fore. The constant struggle between the music and the text for primacy and importance was an impetus for the many evolutions and transformations of the motet throughout the medieval period.

Before the fifteenth century, Italy produced very few motets (not even six Italian motets survive), owing to a seeming distrust of the *cantus firmus* technique. Northern composers such as Johannes Ciconia and Guillaume Dufay, who were in residence in Italy in the early fifteenth century, helped to transform the motet by creating monotextual pieces and incorporating the technique of imitation then in vogue at the Franco-Flemish court.

See also Ars Nova

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Muda

During the fourteenth century, the commune regularly organized

annual government convoys, the *muda*, from Venice. Each season, the Great Council of Venice determined how many great galleys would sail to each colony. Patricians were allowed to bid at auction for the privilege of outfitting and manning each galley, and of conducting the enterprise profitably. Profits from the voyage went into the pockets of the patrician who won the auction. Each convoy sailed at a specific date to a specific destination, where it remained for a certain time, and then returned to Venice within a particular time. Records indicate the dates, destinations, and auction prices of *muda* to Romania (Constantinople and the Black Sea), to Alexandria, to Syria (the *muda* of cotton), and after 1317 to Flanders. The sailing dates were fixed, depending on the length of the voyage; the *muda* left Venice in April or May to return in July or September, or left Venice in August to return in the late fall or the following spring. The repayment calendar for Venetian loans and rents revolved around these regular dates. Not all cargoes traveled in the great galleys; many Venetian merchants conducted their business from private ships throughout the Mediterranean. Most of the commerce in the fourteenth century between the Adriatic, Ionian, and Aegean seas was carried privately on smaller Venetian ships or on the great round ships, the cogs.

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Muscia, Niccola

The comic poet Niccola Muscia (Muscia da Siena, late thirteenth century) is known for three sonnets. *Ecci venuto Guido a Campostello* is of interest because of its parody of the poet Guido Cavalcanti on the occasion of an interrupted pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. The sonnet pokes fun at Cavalcanti's lack of strong religious convictions and enumerates many less than pious reasons for which he might have undertaken the voyage. The mocking of suspect pilgrims was a popular theme of Galician-Portuguese comic poetry. The other two sonnets—*Dugento scodelline di diamanti* and *Giùgiale di quaresima a l'uscita*—parody the genre of the *plazer*. They enumerate ridiculous objects the

poet wishes to give a certain Lano, identified as the Lano da Siena mentioned by Dante (*Inferno*, 13.115-129). There is some uncertainty—due to questions raised by Vitale (1956) on the basis of scanty evidence in the manuscript tradition—about whether Muscia da Siena can be identified with Niccola Muscia; however, most scholars concur that the two names refer to the same poet.

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Italian Poetry: Comic

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Music

See Ambrosian Chant; Ars Nova; Beneventan Chant; Gregorian Chant; Motet; Old Roman Chant

N

Naples

History through the Eighth Century

The site of the sprawling modern city of Naples has been, continuously, a major center of human habitation perhaps longer than anywhere else in western Europe. The superb location attracted Oscans, Samnites, and Etruscans. And then, around the sixth century B.C., Greeks arrived as colonists. Later, the Romans created major ports along the Bay of Naples, and in addition the region became the prime resort area for Roman emperors and senatorial families, who found the many traces of its Greek period particularly attractive. Innumerable distinguished Romans retreated there to write or to enjoy the area's luxurious baths. But soon there was also a network of Christian catacombs; and as Christianity became established throughout the Italian peninsula, the city and its environs acquired an impressive array of churches and shrines.

It is important to bear all this in mind when considering medieval Naples, for the area's traditions strongly influenced the city's later history. Inevitably, from one era to the next, the shape and form of the city itself changed; Roman Neapolis, for example, occupies only a small portion of the area covered by the Naples of Frederick II. And the duchy of Naples, the city-state that flourished between those periods, encompassed the entire bay and considerable inland territory as well. Yet through all these permutations Naples never forgot its distinctive past, its ancient roots.

In the turmoil of the sixth century, when Justinian's armies sought to reclaim Italy from the Ostrogoths, Naples remained loyal to the Ostrogothic king and suffered grievously for this. Shortly afterward, however, when Lombard invaders began to penetrate the south, the city

welcomed a Byzantine connection, and for the next three centuries it could legitimately be viewed as a real, if distant, segment of the Byzantine empire. Constantinople apparently dispatched new, Greek-speaking settlers to swell the diminished population, and Naples was expected to keep in contact with the Byzantine exarch at Ravenna.

But the eighth century brought change again, particularly after the exarchate collapsed in 751. It was arranged that thenceforth Naples would report to the Byzantine governor of Sicily, and for a time there was still at least some Byzantine control. Moreover, Naples in turn exercised some degree of authority over two smaller Byzantine satellites, Gaeta (farther north along the Tyrrhenian coast) and Amalfi (to the south). Nonetheless, by the second half of the eighth century it was obvious that Naples was not in every sense "Byzantine." The bishop of Naples and other local religious leaders answered to Rome, not Constantinople; the liturgy was Roman, and priests went to Rome to study. Furthermore, while many Neapolitans read Greek, had Greek-derived names, and signed documents in Greek letters, Latin remained the normal language of communication. Politically, too, the lay elite seems to have included both "pro-" and "anti-" Byzantine factions. And by the early ninth century, Naples was plainly choosing its own dukes without consulting the Byzantines, and minting its own distinctive coinage.

The Duchy of Naples

In contemporary documents, we find the duke of Naples called sometimes *consul et dux* and sometimes *magister militum*. But whatever its ruler's title, in the early ninth century the duchy spread almost all the way around the Bay of Naples as well as inland to the east and north for some distance. Also, by the ninth century the office of *dux* had become more or less hereditary, with only rare deviations when the elite of Naples (the *optimates* or *nobiliores*) became seriously disaffected. As for other governmental structures, we have little precise information except that disputes were settled with the aid of a *judex*. We know, too, that the *nobiliores* reveled in titles and that Naples had a highly stratified society, which may have meant fewer possibilities for

lesser individuals. Nevertheless, the setting of Naples provided many advantages, and much of its land area was exceptionally fertile. All could thus have gone well had it not been for one fact: pressing against the borders of Naples were the Lombards, who by the start of the ninth century had been dominating most of southern Italy for 300 years.

Again and again the Lombards had attacked Naples, and over time they had nibbled away portions of the duchy's territory. The Lombards' aggression was surely one reason Naples had adhered to its Byzantine connection, which represented at least hypothetical protection (even though, now, there were seldom Byzantine armies in southern Italy). Yet by the 830s Byzantium was losing Sicily to the Arabs; all too plainly, it was no longer in any position to help. So at that point, when the Lombards threatened once again, Naples hired Arab mercenaries.

Almost immediately, in response, the Lombard princes of Benevento and Salerno hired their own Arab forces. Arab sea-raiders had been harassing the Tyrrhenian coast for decades. Now some Arabs were being handed the opportunity to create a place for themselves within southern Italy, and they made the most of it. For the rest of the ninth century, the political balance in the region was to be affected by the presence of marauding Arab bands—who benefited not only from the Lombards' desire to take Naples but from the fact that Benevento and Salerno were soon also at war with each other. When in addition, in 846, an Arab army from Sicily and North Africa actually invaded the city of Rome, looting Saint Peter's and other major churches, the German emperor Lothair I sent his son Louis south with a large contingent of troops. Later, after Louis himself became emperor (Louis II), he found it necessary to spend much of his reign in southern Italy, trying desperately to expel all the Arabs. Next, after Louis's death in 875, the problem of the Arabs became a preoccupation of Pope John VIII. Then, in the last two decades of the century, Byzantine forces suddenly reappeared in southern Italy, seeking both to drive out the Arabs and to take advantage of the general disarray.

Perhaps surprisingly, Naples profited from this ninth century turmoil. The Lombards, now fighting each other, and subject also to pressures from Louis II, the pope, and Byzantium, were usually too busy to harass Naples. So Naples, remaining on excellent terms with the Arabs, flourished. There was increased commerce with the Arab world and,

simultaneously, an exceptional flowering of culture. New churches were built in the city, and old churches were richly embellished. Moreover, although Naples was now in effect autonomous, the Byzantine connection held firm in some respects; many Byzantine manuscripts were imported (and translated) during this period, some of them highly significant for subsequent developments in western culture.

The most notable figure in this ninth-century Neapolitan renaissance" was the duke and bishop Athanasius II (r. 876-898), who personified several of the duchy's distinctive characteristics. Most of Naples's bishops were key members of the ducal family, but sometimes, as in the case of Athanasius, duke and bishop were one and the same, governing both church and state. Furthermore, the elite of Naples prided itself on literacy in both Greek and Latin and indeed on a level of learning far exceeding that typically encountered elsewhere in contemporary southern Italy. Athanasius exemplified this. But he also exemplified the wiliness demonstrated by Naples's rulers as they strove, over the centuries, to preserve their duchy and enhance its power. Athanasius had become duke, ousting his brother with the help of Pope John VIII, and had apparently promised to expel all Arabs from Naples and to sever all links with the Islamic world. In fact, however, he soon proved even more pro-Arab than his predecessor, and openly contemptuous of the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the pope. Naples, under Athanasius, continued defiantly determined to go its own way.

If the turbulence of the ninth century had been of benefit to Naples, the relative tranquillity of the tenth century worked in some ways to Naples's disadvantage. The region's last Arab band (encamped north of Naples, along the Garigliano River) was wiped out in 915. And Naples actually helped in this campaign. Arab depredations had apparently worn down even the duchy's tolerance. But, in addition, something seems by then to have weakened Naples's Arab connections. In the tenth century, Amalfi, now no longer subject to Naples, dominated trade with the Islamic sphere and profited from it. Meanwhile—another change—the Lombard principalities (Capua-Benevento and Salerno) had ceased battling each other and thus were now flourishing to such a degree that Naples shrank in importance.

This last development did have its positive side. The Lombards

seemingly lost interest in taking the duchy; instead it became a convenient refuge for any Lombards at odds with their rulers. Furthermore, beginning in the late ninth century, Naples had begun to figure on occasion in marriage alliances with the Lombards; by now, ethnic differences had come to seem less significant, and Naples was admired for its traditions. It also preserved its reputation for learning; at Monte Cassino, for example, the tenth century's most distinguished abbot, Aligernus, was a Neapolitan. Nonetheless, on the whole Naples appeared detached from major events during the tenth century. In the second half of the century, when the German emperors Otto I and Otto II tried to exert authority over southern Italy, and came into conflict there with Byzantium, the confrontations mostly took place well to the east and south of Naples; the duchy was seldom involved. It seemed mainly to be living on its memories and even to be somewhat stagnant.

Early in the eleventh century, however, the entire situation in southern Italy changed again, radically, for it was then that the first Norman adventurers appeared. From the late ninth century on, Byzantium had been dominant in southern Italy's easternmost region and its southern extremities (in other words, throughout most of Apulia and Calabria), while the Lombards held the central and northern portions, as well as all of Campania with the exception of Naples and Amalfi. Time and again the Lombards had fended off the Byzantines' attempts to take over the whole, but in the early eleventh century Byzantium looked stronger and more determined than ever. It was apparently this new struggle that attracted the first Normans; they saw opportunities for profitable employment as mercenaries. And in this they were not disappointed; Normans soon were hired by both Lombards and Byzantines. In the ensuing chaos, even Naples found itself under attack. And so c. 1030, to gain help from one prominent Norman, the duke of Naples granted him the fortified town of Aversa, within the territory of Naples. In the ninth century, Naples had been the first to import Arab mercenaries. Now it was the first to give southern Italian land to a Norman.

This was a fateful move. Other Normans began to demand land of their employers as well, or simply to seize segments of Lombard or Byzantine territory. By the end of the 1070s, less than half a century later, the last surviving Lombard principality (Salerno) had fallen to the

Normans, who had also conquered Byzantine Apulia and Calabria. Only Naples, ever resilient, still retained (together with Amalfi) some measure of autonomy. But this was not to last much longer. For a time, the Normans were preoccupied by power struggles among themselves and by local rebellions in many parts of southern Italy. In 1130, however, Roger II, by then the unquestioned ruler of both Sicily and mainland southern Italy, secured a papal bull granting him authority over all southern Italian territory—and the wording specifically included the "honor of Naples" (*honor Neapolis*). Over the next two or three years, Roger was too busy elsewhere to act on this papal authority in relation to the duchy. In 1134, however, Duke Sergius VII found it necessary to swear allegiance to Roger. And when, shortly afterward, Naples dared to side with some rebels, Roger began a siege of the city that lasted nearly two years. By mid-1137, Sergius was again forced to swear allegiance; and this time, as a demonstration of loyalty, he and a Neapolitan force were compelled to join Roger's army, fighting in Apulia. There, Sergius was killed in battle. He was Naples's last duke.

Naples under the Normans

The duchy's territory and the city itself were soon fully integrated into the Norman kingdom of Sicily. It is not entirely clear how the city fared under Norman rule; documentation is sparse. However, one of Roger's sons was named prince of Capua, and he apparently spent considerable time in Naples (now treated as part of the Capuan appanage). He and later Norman overlords engaged in major building projects within the city, to enhance its fortifications and also to create a suitable palace for royal visits. Both the Castel dell'Ovo and the Castel Capuana date from the Norman period. However, while the Normans thus made some use of Naples, it never figured large in their scheme of things; the city of Salerno, their most significant Campanian conquest in the previous century, far surpassed Naples in importance. Even after Naples had been taken, Salerno continued to serve as the Normans' mainland capital.

Those members of Naples's leading families who demonstrated loyalty seem to have been allowed to retain at least some of their

property, as feudal fiefs. But other elements of Neapolitan society appear to have suffered. This was clearly true of ecclesiastical Naples; the powers of the archbishop were much reduced by the Normans, and contemporary charters indicate financial hardship for many of the city's countless small religious establishments. Furthermore, the middling class of laymen (merchants, artisans) found their opportunities even more restricted under Norman governance than had been the case in the status-conscious duchy.

Their discontent, and doubtless also discontent on the part of at least some of the elite, apparently led Naples to share in the general urban opposition to Norman rule during the reign of William I, Roger I's implacable son. Since Naples was never as severely punished for rebellious behavior as some other south Italian cities, we must assume that no dramatic outbreaks took place there. Nonetheless, the existence of strong feelings seems indicated, if only indirectly, by a development in 1190. In that year, Tancred, the last Norman ruler, made a special point of granting privileges, including considerable local autonomy, to Naples. Tancred, whose right to the Norman throne was contested by the German emperor Henry VI. was desperately in need of support. He apparently viewed Naples as especially valuable as a potential ally and believed, correctly, that a major grant of privileges would win him the city's allegiance.

In fact the Neapolitans did fight valiantly on Tancred's behalf, withstanding a fierce attack by a combined land-sea force dispatched by Henry VI. By 1194, however, Tancred was defeated, and Naples under Henry VI was again reduced to playing a minor role within a centralized monarchy.

Naples under the Hohenstaufen

Naples suffered from the harshness of the Emperor Henry VI and showed little loyalty to the Hohenstaufen. Henry destroyed the walls and abolished the privileges of Tancred. On his death (1196), however, these privileges were revived and once more Naples became, for practical purposes, virtually autonomous. The attempt of Henry's son, Frederick II, to establish a rector there prompted Naples to recognize his

rival, Otto of Brunswick, as emperor in 1212; but after Frederick's triumph the city again lost its autonomy. Frederick came there in 1220—1222, when he set up a new constitution, placing the municipal government under the justiciar of the Terra di Lavoro at Capua. The office of the former chief magistrate, the *compalazzo*, was, however, continued. This officer—first instituted by Roger II after the ending of the duchy, as his representative to administer royal finances and to act as judge in the king's name—had continued to head the administration, theoretically in the king's name but in practice as an executive officer of the commune. Under Frederick, he again became a means through which royal control of the town was exercised. Frederick appointed him through his local representative, the master chamberlain, and gave him a court of fourteen lawyers to assist him.

Frederick took measures to encourage the maritime commerce of Naples; later he further boosted the Neapolitan economy by abolishing tolls on commerce going from one province to another within the Regno. He promoted Naples as a subcapital on the mainland, using the castles, particularly the Castel dell'Ovo, as his mainland treasury, and even founding a university. Naples's new prosperity did not, however, prevent rebel lion—a conspiracy was uncovered in the Regno centered on Naples in 1246 and was cruelly repressed; and on Pier della Vigna's death in 1249, more unrest arose, which turned into a rebellion against Frederick II's sons, Conrad and Manfred, when Frederick died (1250). Naples then passed under the direct lordship of the pope, who authorized it to form a free commune: the first *podestà* was appointed in 1251. In 1253, however, Conrad came south, and after a long siege he took Naples. Apart from destroying the walls, he was merciful to the city and even confirmed its constitution. But in 1254 he died. Soon afterward, Pope Innocent IV, claiming overlordship of the Regno, came to Naples and confirmed its constitution. In 1256, Manfred reconquered Naples; but he never won its allegiance, and when Charles of Anjou invaded the Regno, Naples offered little resistance.

The Hohenstaufen did not undertake extensive building in Naples. Frederick built a palace, subsequently occupied by Piero della Vigna, and effected minor repairs on the castles, but the main interest of the Hohenstaufen was in Apulia and Sicily.

Naples under the Angevins

Politics and society. After Manfred's defeat at Benevento, Naples became the capital of Charles of Anjou's kingdom. In it were established the headquarters of the grand justiciar, the vicar and the captain of the Regno, the financial administration (the grand chamberlain, the treasury, the *camera sommaria*—i.e., chamber of accounts), and the mint: Palermo became no more than the capital of the island of Sicily. The city on the whole repaid its promotion with loyalty: it showed little support for Conradin; and although there was a rising after the Sicilian Vespers, it was minor.

Charles, coming from France, made his French followers prominent in Naples. From 1266, Naples had a French archbishop, a French justiciar, and many other French officials. French was used in the royal chancery (though Latin still predominated). A French architect, Pierre de Angicourt, was employed on all Charles's castles; early Angevin castle architecture shows much French influence. All newly founded churches were in the Gothic style and show varying degrees of influence from the Ile-de-France. But apart from architecture, the long-term effect of the French was not great; the Neapolitan *monzu* ("cook") was derived from the French *monsieur*, and there are some other linguistic borrowings, but surprisingly few.

Charles I died while his heir was in prison. The papal legate, Gerald of Parma, governed Naples for the vicar of the realm, Charles II's twelve-year-old son Charles Martel, until Charles II was freed. The war of the Sicilian Vespers reached the Bay of Naples in 1287 and the area of Gaeta by 1289 but did not touch the city itself. Once freed, Charles II established his court in Naples at the recently completed Castel Nuovo. Of the events that took place there, among the most remarkable was Pope Celestin V's resignation in 1294, while the pope was visiting Charles.

Under Charles II and his heir, Robert the Wise, the presence of the court brought prosperity to Naples. The luxury trade increased along with a thriving arms trade. Most of this trade was handled by foreigners, especially Florentines and Genoese, who benefited from it perhaps more than the Neapolitans; but the industry that it generated and the increased wealth that was brought into the city improved the

economic situation for everybody. The population rose to approximately 40,000 in the 1290s and may have reached 60,000 under Robert.

Joanna I's reign saw chaos, mismanagement, and declining prosperity in Naples, as elsewhere in the Regno. These were made worse by an earthquake and flood in 1343, the cataclysm of the black death in 1348, and another earthquake in 1349. There are no precise indications of the mortality in this decade, but the European average of one-third of the population is probably not far out for Naples. Added to these disasters were those arising from brigandage, which became so bad that trade into the city was seriously disrupted and life there became very unsafe. The various political crises of the reign excited mob violence in Naples, particularly in 1346, when Joanna was slow to take action against the supposed murderers of Andrew of Hungary; in 1363, when a feud broke out between two noble factions; and in 1374, when a riot—provoked by famine in the city—broke out against Joanna's government (though not against her personally).

Saint Bridget of Sweden visited Naples during Joanna's reign and vehemently castigated the immorality and luxurious life of Naples. Other writers echoed Bridget's views.

At the end of her reign, Joanna lost the support of Naples: her main adversaries, Pope Urban V and Charles III of Durazzo, overthrew Joanna and her supporters. Charles was able to retain the loyalty of the city when he later quarreled with Urban. It was ill rewarded: when Charles died, Naples was still in a state of disorder.

Constitutional developments. Charles I kept the provincial divisions of Frederick II, so Naples remained a part of the Terra di Lavoro and became again subject to its justiciar. Communal liberty declined rapidly, but some local government remained. The nobles were divided into groups known as *tocchi* (a term apparently of Greek derivation, originally referring to their meeting places). Because each group was in one *platea* (*piazza* or subdivision) of the city, the *tocchi* were also often called *platee*. The *popolo* or non-nobles were likewise divided into *platee*, which might or might not overlap with the noble *platee*. Some ten of the *platee* contained both *popoli* and nobles; five were exclusively noble, and the rest (fourteen) were popular. Above the *platee* were the two *università* (communes) of the nobles and the *popolo*. These rarely

acted together, but each had certain rights and a designated meeting place. Their main importance was for taxation. The annual subvention in the Regno was usually assessed by communes according to an estimate of the number of taxable households in each commune. In Naples, however, the nobles and the *popolo* were assessed separately, and each *università* then raised the tax through assessments on each *platea*. There was also an *università dei casali* for the outlying villages, but these were taxed as individual communes. The system was inequitable, falling more heavily on the *popolo* than the nobles. (In 1301, of a tax of 692 *untie*, 72 came from the five noble *platee*, 450 from the exclusively popular ones, and the rest from those of mixed composition). It also weighed more heavily on some *platee*—it could even prompt some people to change their *platea* of residence.

The magistrate above the *università* until Charles arrived was the *compalazzo* who had powers of justice in the city. As more of these powers were assumed under the Angevins by the justiciar of the Terra di Lavoro, the position of the *compalazzo* declined, though he retained certain fiscal responsibilities, notably fixing the prices of victuals and controlling measures, in consultation with the provincial authorities. He also had special jurisdiction over the university students and the communities of foreign merchants (mostly from northern Italy, except for the Jews), who had their own organizations in specific areas of the city (many in the newly developed suburb near the Castel Nuovo). His office came increasingly to resemble that of the *baiuli*, the normal executive officers of other cities of the Regno, and by the fourteenth century he was usually simply called the *baiulo*. Around 1300, a further change in the administration put the control of the economic life of the city in the hands of six *eletti* for whom the *baiulo* became merely an executive. Five of these six were chosen by the noble *tocchi*. The sixth was chosen from the *popolo* and represented all twenty-nine divisions of the city, but a process of combining several *platee* had already reduced these to about sixteen.

Under Robert more changes were made in the structure of government. The number of *platee* was further reduced, probably to ten. Then, in 1339, the so-called ordinances of peace were issued, whereby the two major noble *platee*, Capuana and Nido, legitimized their growing power, gaining the right to one-third of the jobs in the

city (*onerum et honorum*). The remaining two-thirds went to the rest of the city, nobles and *popolo*. At the same time it was specified that *popolo* meant the *popolo minuto* (the urban masses including small shopkeepers, journeymen, laborers, etc.). This was an imported distinction borrowed from northern Italy. A memory of former subdivisions remained in the *sedili* in which these congregated and which replaced the former *tocchi*. There were three of them—Porto, Montagna, and the *sedile del popolo*—making, with Nido and Capuana, five in all. The *sedili* do not survive, but later drawings of them show that they were buildings about ten meters square with open arches on all sides surmounted by a cupola. Their fifteenth- and sixteenth-century successors were richly decorated, as the Angevin originals probably were. Meetings between people from different *sedili* were forbidden, except in the case of the six *eletti*. The reforms had indifferent success in quelling unrest in the city, particularly among the nobles.

Under Joanna there was little development in government or administration, except that, for the first time, guilds of artisans were given official recognition in the city's constitution. They may also have been given military functions, though this is unusual and has been disputed.

Angevin building and artistic patronage. Charles of Anjou enlarged and reinforced the Castel dell'Ovo, which he made the royal residence until 1281, when it became predominantly a prison, while the court moved to the Castel Nuovo, begun two years earlier. The Castel Nuovo was essentially in French Gothic style (now somewhat masked by Aragonese accretions) and was more comfortable and commodious than the earlier Neapolitan fortresses. In addition to the Castel Nuovo, Charles undertook several building projects in Naples, also in French Gothic style—notably the Franciscan church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, built on the site of an earlier Romanesque building; and Sant Eligio al Mercato, with a hospital attached.

Of Charles II's public buildings, the most important were probably the *duomo* (begun in 1294 and completed under Robert); the enlargement of San Domenico and the building of a Dominican church and convent dedicated to Peter Martyr; the church of Santa Maria di Donnaregina; the massive rebuilding of the arsenal; the replacement of the Porta Pisana by a new gate; and the erection of several palaces for

members of the royal family and other courtiers. Streets were paved, public fountains were erected, and new woods were planted on the hill of Sant' Elmo. Naples became more international in its artists: notably, the Roman painter Pietro Cavallini was employed on the painting of Santa Maria di Donnaregina, though it is doubtful that the overall scheme was his, as has sometimes been suggested.

Under Robert the Wise, the *duomo* was completed. The church and convent of the Poor Clares, Santa Chiara, were started around 1310; and a fortress and a Carthusian monastery (San Martino) were begun on the hill of Sant'Elmo. Santa Chiara is basically Gothic but with Islamic and Romanesque features. Santa Chiara shows the growing eclecticism of Neapolitan architecture: it is a hall church with a rectangular choir instead of an apse to the east, designed as a semi-independent church for the Poor Clares; and a double-arched cloister on the Sienese model. It became the accepted burial place of the Angevins. A second hospital, the Annunziata, was founded in 1318. Otherwise, Robert's building was not notable. His patronage of the arts, however, was far in advance of that of his predecessors (though by comparison with northern contemporaries Robert's reputation in this respect seems inflated). Still, if Naples itself produced few first-class artists and *litterati* (though there were several whose abilities were not to be despised), some of the greatest names in both categories worked there. Simone Martini produced, in addition to his famous portrait of Saint Louis of Toulouse, a *Christ Blessing* for Santa Chiara and probably other works no longer extant. Giotto was in Naples in 1328–1332: none of his paintings from that time survive, but there are references to several in contemporary writings. On the literary side, Petrarch is perhaps the best-known visitor—he was "examined" by Robert (whom alone Petrarch agreed to accept as judge) for the laureate later conferred on him in Rome (8 April 1341). Boccaccio also came, though his sojourn under the next monarch, Joanna, is perhaps better known. In addition to his patronage, Robert also started a library (dispersed again under his daughter), one of the essentials for the budding humanist courts of the fourteenth century.

Joanna's principal ecclesiastical foundation was Santa Maria dell'Incoronata, a curious church with two unequal naves terminating in apses. Sant'Antonio *abbate*, with a hospital adjoining it for the care

for those with ergotism (burning fever), was also founded in her reign. Otherwise, Boccaccio briefly enjoyed her patronage, but the upheavals of her reign left little scope for artistic developments.

The university. In 1224, Frederick II had founded the university—the first in Europe to be deliberately established with a foundation charter. It included all faculties, but theology was taught only by the friars, and when the Dominicans left Naples in 1234 (because of Frederick's dispute with the pope), the university declined. Under Conrad, it was moved to Salerno, where there was already a medical school, but it was almost moribund when Manfred returned it to Naples a year later. It revived somewhat under Charles I—though the revival was limited to the faculty of law (theology and arts were taught by religious bodies but were not highly valued; medicine was taught at Salerno). It was subject to royal authority in all matters. The students were under the authority of the royal chancellor and the jurisdiction of a specially appointed royal justice. Degrees were granted in the king's name after an examination by the doctors that took place in the royal court. The degree of control may perhaps explain why Naples produced no prominent scholars.

A Note on Sources

There is no adequate history of the city or duchy of Naples in English, but the references listed below include histories in Italian that have good bibliographies. Although the royal archives of Naples were destroyed during World War II, with a consequent loss of most medieval records, registers have, to some degree, been reconstituted by scholars such as Riccardo Filangieri and J. Mazzoleni.

See also Amalfi; Arabs in Italy; Aversa; Belisarius; Benevento; Black Death; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Byzantine Empire; Celestine V, Pope; Charles I of Anjou; Charles II of Anjou; Conrad; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gothic Wars; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Joanna I of Naples; John VIII, Pope; Lombards; Louis II, Emperor; Manfred; Martini, Simone; Monte Cassino Monastery; Normans; Otto I; Otto III; Petrarca, Francesco; Pier de la Vigna; Ravenna; Robert of Anjou;

Roger II; Salerno; Sicilian Vespers; Tancred of Lecce and Roger III, Kings of Sicily

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Nardo Di Cione

The Florentine painter Nardo di Cione (died c. 1336), with his brothers

Andrea (called Orcagna) and Jacopo, dominated painting in Florence in the decades following the black death of 1348. Nardo's date of birth is not known. His name appears for the first time in 1346-1348 in a list of members of the guild of doctors and apothecaries, the guild to which the painters belonged. By then his reputation was already established, for c. 1348, when the authorities of Pistoia asked the Florentines for the names of their best painters to execute the high altarpiece for Pistoia's church of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas, Nardo was recommended along with Orcagna. At this time the brothers were living in the parish of San Michele Visdomini and may have shared a workshop. In the 1350s and the first half of the 1360s Nardo lived in the center of Florence, but not always in the same parish as Orcagna, although the two of them may have continued to work together. In 1356 Nardo signed a panel of the Madonna which hung in the offices of the Gabella dei Contratti but which no longer survives. And in 1363 he was paid for painting "the vault and other things" in the oratory of the confraternity of the Bigallo; only fragments of this work remain. These are the only two works to which his name can positively be attached. Nardo made his will in 1365, and by May 1366 he had died. Apart from a bequest to the Bigallo, he left his money and possessions to be divided equally among his three brothers—Andrea, Jacopo, and Matteo. Since no wife or children are mentioned, Nardo was probably a bachelor. These few facts are all we have for a working life that can be documented over some twenty years. Although most of Nardo's painting seems to have been for locations in Florence, he may also have worked elsewhere. At an unknown date the Pistoian painter Bartolommeo Cristiani entered into an agreement whereby whenever he worked outside Florence, Nardo would help him. In an altarpiece now in Prague the presence of Saint Ranieri, a patron saint of Pisa, suggests that Nardo may have painted it for a church in that town.

Nardo is credited with about a dozen surviving works comprising frescoes, altarpieces, and small-scale devotional panels. In reconstructing an oeuvre for him, Offner (1960) relied on stylistic evidence provided by the frescoes in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella (Florence), which Ghiberti, writing in the mid-fifteenth century, ascribed to Nardo. Here, on three walls, Nardo represented the Last Judgment with a scene of heaven and a hell in which the imagery is

derived from Dante's description in the *Inferno*. The frescoes are probably contemporary with the altarpiece in the same chapel that Orcagna painted between 1354 and 1357. The decoration of the Strozzi Chapel exemplifies the Florentine taste in art after mid-century, a taste that departed in some ways from the more naturalistic style pioneered by Giotto. Spatial illusionism is rejected in favor of more abstract two-dimensional effects. The saints of Nardo's *Paradise*, for example, are stacked up tier on tier, like, as one writer said, a football crowd. Medieval conventions of scale, in which a figure's place in the hierarchy of the holy is indicated by his size, are strictly followed. God's divinity and the otherworldly piety of the saints tend to be emphasized at the expense of their humanity. The holy figures appear self-absorbed, preserving their distance from each other and from the spectator. Some of these characteristics may be seen in Nardo's large-scale panel of the Virgin and saints belonging to the New York Historical Society and his altarpiece with three saints in the National Gallery, London.

This reversion to what have been seen as archaizing modes of representation that draw on late thirteenth-century formulas has been explained in terms of the unsophisticated and conservative taste of a new bourgeois class in Florentine society (Antal 1948) and the psychological effects of the black death (Meiss 1951). However, Nardo's art evinces less obviously than Orcagna's the somber, pessimistic mood that Meiss identified in the art of Florence and Siena after 1348. Nardo's style is more lyrical and less austere than that of his brother; his color combinations are more harmonious, and the facial expressions of his saints are less intimidatingly severe. His stylistic origins lie in the decorative taste of Florentine painters such as Bernardo Daddi and the Sienese school as exemplified in the sumptuous work of Simone Martini. Bright enamel colors are juxtaposed with opulent brocades and patterned floors, as in the polyptych in Prague and the two panels with saints in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich. Nardo's Madonnas in Prague, Washington, and Minneapolis have a distinctive beauty that led Offner to describe him as "the most romantic artist of his age." The delicate *sfumato* modeling of pale flesh tones enlivened with rose-pink on the cheeks and lips, and of blond hair draped with diaphanous veils, is achieved by a patient application of successive layers of semitransparent glazes. The consummate care that Nardo lavished on

his paintings—in the preparation of the panel, the detailed underdrawing, the meticulous application of paint and the painstaking execution of *sgraffito* and gilded punchwork—make him possibly the finest craftsman among *Trecento* painters. As a result, his works are remarkably well-preserved.

Nardo's reputation has fared less well. History has been unfair to Nardo. He has suffered from standing in the shadow of his more famous brother, Orcagna. Vasari must share some of the responsibility for this: he got the artist's name wrong (calling him Bernardo), relegated Nardo to the role of assistant in Orcagna's workshop, and credited to Nardo inferior works that were actually by others. Even now, despite Offner's study, Nardo has yet to receive the attention that is his due.

See also Florence; Orcagna, Andrea di Cione

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The eunuch Narses (c. 480—c. 575) was of Persarmenian origin. He is first encountered, in his mid-forties, as a bodyguard commander and trusted official early in the regime of Emperor Justinian. After playing a major role in the defeat of the Nika riots in 533, Narses seems to have developed military ambitions.

In 538 he was sent to Italy to reinforce an expedition of the great general Belisarius against the Ostrogoths; but their personalities clashed, and Narses identified himself with dissident commanders whose squabbles disrupted Belisarius's progress, Narses's actions were held to be responsible for the loss of besieged Milan to the Goths, and for the ensuing massacres and destruction there. Eventually Justinian recalled Narses, leaving the field of action clear for Belisarius.

But Narses continued to enjoy the emperor's trust and respect, achieving the high court rank of grand chamberlain. Quiet and unprepossessing; not highly educated, but reportedly very bright; quick at grasping situations; remarkably courageous; and capable of inspiring great loyalty, Narses was not given his great opportunity until he had reached an advanced age. After Belisarius's final failure and recall, Justinian was persuaded to make one last effort, choosing as commander this eunuch then in his mid-seventies.

Narses was able to draw on such resources as Belisarius never had, and he proceeded energetically through 551 to gather an army in the Balkans, mainly of Lombards and other barbarian peoples. In early 552 Narses marched his army around the Adriatic headland into Italy to confront the Gothic king Totila at Busta Gailorum or Teginae (present-day Gualdo Tadino) in the Umbrian Apennines along Via Flaminia. Totila was utterly defeated and died in the aftermath of the battle. Narses's forces began claiming possession of key points through Italy, taking Rome. The remaining Goths rallied and, choosing the general Teias as their king, faced Narses again at the end of 552 below Mons Lactarius (Monte Lattario), on the slopes near Mount Vesuvius. Once more, Narses destroyed their army, their king, and much of their remaining manpower; acceding to the request of the pitiful Ostrogothic remnant, he allowed the survivors to go in peace, out of Italy and into oblivion.

In 554, at Capua, Narses wiped out an invading army of Franks and Alamanians who had hoped to profit from the turmoil. The taking of

Verona in 561 extinguished the last pocket of Gothic resistance and completed Justinian's conquest of Italy. In 555, meanwhile, Narses arranged a public ceremony in Rome to establish the credibility of the new pope, Pelagius I. Settling in the imperial capital at Ravenna as resident governor, Narses undertook to restore order in the battered peninsula. Justinian's death in 565 brought to the throne Emperor Justin II and his consort Sophia who, hostile to the venerable Narses, ordered his recall. Later traditions have it that, in revenge, Narses was responsible for inviting the Lombards to begin their invasion of Italy, but such charges are incompatible with his apparent integrity and humane character. Though some accounts place his death in Rome, he apparently returned to retirement in Constantinople, dying there c. 575, in his mid-nineties. Stories are told that his hoarded wealth was hidden and then discovered after Narses's death by the avaricious emperor.

See also **Belisarius; Frankish Kingdom; Justinian I; Lombards; Milan; Ostrogoths; Ravenna; Rome; Tegrinae, Battle of; Totila**

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Navigation

A modern dictionary defines navigation as "the science or art of conducting ships from one place to another, using instruments to determine a ship's course, its position at a given time, the distance passed, etc." Before the Middle Ages, navigation could hardly be described in this way. In one sense, of course, seafarers had always navigated, in that they set out with a specific destination in mind and used all available skills to get there; only the legendary Saint Brendan put to sea with no plan, content to let the currents and winds determine his landfall. What we would consider instruments, however, did not play a role.

In the west, the first steps in the adoption of navigational instruments are particularly associated with Italy and its maritime republics. Some elements may have owed something to external influence, perhaps even from well beyond the Mediterranean. Nonetheless, all surviving sources point to Italy as the core region in which all the disparate components came together.

The first and most significant of these instruments was the maritime compass. Its evolution is somewhat controversial. The magnetic properties of one type of iron had been recognized in the Hellenistic era (and perhaps even earlier), but we do not know when or where men first discovered that a needle-like pointer rubbed against a chunk of magnetite, and then allowed to rotate freely, would invariably point north. Some scholars have placed this discovery in northern Europe, noting that an Englishman of the late twelfth century, Alexander Neckham, first reported sailors using a treated needle floating in a bowl of water. Yet Neckham is thought to have made at least one trip to Italy, and over the next fifty years all subsequent references to this primitive form of the compass suggest a Mediterranean context. For example, Guyot de Provins, who made such a reference around 1205, had gone to the Holy Land during the Third Crusade; and an Arab narrative from Cairo describes just such a device in use on a voyage from Syria to Alexandria in the 1240s. The references in Guy de Provins and the Arab narrative do not, of course, point specifically to Italy. For that matter, experts on China note that somewhat similar magnetized indicators were described there well before any western mentions; they therefore place this first stage in China, postulating some form of transmission to the west. However, this debate seems almost irrelevant, for neither a

needle-in-a-straw floating in a bowl nor the somewhat similar Chinese gadgets would have enabled mariners to "navigate" in anything even remotely approaching the modern sense. Progress toward that capability demanded some further refinement, a genuine leap forward. And for that, Italy apparently does deserve credit.

Lane (1963) hypothesized that the last quarter of the thirteenth century was the decisive period in the development of a proper, practicable compass. Around 1280, the Italian maritime republics began to dispatch merchant ships overseas at all times of the year; winter, with its typically overcast days and starless nights, was no longer a closed season. Lane assumed that this change would not have been possible had there not been, by then, some improved sort of directional device: presumably the needle pivoted dry, with its pivot built into a little box. (And in fact it is notable that in the fourteenth century a common shorthand term for the compass was *pyx* or *pyxis*, a term otherwise used for the little round box in which the communion host was carried.) Lane further suggested that by 1300, the compass card or wind rose had become a standard component of these self-contained instruments. Moreover, Lane was prepared to credit Amalfi, in southern Italy, for these ultimate refinements, since later centuries would associate Amalfi with the "invention" of the compass. In granting Amalfi a key role in relation to the compass, Lane was in general agreement with Motzo (1947), and with Taylor (1956), whose work on navigational history still stands as the most valuable survey of this complex story. Taylor, however, like Motzo, put Amalfi's contribution much earlier, associating Amalfitan sailors with early use of the needle-in-a-bowl.

Whatever the truth in relation to the compass and Amalfi, Italy unquestionably figures in the other great thirteenth-century advance. This was the development of the portolan chart, a totally new approach to mapmaking. Clearly designed for nautical use, portolan charts were surprisingly close to modern maps both in concept and in the accuracy of their coastal outlines. They were large, were drawn in black and colored ink on whole lambskin or calfskin, and typically showed the Mediterranean region and the Black Sea (later, even England) with all harbors and islands, as well as coastal features such as prominent headlands, meticulously indicated. Such hazards as rocks or shoal waters were also sometimes marked.

Portolan charts are sometimes viewed as simply the pictorial equivalent of the narrative navigational guides known as portolans, which also began to proliferate in Italy from the latter thirteenth century onward. The earliest surviving example of these portolan guides is the somewhat confusingly named *Compasso da navigare*, now dated to c. 1250 and probably Pisan; it directed the mariner around the Mediterranean step by step, from port to port, noting sailing distances from one place to the next, as well as landmarks and hazards along the way. Yet there is in fact no demonstrable link between the portolan guides and the portolan charts. The guides represented a continuation of a Hellenistic and Roman tradition: the dissemination of written itineraries, often incorporating useful local information in addition to suggested routings. (Medieval portolans would also, in time, evolve into broad-ranging handbooks for maritime ventures.) Portolan charts, on the other hand, were something new, and conceptually very different. They made it possible to see at a glance the geographical relationships within (for example) the entire Mediterranean—a vital feature should circumstances dictate deviations from the standard routes. These charts represented a true advance over the past and presaged a totally new approach to seafaring.

The earliest surviving portolan chart is apparently the *Carte Pisane*, thought to be late thirteenth-century and also thought, despite its name, to have been produced in Genoa. The next such charts (some of them incorporated into portable atlases) were unquestionably made by a Genoese, Pietro Vesconte, mostly while he was in the service of Venice.

The first Vesconte chart is dated 1311, and (the earlier dating of the *Carte Pisane* is challenged by some scholars. Nonetheless, it is generally accepted that something resembling these examples was indeed available by the latter thirteenth century, for a passenger described a sea chart in use in 1270 on a Genoese ship carrying the King Louis IX to North Africa. Inevitably, then, there has been much debate as to whether the refining of the compass was directly connected to the development of portolan charts. Certainly, one distinctive feature of these charts is the web of intersecting "wheels" positioned over the water areas, with the "spokes" of the wheels suggesting rhumb lines, and the whole very like an overall pattern of compass roses. It is notable, too, that each "wheel" has sixteen of these "spokes," just as the

early compasses used sixteen winds as surrogates for directions or compass points. Yet one should not make too much of this. In Italy, one can track back to Etruscan usage a sixteen-point division of the horizon (whereas in the Greek world a twelve-point division seemed standard). Thus this element of similarity may merely reflect a long-standing regional tradition.

In any case, it would surely be a mistake to assume that portolan charts were newly "invented," as adjuncts to the compass. It is more likely that both of these navigational aids had evolved slowly, and independently, over a long period of time. The needle-in-a-bowl-of-water may have come about as an adaptation of an ancient magic trick or some quasi-religious rite. And portolan charts surely also had more primitive prototypes, although none has survived. The most one can safely say is that by the latter thirteenth century, given the competitive climate in the Mediterranean, any enhancement of navigation would doubtless have seemed highly desirable to shipowners. The dramatic increase in maritime commerce undoubtedly put experienced mariners at a premium. For those less experienced (or as Lane proposed, for those sailing in winter), the possibility of some form of help must have had great appeal. This, we must assume, provided the stimulus for the refining of both the compass and the sea chart.

Of course, both the compass and the early portolan chart were still relatively crude instruments. At least to some degree they were complementary, and by the latter fourteenth century we often find both listed in various records as part of a ship's equipment. Portolan charts, however, while a vast improvement over the impressionistic world maps of earlier days, were still in essence freehand drawings, with their information about coastal outlines presumably patched together from mariners' reports. (It is therefore remarkable that they came so close to genuine cartographic accuracy.) But they did not indicate latitude, although the concept was recognized and latitude could have been at least roughly calculated. Moreover, a method for determining longitude was still many centuries away; and not until the time of Mercator, in the sixteenth century, would there come to be a satisfactory way of dealing with the sphericity of the globe. Finally, in addition, the "north" indicated by early compasses was only approximately north. All in all, truly precise navigation by means of instruments was still a long way

in the future.

Perhaps for this reason, anecdotal evidence suggests that these new devices were initially of less interest to the generality of sailors than to poets and intellectuals. The directional aspect of the compass needle appealed to Italian poets such as Guido Guinizzelli and, notably, Dante. And as early as the end of the thirteenth century Ramon Llull, an extraordinary Catalan philosopher-scientist, described an elaborate system of navigation involving compass and chart and mathematical tables. But Llull's approach was apparently not actually used at sea until two centuries later. Meanwhile, in the real world, so to speak, the lawyer poet Francesco da Barberino, writing c. 1315, advised those traveling by sea to carry their own *pyx* or proper compass, and he describes a ship's navigator as using only the old needle-in-a-bowl.

All together, then, while it is important to note the period in which the self-contained compass and the portolan chart first became available, it is equally important not to overestimate the immediacy of their impact on routine seafaring. Lane was clearly correct in calling the late thirteenth century a turning point; plainly, however, not everyone turned instantly. Some of the surviving portolan charts, especially some known to be Italian in provenance, show clear signs of having been used, presumably at sea. But others (including some of the splendid products of Catalan-Majorcan cartographers) were surely designed for affluent armchair sailors. Real sailors are notoriously slow to change their ways; one need only think of Columbus's minimal use of the instruments available in his day. In the late thirteenth century and the fourteenth, entrepreneurial shipowners of Genoa and Venice no doubt pressed compasses and charts on their ships' navigators. But we may suspect that for some time these new aids were in fact used only sporadically—and then not for navigation in the modern sense but only when mariners were blown off course and were therefore desperate for any sort of assistance. Pryor (1988) has indicated how standardized most routes were. When sailing familiar routes, most mariners doubtless still relied mainly on their own knowledge and experience, not on these new toys. The one destination that may have provided an exception was England. It is noteworthy that, in the 1320s, the Vesconte charts grew ever more exact in their depictions of that region, already of interest to Genoa in the late thirteenth century and rapidly becoming

of interest to Venice, but surely unfamiliar territory for most Mediterranean seamen.

Many of the portolan charts are truly beautiful, especially some of those done in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for rich patrons. Fanciful animals and people were sometimes depicted on the more remote landmasses, and colorful symbols or flags often marked key ports. These handsome versions of portolan charts tell us that men in positions of power were beginning to find seafaring romantic and interesting. And this may in fact have been one of the most important contributions of the medieval navigational advances; both the compass and the chart obviously captured the imagination even of many who had no direct involvement with the sea. It apparently became fashionable to own elegant versions of such "instruments," just as exploration would now begin to become fashionable.

There was also one other effect. Until quite late in the medieval period, science and technology advanced on essentially separate tracks. However, as the example of Ramon Llull indicates, the mariner's compass and the chart attracted the attention of science-minded philosophers. The intellectual challenge that navigation presented would increasingly draw theoreticians to address practical problems. This trend would not really bear fruit until well into the fifteenth century, when Portugal, not Italy, exemplified maritime innovation. (Only then, for example, do we find the quadrant, a simplified version of the Arab astrolabe, beginning to be used at sea.) Nonetheless, the compass and the portolan chart had marked the start of this slow march toward instrumentation. By the fifteenth century, both were widely accepted, and the making of portolan charts was spreading beyond the Mediterranean. But Italy's contributions had not been forgotten. For a long time, despite the accomplishments of the Portuguese, Italian navigators retain an enviable reputation for maritime skill and knowledge.

See also Geography and Cartography

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Nelli, Francesco

What little we know of the life of Francesco Nelli (Francesco di Nello Rinucci, d. 1363) has been transmitted through his correspondence with Petrarch, which is preserved in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 8631.) Nelli wrote at least forty-five letters to Petrarch, thirty of which are still extant—the largest group of letters to Petrarch from any one correspondent. Nelli and Petrarch met in 1350, when Petrarch passed a few days in Florence on his way to Rome, and then again on his return. Boccaccio had invited Petrarch (the poet laureate) to Florence and assembled a group of like-minded admirers, including Nelli, to meet

him. It seems probable that these few days in Florence were the only time when Petrarch and Nelli met face to face; yet this was enough time for them to form a close friendship, which would continue until Nelli's death. At the time of Petrarch's first letter to Nelli (6 April 1351; *Lettere disperse*, 29), Nelli was the prior of the Chiesa dei Santi Apostoli in Florence, and Petrarch often praised him for his piety—e.g., *Tu pietate prior, tu religione praestantior, et familiaror Deo* (*Lettere disperse*, 20). Nelli was a Florentine by birth and, as Petrarch noted, had not traveled far beyond his city: *semper sedes, nunquam patrie limen transis* (*Lettere disperse*, 56). From the letters, we learn that Nelli was a man of medium height and distinguished bearing (*Familiarum rerum libri epistole*, 20.7), slightly younger than Petrarch himself (*Rerum senilium libri*, 22.2). The correspondence reveals Nelli's passion for classical learning: he sought out texts for Petrarch, collated and edited manuscripts, and read avidly. Nothing remains of Nelli's own writings apart from the letters; he may have written poetry but seems to have preferred prose composition. In reference to Nelli's status as a priest and a poet, Petrarch awarded him the name *Simonide* in their correspondence; Boccaccio also uses this name in his *Epistola a Nelli*. Nelli was also a close confidant of Petrarch in political matters and was one of the recipients of Petrarch's *Epistolae sine nomine*, which criticized the papal curia at Avignon. Nelli had long had links to the Acciaiuoli family, and in 1361 he began working for Niccolo Acciaiuoli, the grand seneschal of the kingdom of Naples. However, the frenetic pace of his diplomatic activity weakened Nelli, and he fell ill and died of the plague in the summer 1363. Petrarch's sorrow at his friend's death was expressed in a letter to Boccaccio (*Rerum senilium libri*, 3.2).

See also Acciaiuoli, Niccola; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Petrarca, Francesco

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Neoplatonism

Though much of the work done during the period of middle Platonism (first century B.C. through the second century after Christ) has perished, its general tendencies were taken up by Neoplatonism, the final stage in the ancient reappropriation of Plato. Neoplatonism begins with Plotinus (205-269 or 270), who was probably born in Egypt and came to Rome after studying with Ammonius Saccas in Alexandria. Plotinus's writings, which reflect live lectures and discussions, were edited by his student Porphyry in sets of nine treatises (*Enneads*) arranged in philosophical order beginning from those which deal with physical matters and ending with the supreme "one."

In Plotinus the earlier middle Platonic schemes of reality appear as a three-level hierarchy. At the top is the "one" or "good," absolute unity and simplicity so utterly self-contained as to be beyond any relationship and therefore beyond direct knowledge as well as beyond being. Since the "one" does not exist as other entities do, it can be spoken of only indirectly, often in terms of a mystical encounter, and Plotinus is a major source of later negative theology in the west. As the ultimate origin of everything, the "one" can be likened to the sun emitting light or to a fountain pouring out water in a process of emanation that accounts for what does actually exist. Since the "one" is beyond time, the material world, which is its last product, has neither beginning nor end in time, though it does exist temporally.

The initial product of emanation is the second great reality (hypostasis), mind or being, fusing what is with what thinks. Because mind both contains and is its own thought, subject and object coincide in it. Plotinus thus places Plato's perfect forms inside mind, which is accordingly omniscient and enjoys timeless contemplation of their perfect reality. This supreme mind lies beyond the ordinary discursive, temporal consciousness of our minds, and Plotinus can describe its state of intuitive knowledge in eloquent religious terms. Platonism in general turns on the relationship between the one and the many, and

emanation, too, is a process of emergent multiplicity. All forms united in mind but without loss of identity constitute a one-in-many.

The next stage is the third major hypostasis, soul. Here multiplicity increases to form a many-in-one in which time first appears. The farthest extent of emanation at this psychic level comes at the point where reality fades into nonbeing, i.e., matter. For matter simply is absence of form, characterized as total darkness and insubstantiality; being negative, it is not itself a hypostasis, though it does paradoxically correspond to the "one" in that both are outside existence and beyond knowledge, the "one" because it is more than what actually is, matter because it is less. Matter is the raw stuff for soul's temporal and spatial activity, by which it is transformed into the highly complex material universe composed of bodies, i.e., matter and the forms brought into it from mind through soul. This is the domain of nature directed by a single great world soul while including also numerous individual souls linked to lesser bodies within the universe.

A salient characteristic of emanation is overlap between stages. Since mind is a projection of the "one," it exists only through a connection back to its source; by the same token, it is the source from which soul, in turn, comes and toward which it strives. As a result, a line of force—the great chain of being—runs from and back to the "one." Because the "one" is also the good, reality is inseparable from value, and so an objective guarantee for ethics is ensured. Furthermore, the immense vitality of the physical universe as a whole is an expression of two opposed yet complementary drives in soul. In so far as descent toward matter involves deterioration, emanation is a fall, and soul's longing ("love") to return to its origin explains the Neoplatonists' frequently hostile attitude toward body as a source of moral evil as well as their ideal of retreat into the intellectual self. The inner, real world is nonmaterial; hence the relative unimportance of politics in Neoplatonism. At the same time, against the Gnostics (whom he explicitly attacks), Plotinus also views emanation as natural in that it gives soul an opportunity to display its capacities by creating the universe in all its glory.

Porphyry (232 or 233-c. 305), Plotinus's most important student, was a Syrian from Tyre famous for the vast range of his learning. He spent some years with Plotinus in Rome, subsequently lived in Sicily, and

returned after his teacher's death to edit the *Enneads*. Porphyry's own extensive publications include a book against the Christians, who were now beginning to appear more dangerous. So far as Neoplatonism itself is concerned, Porphyry advanced a version of Platonism substantially that of Plotinus, though with special attention to the role of Aristotelian logic. At their overlapping points of contact, Plotinus's hypostases tended to be indistinguishable—the highest phase of soul, for example, being virtually identical with mind. Porphyry emphasized this implication of the system; and, especially in his treatment of soul's relation to mind, he ran the separate stages of emanation together in such a way as to reduce lower levels to mere appearances of the ultimate source. The practical consequence in ethics was further deprecation of immediate empirical reality. A letter Porphyry wrote to Marcella, whom he had married late in life, illustrates the tendency to ascetic detachment from everyday concerns with the material world and retreat into an inner spiritual life.

With Iamblichus (c. 250-325), another Syrian, a shift toward religious forms becomes intrusive, perhaps in part owing to the ever-growing threat posed by Christianity. At any rate, interest in tapping forces beyond the material world led to an incorporation of current occult practices and their rationalization under the label of theurgy. Greek oracles had already been used for similar purposes by Porphyry; and traditional gods, too, were now given places in the philosophic system by identifying them with the rapidly proliferating planes of emanation discovered by Iamblichus and his successors. The theoretical justification of magic which took its power from Neoplatonic metaphysics remained influential into the Renaissance and beyond. Iamblichus argued his position on this score most fully in *On the Mysteries*. To avoid deterministic implications of the material sympathy binding the universe together, he explained occult influences in terms of a nonspatial, nonmaterial reality (one, mind, soul) undergirding the physical world. In this reality everything is present to everything else, and so by exploiting its dimensionless affinities the philosopher could indeed perform "supernatural" operations. Owing to this efficacy, Iamblichus concluded that occult religious disciplines are superior to philosophic knowledge for attaining contact with divine reality. Since he had abandoned Plotinus's and Porphyry's doctrine that an aspect of

individual souls never descends from the higher realm, something more than purely rational means to achieve union with the gods seemed necessary. To this side of Iamblichus's thought belongs also a commentary on the *Chaldean Oracles*, along with much research on Pythagoras.

Iamblichus also made substantial technical contributions to Neoplatonism. He drew a cleaner distinction within mind between its objective, intelligible (*noeton*) facet answering to being; and its subjective, intellective (*noeron*) facet answering to thought. The former is prior to the latter, and so additional levels are introduced into the chain of reality. He further refined the process through which emanation itself occurs by distinguishing unparticipated, participated, and participating phases. The first is the highest, most unified aspect of any entity taken by itself; the second is its capacity to be a whole immanent in lower entities; the third is that immanence, making whatever participates in it to be what is. The triadic pattern, which was to be carried much further by Iamblichus's successors, had the effect of linking levels firmly together while at the same time increasing the complexity of the system. Iamblichus's scheme thus in general counteracts the tendency exemplified by Porphyry to telescope the hypostases.

The final phase of Neoplatonism came with the flowering of the school in Athens during the fifth century, when its scholastic side also reached a climax under Proclus (410 or 412–485), an immensely studious and prolific man totally devoted to a philosophy that had now become as much religious as speculative. Proclus saw his own work as an exposition of the perennial theology hidden in Plato, who in turn had derived it from Pythagoreans and Orphics. Proclus wrote hymns and engaged in religious discipline while producing commentaries of vast scope on Plato's *Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Parmenides*, and other dialogues, which took on the character of inspired sacred texts. In *The Elements of Theology* he reduced Neoplatonism to a set of crisp quasi-mathematical interlocking propositions, whereas in the *Platonic Theology* it is elaborated in utmost detail.

Proclus's system is an exceedingly complex pattern of reified relationships organized in triadic groups. At the top again is the "one"; then comes the dyad ("rwness"), a principle of multiplicity followed by

henads ("ones") representing the one at lower levels where it enters into relationships. Next is intelligible reality (mind) subdivided (following lamblichus) into intelligible, intelligible-intellective, and intellective planes, and finally the material world. To this are added various chains of gods, angels, daemons, and heroes along with different levels of soul beyond and within the universe. The countless junctures along the chains are formed by triadic links which multiply in geometric progression as emanation moves away from the one. Emanation itself obeys a fundamental three-phase law of remaining-proceeding-reverting. For Proclus philosophic thought and religious experience—often theurgic in nature—are finally identical with this cycle.

When the schools were closed in the sixth century by Justinian, Damascius—the last head—went to the Persian court for a time. With the triumph of Christianity the transformation of Neoplatonic thought into theology reached its completion. A crucial figure in the transition was the enigmatic Pseudo-Dionysius, an unknown Christian thinker (c. 500) remarkably at ease with Proclan ideas. The notion of visible, material symbols serving as means for reaching higher reality through theurgy was readily applicable to the sacramental, liturgical life of the church; and the triadic system of remaining-proceeding-reverting seemed to fit easily into a trinitarian scheme. Against the background of these two principles Pseudo-Dionysius worked out highly nuanced stages leading from what can be said about God on up to mystic union with him beyond knowledge and beyond either being or nonbeing.

The Platonism inherited by the Christian west was largely Neoplatonic. Its influence was strongest during the initial phase of medieval philosophy and receded only to a degree even later during the Aristotelian period. The tradition followed two principal routes: on the one side, Platonically colored theology of Christians such as Origen, the Cappadocians, or Augustine; on the other, writers, Christian or not, who preserved more exclusively pagan material (Victorinus, fourth century; Boethius, c. 480-525; Chalcidius and Macrobius, c. 400). Pseudo-Dionysius could be said to belong to both groups. The first major use of Neoplatonism in medieval thought was made by Eriugena in connection with the Carolingian revival during the ninth century. Borrowing directly from Pseudo-Dionysius, whom he had translated into Latin, Eriugena elaborated the distinction between positive and

negative theology in light of the key concept of procession and reversion, though not without some tendency toward monism or pantheism and some confusion between the biblical notion of free creation and automatic procession of divine substance. In the eleventh century, Anselm's ontological argument from grades of reality that necessarily entail and culminate in God had a generally Platonic structure; in the next century, Platonism was again of special importance for the so-called school of Chartres. In the fourteenth century, a more distinctively Neoplatonic relationship between the finite and the infinite, the immanent and the transcendent, was developed with great dialectic acuity by Nicolaus of Cusa; it then reappears during the fifteenth century in Italian Neoplatonism.

See also **Boethius; Macrobius; Plato**

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Neri Dei Visdomini

Neri (d. after 1282), of the Florentine family Visdomini, composed at least five *canzoni* (a possible sixth is ascribed in MS Vatican Latino 3793 to a "Neri"). Neri's poems concentrate on the mechanics of love and the problematic expression of the poet's desire, repeating his complaint that silent tolerance of love's cruelty cannot reveal the merits of his love. Two of his three laments (*L'animo è turbato* and *Oi lasso*) are composed because his heart, which can stand no more, forces him to "speak," indicting jealousy. *Oi forte inamoranza* and *Lo mio gioioso core* present conventional paradoxes of love (*dolze piaga facite*). All but *Per ciò che 'l cor* contain experiments in irresolute rhyme after *rimalmezzo*. Neri's language imitates courtly Sicilian tendencies while incorporating Tuscan forms, especially in equivocal rhyme—*m'ha porto* (syncopated participle): *porto* (from *Oi lasso*).

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Neri Moscoli

See Moscoli, Neri

Neri Pagliaresi

See Pagharesi, Nen

Neri Party

See Florence; Guelfs

Niccolò Acciaiuoli

See Acciaiuoli, Niccola

Niccolò Da Perugia

Little is known of the life of Niccolò (Sere Nichoiaus Prepositi, latter half of the fourteenth century) except that he was one of the middle generation of Italian musicians of the *ars nova*. His name appears in various forms; his surname presumes an origin in Perugia. It has been suggested that in Perugia, at the end of his life, he set a distinctly anti-Visconti text that was also set by his contemporary, Bartolino da Padova, whom he may have known personally. In our only hard datum, Niccolò is documented as visiting the monastery of Santa Trinita in Florence in 1362, along with Gherardello di Firenze. He has also been identified with a "Ser Niccolò" who was a singer of devotional *laude* in Florence in 1393. That identification is uncertain and highly speculative; but it is true that a number of Niccolò's Italian secular pieces were adapted with new texts for use as *laude*.

Niccolò's musical legacy is substantial. It consists entirely of Italian secular vocal pieces and survives extensively in the famous Squarcialupi Codex—which also contains his putative portrait—as well as in an important manuscript from Lucca. Niccolò's twenty-one surviving *ballate* are almost all composed not in the single-voice (monophonic) style that was then standard, but rather in two polyphonic voices, an innovation in which he was apparently the pioneer. However, many of these *ballate* are in a very simple, almost "popular" style: their subjects are often short moralizing themes, and

Niccolò particularly favored short, pithy refrain lines, also suggesting dialogue effects. There are sixteen madrigals, all but one for two voices; and four *cacce*, all for three voices. Those works are essentially in an established style, identified with the writing of the earlier masters Giovanni da Cascia and, especially, Jacopo da Bologna, except that several of the madrigals are, in effect, through-composed, with different music for each of the two stanzas—another example of Niccolò's experimentation.

For his texts, Niccolò drew heavily on the important poets of his day, such as Niccolò Soldanieri and Franco Sacchetti; and among his documented settings of Sacchetti's verses there were three *ballate* and two madrigals that are now lost.

See also Ars Nova; Bartolino da Padova; Gherardello da Firenze; Giovanni da Cascia; Jacopo da Bologna; Lauda; Sacchetti, Franco; Soldanieri, Niccolo; Squarcialupi Codex

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Niccolò De' Rossi

The poet and jurist Niccolò de' Rossi (c. 1290—c. 1348) was a nobleman from Treviso. He earned a degree in law at the *studio* in Bologna in 1317 and obtained a teaching post in Treviso the following year; one of his competitors for the position was Cino da Pistoia, the eminent legal scholar and prominent *stilnovo* poet. Niccolò participated in municipal politics between 1320 and 1321, and he served as an ambassador of Treviso to Pope Benedict XII in 1339. He was a Guelf in the difficult days when the troops of the Ghibelline Cangrande della Scala, lord of Verona, carried out many raids in the *Marca trevigiana*. Treviso eventually succumbed to Cangrande in 1329. In 1339, Niccolò was nominated parish priest of the church of Saint Apollinare in Venice. He died in Venice, probably in 1348.

According to Brugnolo (1974, 13), Niccolò de' Rossi composed the

entire corpus of his poems between 1317 and 1328. This is a remarkable feat, considering that his is one of the most substantial collections of verse from the *Trecento* (441 poems, consisting of 436 sonnets and five *canzoni*). It is also the oldest collection of poems edited by an author to have come down to us. The most important and most complete manuscripts of Niccolo's poems are from the first half of the *Trecento*: Manuscript Colombino 7.1.32 (of the Biblioteca Capitulare in Seville) and Manuscript Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 3953 (of the Vatican Library), which also contains his anthology of *Duecento* poetry. (The Barberiniano manuscript is therefore an important primary source.) Niccolo deals with many themes in his *canzoniere*, although love is clearly the most prominent. In the first part of the collection the poet chronicles his relationship with Floruzza and reveals his affinities with the Sicilian, Tuscan and *stilnovo* schools of poetry. In several sonnets, such as 282 (*Segnor, guardàteve da miser Kane*) and 283 (*Che ce fa noi se dentro questa terra*), the poet speaks about political events. The correspondence between the numerical order of the poems in the collection and the chronology of political events that are occasionally mentioned underscores the autobiographical nature of the *canzoniere*.

Critics concur that Niccolò was a poet of limited talent. At the same time, however, they have come to appreciate his role as a mediator of the vernacular and of *Duecento* poetry in the Veneto. Indeed, Niccolò was one of the first poets outside Tuscany to recognize the linguistic importance of Dante and the *stilnovisti*.

See also Cino da Pistoia; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Italian Poetry: Lyric

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Nicholas I, Pope

Pope Nicholas I (saint; c. 819 or 822-867, r. 858-867) had been influential in papal government under Benedict III as a learned deacon. Nicholas became pope in April 858 as the "imperial" candidate, perhaps facing some discontent among the Romans. Although Nicholas remained respectful of Emperor Louis II throughout his pontificate, his ecclesiological views, lucidly stated in his many long letters (much quoted by canonists in the High Middle Ages), brought him to several confrontations with Carolingian rulers. Supremely aware of the responsibility of popes to lead a united Christendom to salvation, Nicholas also battled particularism in the churches of Italy, France, and Byzantium.

In Rome Nicholas imposed himself on malcontents by employing them in prestigious embassies, by undertaking grand building projects, and by providing for the poor. Within the Patrimony Nicholas tolerated no insubordination; the refractory archbishop of Ravenna was deposed for uncanonical conduct (861). When Emperor Louis II took up the cause of Ravenna and marched on Rome, Nicholas's fortitude, the fasts and processions he organized, the diseases that struck the invaders, and the empress's mediation caused Louis to relent (864). Abandoning his clerical allies to their fate (deposition and imprisonment), Louis even agreed to restrict imperial involvement in papal elections (866).

The Frankish churches, no longer able to look to a pious emperor for leadership, were seeking a new order, as the *Pseudo-Isidoran* (or *False Decretals* of c. 850 reveal. Nicholas, who was probably uninfluenced by the *Decretals*, proposed his own solution: a united church, bride of

Christ, obedient to Rome, whose bishop would end secular tendencies in the Frankish clergy. Nicholas pursued this goal resolutely. The Lotharingian bishops, guilty of complying with their king's uncanonical divorce, were chastised. Hincmar of Rheims, leader of the Frankish clergy, was compelled to allow his suffragans to appeal to Rome, rightful head of the Christian community. (Appeals to Rome multiplied during Nicholas's pontificate.) Nicholas even redesigned the archdiocese of Cologne in the interests of the Scandinavian mission, which was backed by the papacy.

Nicholas, on canonical grounds, disapproved of Photius's elevation to the patriarchate of Constantinople by the Byzantine emperor (858), though in the Byzantine tradition it was legitimate. Nicholas also misunderstood the tensions within the Byzantine church, so lately embroiled in a dispute over icons. He demanded papal adjudication of the patriarchal case and won an important concession; papal legates condemned the previous patriarch, Ignatius (861). Seeking to retrieve papal jurisdiction over Illyricum and southern Italy, Nicholas overturned his legates's decision and condemned Photius (863), believing that Ignatius was more malleable. When the Bulgarian king, Boris, turned to Rome for advice on proper Christian comportment (866), Nicholas saw an opportunity to save souls, gain a toehold in Illyricum, and apply pressure to Byzantium. Ambassadors bore an exhaustive papal reply to Boris. However, the Byzantines perceived the papal mission to Bulgaria as an overt attack on their vital interests, and as an attempt to spread incorrect beliefs. In 867 Nicholas (not papal primacy or Latin Christianity) was condemned by a Constantinopolitan council. Nicholas died (in November 867) unaware of the "Photian schism."

For his upright character and lofty vision of the papacy's role in Christendom, Nicholas was considered a saint early on. He was listed in the *Martyrologium Romanum* in 1630.

See also Frankish Kingdom; Photian Schism

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Nicholas II, Pope

Pope Nicholas II (Gerard of Burgundy, c. 980-1061, r. 1059-1061) had been, before his election to the papacy, Bishop Gerard of Florence. He is numbered among the Lotharingian-Tuscan popes of the Gregorian reform because the houses of Lorraine and Canossa constituted his chief military support. Led by Hildebrand (later Pope Gregory VII) and Peter Damian, certain cardinals had agreed on Nicholas's election in

opposition to Benedict X, a member of the Tusculani family, who had been elevated as antipope by the Romans. Nicholas's official election was probably delayed to 6 December 1058 (feast day of Saint Nicholas) and took place in Siena, once the young king Henry IV had solemnly designated him.

Outstanding events of Nicholas's pontificate were an Easter synod of 1059, held at the Lateran; and the council of Melfi, held in August 1059, at which the Norman leaders Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua became vassals of the Roman church. At the council of Melfi, Nicholas reversed the attitude of the papacy toward the Normans in southern Italy. He invested them with their earlier conquests, which were thus legitimized, and, moreover, also enfeoffed Robert Guiscard with territories that were still in the hands of the Byzantines or the Saracens. Robert's oath of fealty is still preserved in the canonical collection of *Deusdedit*. In it he promised to protect the papacy, to aid in future elections, to abstain from further attacks on the lands of Saint Peter, and to make regular census payments. The Lateran synod of 1059 is most famous for a decree that placed future papal elections in the hands of the cardinal bishops; this too was a reversal of earlier practices, which had allotted the preponderant share to the Roman clergy and people in general. Other important legislation prohibited simony, prohibited marriage for the clergy, instructed priests to lead the lives of regular canons, and—a quite revolutionary measure—ordered the faithful to boycott masses celebrated by unchaste priests.

See also Councils, Ecclesiastical; Gregory VII, Pope; Melfi, Synod of; Papacy; Richard I, Count of Aversa; Robert Guiscard

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Nicholas III, Pope

Pope Nicholas III (Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, c. 1225-1280, r. 1277-1280) was the son of Matteo Rosso Orsini, senator in 1244 and 1246. Nicholas had been created cardinal priest of Saint Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano in 1244 and succeeded John XXI as pope in 1277 after a vacancy of seven months, in the face of strongly voiced opposition from Charles of Anjou, then senator of Rome. Charles's term as senator expired in September 1278. Nicholas prevented its renewal and, in the bull *Fundamenta militantis Ecclesie*, specified that any emperor, king, prince, marquis, duke, or baron could become senator only with express permission from the pope, and never for more than one year; Romans could become senator without problems. Nicholas (as an Orsini) was then elected senator himself, but he exercised power through deputies, all Roman nobles.

Rudolf of Hapsburg was negotiating to come to Italy for his coronation when Nicholas became pope. Nicholas agreed to receive Rudolf in return for the cession of the Romagna to the papal state (1278). The province, influenced by the Ghibelline leader Guido da Montefeltro, proved difficult to pacify, despite conciliatory measures including a temporary recall of the exiled Ghibelline faction to Bologna. Nicholas finally requested help from Charles of Anjou but died before order was restored in the Romagna.

Ptolemy of Lucca accused Nicholas of aspiring to establish an Orsini kingdom based on the Romagna. This has been seen as either an attempt to counterbalance the Angevin power, which was encircling the papacy, or an Angevin fiction designed to bring Nicholas into disrepute. Probably it was neither: Charles manifested no intention of attacking the papal state. The coolness between him and Nicholas shown in his opposition to Nicholas's election, in the ending of Charles's tenure of the senate, and subsequently in the termination of Charles's papal

vicariate in Tuscany has been exaggerated, notably by Giovanni Villani. Although Charles probably distrusted the Orsini, he continued to receive support from the papacy in the south and sent support to the pope further north. Dante's story that Nicholas was persuaded by Byzantine gold, offered by John of Procida, to transfer Sicily from the Angevins to the Aragonese seems unfounded.

However, Dante justifiably denounced Nicholas for unprecedented nepotism. Nicholas created three Orsini cardinals. One nephew was papal vicar in the Romagna; another nephew was papal legate there; in Tuscany, a brother was senator twice; and so on.



Pope Nicholas III. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 216v.

Before his election Nicholas had been cardinal protector of the

Franciscans. As pope, he issued the bull *Exiit qui seminat*, which was based on the *Apologia pauperum* of Saint Bonaventura and was intended as a definitive statement on the problem of Franciscan poverty —on which it (unsuccessfully) forbade further discussion.

Nicholas began an artistic revival in Rome that was carried on by his successors. He extended and embellished Innocent III's palace on the Vatican, rebuilt the Sancta Sanctorum chapel (the only part of the medieval Lateran palace now surviving), and started improvements at Saint Peter's and Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Charles I of Anjou; Dante Alighieri; Franciscan Order; Guido da Montefeltro; Orsini Family; Ptolemy of Lucca; Villani, Giovanni

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Nicholas IV, Pope

Pope Nicholas IV (Girolamo Masci, Jerome of Ascoh; 1227-1292, r. 1288-1292) had been general of the Franciscan order (1274), cardinal priest of Santa Pudenziana (1278), and cardinal bishop of Palestrina (c. 1280). He was active in the controversy between the Spiritual and Conventual Franciscans and in negotiating the union of 1274 between the Greek and Latin churches.

Soon after Nicholas's election, Charles II of Anjou was freed, in accordance with the treaty of Canfranc, from an Aragonese prison, on condition that he would promote peace between his captors and their enemies, the pope and Philip IV of France. Nicholas rejected the treaty, forbade Charles to send his eldest son as a hostage for its fulfilment, and, ignoring Charles's promises to Aragon, crowned him king in 1289.

In 1290, Ladislas, king of Hungary, died without issue. Nicholas then claimed Hungary as a fief of the Holy See and invested Charles Martel—eldest son of Charles II and Marie, Ladislas's sister—with it. This annoyed Rudolf of Hapsburg, king of the Romans, who wanted Hungary for his own son; and the Hungarians themselves, who elected a native prince, Andrew III. The upshot was a civil war that lasted until 1309, when Charles Martel's son Carobert finally emerged as the sole claimant.

In Rome Nicholas showed unwise favor to the Colonna family, provoking resentment that culminated in his having to flee to Rieti shortly before Charles II's coronation. Stefano Colonna, Nicholas's papal vicar in the Romagna, was defeated by the Polentani of Ravenna in 1290 and imprisoned—a disaster for the prestige of the papacy. Its prestige was further damaged by concessions to the college of cardinals,

notably the bull *Caelestis altitudo* which granted the college a half share of all temporal revenues from papal lands.

The fall of Acre to the Mameluk sultan of Egypt in 1291 was the main disaster of Nicholas's reign. He provided some ships for an expedition to recover it but died before seeing how futile his efforts were. His attempts to convert pagans were not much more successful, though he was responsible for sending John of Monte Corvino on a famous mission to the China of Kublai Khan.

Nicholas IV encouraged the Inquisition and increased the number of inquisitors. He continued Nicholas III's building program in Rome: in particular, he built a palace next to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore and restored the church itself (though Torriti's famous apse mosaics showing Nicholas and Cardinal Giacomo Colonna side by side were paid for by the latter). As a Franciscan and theologian (he wrote a number of treatises), Nicholas had some reputation for holiness, but his pontificate was marred by his uncompromising repudiation of the treaty of Canfranc, his favoritism to the Colonna, and his arrogance in dealing with Hungary.

See also Charles II of Anjou; Colonna Family; Franciscan Order; Ravenna; Torriti, Jacobus

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Nicola Muscia

See Muscia, Niccola

Nicola Pisano

See Pisano, Nicola

Nicolaism

"Nicolaism" is a derogatory term for the practice of the higher clergy whereby they had wives or concubines. The word *nicolaita* was used in the eleventh century by church reformers as part of a campaign to enforce celibacy on bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons. Its earliest use during the eleventh century may be in Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida's *Contra Nicetam* (1054), directed against the marriage of the Byzantine clergy. Pope Nicholas II, in his Roman synod (1059), condemned "the heresy of the Nicolaites, that is, married priests, deacons and all others in the clergy" (*Patrologia Latina*, 143.1314B).

The reformers adopted the word *nicolaita* from the Book of

Revelation, in which Jesus praises the Ephesian Christians because "you loathe as I do what the Nicolaitans are doing" (Revelation 2:6) and criticized the Christians of Pergamum because "among you, too, there are some as bad who accept what the Nicolaitans teach" (Revelation 2:14-16). From the context of Revelation, it appears that the Nicolaitans had lax teachings on sexual practices and the eating of food offered to idols. Some early Christian heresiologists, including Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius, identified them as followers of Nicholas of Antioch, mentioned in Acts 6:5, whom they accused of teaching a form of gnostic sexual licentiousness.

There is no historical link between the early Christian gnostic libertines and the married clergy of the eleventh century. The reformers used the biblical word in order to strengthen their polemic in favor of clerical celibacy.

See also **Humbert of Silva Candida**

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Nilus of Rossano

Nilus of Rossano (Neilos, c. 910-1004) is perhaps the best-known representative of Greek monasticism in medieval Italy before the Great Schism. The chief source for his biography is an anonymous eleventh-century *Life of Saint Nilus the Younger*, an impressive document of

Italo-Greek monastic ideals; despite the exemplary import of the incidents chosen for narration, it seems in outline to be factually accurate. According to this account, Nilus was born to an aristocratic family in Rossano, an important eastern Roman (Byzantine) administrative center in eastern Calabria, received a good religious education, and was orphaned at an early age. At the age of thirty, he abandoned the world (he had sired a daughter, perhaps out of wedlock) for an ascetic life in the mountainous border region of the Mercurion and there came under the influence of Fantinus the Younger and other holy fathers. To evade a gubernatorial ban on his becoming a monk, he took the habit at a Greek monastery in the Lombard principality of Salerno. Nilus then returned to Fantinus's lavra (colony of anchorites). Living first there and then in a nearby cave, he learned and later taught calligraphy. During this time he also traveled to Rome to visit the tombs of the apostles and to consult books whose identity, regrettably, is unknown.

Arab raids caused Nilus to retreat in the late 940s to one of his properties near Rossano, where together with some of his students he founded a monastery of his own. He resided here as a penitent for the next quarter-century, achieving more than local repute as a holy man and miracle worker. He is said to have declined being named bishop of Rossano and to have obtained from the emir of Palermo the liberation of three of his monks who had been captured and enslaved. Around 980, fleeing further Arab incursions and his own growing fame, Nilus and his comrades left the eastern empire for good and were welcomed in the Latin west by the Lombard prince of Capua, Pandulf Ironhead. At the behest of Pandulf's successor Landulf IV, Abbot Aligern of Monte Cassino installed them in 981 at the abbey's daughter house at Vallelucio (now Valleluce), where they participated to a limited extent in the life of the neighboring Benedictine community. Here Nilus composed an office for Saint Benedict and probably some of his other poetry.

After Aligern's death, relations between the two groups soured, and in 994 or 995 Nilus founded a new monastery at tiny Serpen (now Serapo) in the duchy of Gaeta. From here he made journeys to Rome, where he failed to persuade his fellow Rossanese, John Philagathus, to renounce the papacy he had assumed in 997 after the ouster from the

city of the imperially selected incumbent, Gregory V; and where, too, after John had been deposed and later blinded, Nilus attempted in an interview with the emperor Otto III to have the former antipope released to his custody. In 1004, the aged Nilus left Serperi and, staying at a small Greek monastery in the Aiban hills not far from Rome, obtained land for a new foundation from Gregory I, count of Tusculum. Nilus died there shortly after his monks had arrived at the nearby site and begun work on what would become the famous Greek abbey of Grottaferrata.

Nilus's surviving verse, all in his native Greek, is not a large body of work. Specimens of his scribal work and that of his students also survive, however. His correspondence does not survive, apart from brief summaries and extracts (mostly in the *Life*, a partly eyewitness account sometimes ascribed to his companion and successor Bartholomew of Grottaferrata). To Nilus himself has been ascribed, on very slender grounds, the commentary of Nilus the Monk on the *Perí stáseon* (*On Issues*) of the ancient Greek rhetorician Hermogenes.

See also **Greek Language and Literature**

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Nine, The

See [Siena](#)

Nobility

Nobilitas, or *nobiltà* ("nobility"), is a term denoting high social, political, and economic position within medieval Italian society. Beyond this thin definition, the term defies simple framing. Writers from Cassiodorus to the compilers of communal statutes to early Renaissance humanists to modern scholars have reflected the many-sided nature of nobility and the continuing debate over its characteristics. In general these characteristics included control of land and wealth on a scale greater than that of lay non-nobles; some political, judicial, and economic power over those on the land the nobles controlled, or within the polity to which they were subject, or both; personal or familial heritage that included service to an overlord or state; a military function (usually as cavalry); high social status with legal privileges beyond those of commoners; and the heritability of all this. Nonetheless, there are well-known exceptions to each characteristic

over the course of medieval Italian history.

The term "nobility" is derived from the Latin *nobilitas*, which, in the later Republic, referred to an upper class of Roman senatorial families of both patrician and plebeian origin. This held true into the empire. Since nobility was also tied to office-holding, as the demand for civil and military officers grew in the fourth century, the number and complexity of levels within the noble class of *clarissimi* increased, as did mobility into it. As a result, by the end of the western empire the meaning of *nobilitas* had become vague. Cassiodorus claimed in one place that nobility applied only to full senatorial families, but in another he stated that it was a matter of ancestral wealth or native genius. Boethius attributed nobility to good birth and inherited morality, but not necessarily wealth. Late classical nobility was conceptually fluid, but it was generally characterized by ownership of land, antiquity of family status, and office-holding. Nobles tended to control local ecclesiastical and political patronage, though they eschewed ecclesiastical office. Nobles in northern Italy during the late Roman period usually centered their activities on the cities, especially on Rome and its senate, and their control of the countryside weakened. Southern nobles retained stronger rural bases, and those who survived the Gothic wars shifted their allegiance to Byzantium before being overrun by the Lombards.

Under the rule of the Ostrogoths, the northern Roman nobles had to share their property (fifty-fifty, a practice known as *hospitality*) and status with the barbarian warriors, who took over military affairs but complemented the Romans in most others. Ostrogothic society had long been socially stratified under leaders noted for their fine dress, their armor and weapons, and their thirst for land. Often they augmented their share of land from *hospitality* by purchasing more, further eroding the economic base of the Roman aristocracy. Though King Theodoric kept his Gothic nobility under control, his successors were unsuccessful; and Justinian's Gothic wars devastated the western Roman and the Ostrogothic aristocracy.

The Lombard invasions, beginning in 568, nearly obliterated the Italian nobility as the warriors seized what they could and destroyed the rest. Both Goths and Romans fled or were massacred, and the land was divided by the kings among the new territorial lords. The Lombard

nobility was thus landed, military in function, and usually characterized by ties of clientship to the royal court. The Lombard laws prove to be of little help in defining the Lombard nobility, since "noble" and "freeman" are often used interchangeably. Except in the Apennines, Lombard nobles tended to settle in or near towns, which were usually governed by dukes (*duces*), who provided their own patronage. This no doubt reinforced the urban nature of northern Italian society and sustained southern seaports like Amalfi, Salerno, and Naples. Nonetheless, as the fabric and society of the northern towns decayed, the Lombard nobility, along with many commoners, established themselves in the countryside. Although, or perhaps because, they practiced partible inheritance, lordship over Lombard properties was held collectively by all brothers in a family, an arrangement known as a *fraterna* or *consorzio*.

The impact of the Carolingian conquest on the Italian nobility was minimal, as Frankish colonization was limited to a few cities such as Asti and Piacenza and the region between Pavia and Verona. Franks held positions of authority under the king, but they rarely dispossessed Lombards of their land. In addition, the later Carolingians often placed old Lombard families back in positions of local power as vassals or clients with huge estates. The *fraterna* system proved enduring as noble families consolidated local power bases, first in the countryside and then in the slowly reviving cities. Rural clans controlled both ecclesiastical and secular fiefs, and sometimes formed rural communes of many families, or branches of families, who drew up statutes, met in an assembly, and elected a leader or *podestà*. In the late and post-Carolingian anarchy, nobles served a wide range of lay and ecclesiastical administrative and especially military functions, usually with only rudimentary central coordination. Bishops often replaced counts as territorial lords, and church lands were often handed over as benefices to powerful laymen. These *capitanei* further enfeoffed *valvassores*, who in turn took on knights (*milites*) as vassals as northern Italy underwent feudalization.

During the later tenth century, as urban life redeveloped in northern Italy, markets for the goods of noble estates and opportunities in the increasingly powerful church drew many members of noble families to towns. Others, who were defeated in their bids to resist the new urban

centers, were forced to swear allegiance to the dominant town, build a townhouse and live there several months of each year, pay tribute to the magistrates, serve in the town's militia, and not obstruct commercial traffic. While no single pattern or model is valid for all areas, in general the nobles retained their rural ties, both social and economic, and their clan identities after settling in towns. Unlike the nobility elsewhere in Europe, Italian nobles of the High Middle Ages generally accepted commercial activities as legitimate for members of their class, and by the later thirteenth century only a relatively few noble families disdained trade. It appears that nobles, with their martial traditions, were leaders in most of the urban revolts against episcopal and ducal power that established the communes. In the early communal period, nobles usually served in the highest offices and took much of the responsibility for defense. Representation in public matters was often by family or clan, later replaced by the more class-neutral guilds. Urban nobles constituted a privileged class in early communal Italy.

Clan members tended to be located in the same urban neighborhoods, and they created enclaves around great tower structures, which often had to be defended from rivals or from the commune itself. "Tower societies" (*consorteria*) that emerged between 1160 and 1260 were collections of male family members and allies who saw their interests as tied to those of the clan. Their houses physically surrounded the stronghold, as those of vassals and retainers did in the *contado* (countryside). In the later thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century, these enclaves were broken up and the towers were truncated, either by political rivals or by the commune. Nonetheless, coats of arms continued to mark the range of influence of the noble families and decorated houses and walls, chapels and church plate, banners, books, and armor. The trappings as well as the status of the noble lifestyle attracted rich urban parvenus, who built and acted like the older seigneurial nobles, adopted coats of arms, took over patronal roles in the secular and ecclesiastical life of the towns, and married into noble families. Frederick I Barbarossa had been forced to give Lombard cities the power of lordship, and during the thirteenth century it was not unusual for towns to create knights for military service and thus "ennoble" them. As early as 1173, Genoa knighted more than 100 men,

and in 1211 it knighted 200 more.

With the rise of the *popolo*, city governments often reacted harshly against nobles because the noble lifestyle often resulted in a disruption of normal civil life. Tension developed between old and new nobility, but by the later thirteenth century communal governments often lumped the two together, and lumped both with some rich *popolani*, for the purposes of so-called anti-magnate legislation, which strictly curtailed most of the special privileges and even some basic rights of the rich and powerful and violent. Economic stresses, pressure from the upwardly mobile *borghesi*, competition for communal magistracies, old rivalries, and simple restlessness often led to conflict between families and their gangs of retainers. Competition for the papacy was an impetus for feuding between the Roman Crescentii (Crescenzi) and Tuscolani families from 940 to 1050, and later between the Orsim and Colonna. "Insults, assassinations or wounds, affronts to blood and honor, and even petty jealousies thus incited deep hatreds between families or rival branches of the same house. Inimical groups grew into opposed political factions" (Heers 1977, 106). In Florence, the Cerchi and Donati; in Siena, the Tolomei and Salimbeni, and the Malavolti and Piccolomini; in Bologna, the Lambertazzi and Geremei; and in Pistoia, two branches of the Cancellieri battled one another and often involved large sectors of the city and *contado*. *Popolani* and nobles (*magnati*) also clashed in the streets—for example, in Piacenza in 1219, 1221, 1223, 1225, 1232, 1233, 1234, and 1235. By the end of the century in most northern Italian cities, however, the *popolani* had gotten the upper hand.

With a devaluation of the nobles themselves through legislation, destruction of towers, ennoblement of *popolani*, miscegenation, and exile, by the later thirteenth century the conceptualization of nobility began to shift away from lineage and martial prowess toward a morally determining element that was found not in the clan or family but in the heart of the individual. Dante bemoaned the extinction of many great families, and foreign observers belittled the urbanized nobles as unworthy of true chivalry. Indeed, Italian nobles began to ape their French counterparts by cultivating a chivalric culture of court life, romances, and even jousting. Nonetheless, a world in which Lapo da Castiglionchio could claim that a noble is simply "anyone whom a

prince or people accept as such" needed a redefinition of nobility. Bartolo the jurist conservatively vested nobility in heredity, but Dante and other *stilnovisti* poets ascribed nobility to the man with virtue: the noble man ennobles his family, not vice versa; nobility is planted by God and cultivated by the individual of merit. The argument would continue into the Renaissance.

The Venetian nobility evolved in a manner independent of many of these concerns. From early on, the aristocratic families were urban, involved in maritime commerce and warfare, and detached from the land. The *serrata* of 1297—a definitive listing of those who could serve on the grand council—closed the ranks of the nobility. Early in the fifteenth century Venice began to expand on the mainland, creating new opportunities for Renaissance noble resources and leadership.

Rural southern Italy before the Norman conquest was dominated by clans of Lombard *maiores* who controlled villages and agriculture, owed allegiance to more or less powerful urban counts and dukes, and had strong social and commercial ties to seaports such as Amalfi and Salerno. The Byzantines' control was fitful and normally required payment of taxes and tribute by existing landlords. The Arabs' influence was insignificant. The Normans' conquest and their introduction of northern feudalism slowly replaced the existing local nobility with northern Europeans whom the kings tried to keep on a short leash, later in part by the development of a magnetic court life in Naples.

Sicily had been lost by Rome to the Vandals after 440, reconquered by Justinian, and lost again to Muslim invaders beginning in 827. Muslim landlords constituted a rather weak nobility that feuded constantly and practiced partible inheritance. Nonetheless, the Normans took thirty years to subjugate Sicily and impose northern feudalism along with Norman, Lombard, and French vassals as new landlords. These practiced both partible inheritance and primogeniture and held the land as restricted fiefs rather than freeholds. The monarchy's use of crown officials and a professional military contingent helped to keep the nobility weak. In the later twelfth century, baronial uprisings were put down, but they resulted in a short-lived reinforcement of the elective principal of kingship.

Hohenstaufen rule introduced to Sicily many new German barons who seized land and upset the old noble order. Under Frederick II (d.

1250) nobles played important administrative and political roles, but they ignored commerce, which was quickly dominated by Italian city-states. Angevin rule (1268-1282) substituted French vassals for many local nobles, leading to feuding between the Hohenstaufen and the Angevins in the wake of the Sicilian Vespers. Intervention by the Aragonese added new Spanish nobles to the mix. From this political turmoil emerged a new feudalization in which matters of blood and social ties, honor, and a warrior ethic fueled ninety years of internal war during the fourteenth century. Beginning in the 1390s, powerful Aragonese harnessed one faction, destroyed the other, and established a firm grip over the traditionally unruly Sicilian nobility.

See also Bartolus of Sassoferrato; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Frankish Kingdom; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Lombards; Ostrogoths; Popolo; Theodoric; Urban Development

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Nonantola

The monastery of Nonantola (dedicated to All Saints and Saint Silvestro) is in the region of Emilia, not far from Modena. It was founded during the Lombard period—exactly when is not known, but it was definitely organized by 753, when the Lombard king Aistulf bestowed it on Anselm, duke of Friuli, who then retired to the religious

life as abbot of the monastery. Nonantola was the beneficiary of numerous gifts from Aistulf, but it received little royal attention during the reign of the next king, Desiderius. Anselm may have been exiled for a time to Monte Cassino, whence he returned with manuscripts that became the foundation of Nonantola's famous monastic library. Following the Frankish conquest, the monastery enjoyed favor again, and it was extremely wealthy in the ninth century.

Nonantola's growth was abruptly halted in 899, when the Hungarians burned the monastery and destroyed many of its charters and manuscripts. The monastery was rebuilt in the tenth century, reclaimed its former lands, and received occasional grants from the later Italian and German rulers of Italy. It was beginning to lose much of its old independence, however, and was becoming more and more enmeshed in feudal entanglements. These entanglements caused it for a time to be part of the feudal domain of the bishop of Modena, then later of the bishop of Parma, and finally, in the early fourteenth century, brought it into the hands of the d'Este family, where it would remain for some time.

The abbey was organized according to the Benedictine rule from the time of its founding until 1514, when it became a Cistercian monastery. It was dissolved in the late eighteenth century, briefly restored in the nineteenth century, secularized again in the late nineteenth century, and again restored in the twentieth. Today, the monastery at Nonantola is still a place of considerable interest for its Romanesque and pre-Romanesque buildings as well as for the archives—mostly charters—that are preserved there.

Nonantola was an important monastic center not only because of its wide holdings, which included scattered possessions throughout much of northern Italy and beyond, but also because of the scriptorium and music center that developed there. The scriptorium was important in the copying of manuscripts; it also provided the means whereby the charters of the monastery were restored following destruction by the Hungarians and later by fire. The monks proved adept not only in recreating a number of the documents that had been lost but also in creating a number of new ones to justify real or imaginary monastic claims.

Nonantola's buildings are important architecturally and artistically,

especially those sections that survive from an early twelfth-century rebuilding, work either done by or influenced by the Lombard Romanesque master builder Lanfranco and the sculptor Guglielmo (Wiligelmus).

See also Aistulf; Benedictine Order; Desiderius; Modena; Monasticism; Monte Cassino, Monastery; Palaeography; Wiligelmus

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Normans

In addition to their famous conquest of England in 1066, the Normans also established a kingdom in southern Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Until relatively recently, the kingdom of southern Italy and Sicily (also known as the Regno) was little studied by Anglo-American scholars, but it was one of the most dramatic examples of cultural intersection and "state-building" in the Mediterranean during the medieval period.

As early as c. 1000, the region from the Abruzzi southward through

Sicily (including Molise, Campania, Apulia, and Calabria) was remarkable for its interplay of Greek, Latin, Jewish, and Muslim cultures. In the early decades of the eleventh century, another piece was added to this cultural mosaic when small bands of Norman soldiers, mercenaries, and pilgrims settled in the south. The descendants of these Normans united the territories south of Rome to create the Regno, a political unit that some scholars have rather rashly called the "first modern state." Unlike the Normans who conquered England under the leadership of Duke William (the Conqueror), those in southern Italy and Sicily settled in a piecemeal fashion. They perhaps appeared first in the late tenth century, and they were still immigrating in the 1080s and 1090s. The Normans gradually insinuated themselves into the highest levels of southern Italian society through military prowess and clever intermarriage. Because of their small numbers, they could not attempt a full-scale "Normanization" of the south. Rather, they assimilated and adapted, thus preserving the religious, linguistic, political, and social diversity of the south.

The sources do not agree about why the first Normans came to the south. According to one account, Pope Benedict VIII (r. 1012–1034) enlisted Norman mercenaries to aid Meles of Bari, a Lombard, in defeating Byzantine forces in southern Italy. Another account suggests that Norman pilgrims, on their way home from the Holy Land, encountered Meles and entered his employ. According to another narrative, a small group of brave Normans, returning from a pilgrimage, arrived in Salerno and helped defeat thousands of Saracens. Despite the enticements of this land of "milk and honey," these Normans returned to their homeland; nevertheless, their tales of riches and exotic novelties no doubt persuaded others to go south to seek fortune and adventure.

Once in southern Italy, the Normans quickly gained a reputation for being ruthless and predatory. Charters of the early period sometimes mention widows and orphaned children forced to sell whatever remained of their belongings after a vicious Norman attack. Normans in the south quickly transformed themselves from mercenaries to political and military leaders with the establishment of the first Norman principality at Aversa, just north of Naples, in 1030. The territory was a gift from the duke of Naples to Rainulf the Norman for his service

against a Lombard prince, Pandulf of Capua. The 1030s and 1040s saw the arrival of more Normans, most significantly the younger sons of Tancred of Hauteville—a minor Norman lord—who went south to seek their fortunes. According to one chronicler, "no member of the house of Hauteville ever saw a neighbor's lands without wanting them for himself."

Foremost among the sons of Hauteville was Robert Guiscard, or "the cunning." Tall, blond, ruddy, and tyrannical, Robert Guiscard arrived in 1047. Together with his half brother, Roger (sometimes called great Count Roger), he launched a campaign in 1061 to conquer Sicily. Robert Guiscard came to control much of Apulia, Calabria, and Campania. Politically practical, Guiscard repudiated his Norman wife, Alberada, on the grounds of suddenly acknowledged consanguinity, to marry Sichelgaita, the sister of the Lombard prince of Salerno. However, as the Normans accumulated territorial possessions in the south, they did not "conquer" or "invade" the peninsula with a predetermined plan to create a kingdom.

Robert Guiscard and the Normans contended not only with Lombards, Muslims, and Greeks during the eleventh century. Coincident with this period of Norman expansion were the reform efforts of the eleventh-century papacy, often called the Gregorian reform movement after Pope Gregory VII. As early as the mid-eleventh century, the papacy grew concerned about the spread of the Normans' power in the south. In 1053, Pope Leo IX led a papal army of Germans and northern Italians against the Normans at Benevento. The Normans defeated the papal forces at the battle of Civitate and took Leo IX prisoner during the clash. Following this setback, the papacy pursued a different strategy in dealing with the Normans: in 1059, Pope Nicholas II recognized Richard the Norman and Robert Guiscard as vassals of Saint Peter. Richard became the prince of Capua, and Robert was named duke of Apulia and Calabria and future duke of Sicily. The pope thus granted legitimacy to the Normans' domination of the south; in return, the Normans pledged to support and to defend the possessions of Saint Peter. The papacy benefited from the diversion of the Normans' attentions away from Rome and toward Bari (conquered in 1071), Salerno (1076-1077), and Sicily (1091). In addition, the Normans helped the papacy to check the Byzantines' and Muslims' expansion in

southern Italy and in Sicily. The agreement between the papacy and the Normans did not prevent Gregory VII from forming an alliance with Prince Robert of Capua in 1074 against Robert Guiscard. Guiscard, however, came to the aid of Gregory VII a decade later: when Emperor Henry IV lay siege to Rome in 1085, Guiscard rushed to Rome from his own siege at Durazzo to rescue the pope from Castel Sant'Angelo, where he had barricaded himself. The Normans inflicted the worst sack of Rome since the fifth century as Gregory escaped with Robert Guiscard to Salerno. The pope died in Salerno later that year.

The Normans contributed to the Latin church in southern Italy in other ways as well. They established new monasteries, supported older foundations such as Monte Cassino and La Cava, and were influential in the selection of bishops—despite the papacy's opposition to lay investiture. In spite of the Normans' support for Latin Christendom, Muslim and Jewish communities survived, owing to the political necessity of religious tolerance.

By the end of the eleventh century, most of the Mezzogiorno (southern Italy) was in Norman hands. Power, however, was largely decentralized. No evidence suggests that the idea of a unified kingdom had yet taken shape. Indeed, several Norman rulers controlled various regions in the period following Robert Guiscard's death. Of Guiscard's two sons, the younger, Roger, also called Borsa, son of Sichelgaita, was the favored heir. He became duke of Apulia and was succeeded by his son William of Apulia (r. 1111-1127). The elder, Bohemond, son of Alberada, though initially overlooked, was named prince of Taranto and later became involved in the crusades. Capua, meanwhile, remained independent, under the control of Prince Richard's heirs. Finally, Roger I, Guiscard's brother, having completed the conquest of Sicily in 1091, ruled the island and was succeeded in 1101 by his young son, Roger II, who ultimately shaped the future of the Norman kingdom in the south.

Roger II reached his majority and ended his mother Adelaide's regency in 1112. By 1127, Roger had acquired the principality of Capua from Robert of Capua by force and the duchy of Apulia through a contentious inheritance claim. On Christmas day 1130, in the cathedral of Palermo, Roger was crowned king of Sicily by a representative of the antipope, Anacletus II. Because this was a time of schism, Roger's royal

title did not become official until it was recognized in 1139 by Pope Innocent II in the treaty of Mignano. His full title became Roger, king of Sicily, duke of Apulia, and Prince of Capua.

Roger II's titles reflect the character and strategy of his rule. As king of Sicily, he was not "king of Italy," because other powers laid claim to Italy. The German emperor considered himself the ruler of the *regnum Italicum*. Moreover, Roger was king of the territory that the pope had commissioned his ancestors to subjugate decades earlier. As prince of Capua and duke of Apulia (the Duchy of Apulia by now consisted of the Principality of Salerno), Roger acknowledged that he held those lands as a vassal of the church. Roger's titles also reflect the ethnic and religious diversity of his territories. Roger recognized his limitations: practicality and geography did not permit him to be an "absolute" ruler. His authority rested on a recognition of the traditions and practices of the people he ruled. The Duchy of Apulia and the Principality of Capua continued to exist, though they were part of the Regno.

Roger's laws, like his titles, reflect the variety of influences and customs that characterized his state. The preamble to a law code attributed to Roger reads: "We order that the laws newly promulgated . . . should be fully observed by all. Because of the variety of different people subject to our rule, the usages, customs and laws which have existed among them up to now are not abrogated unless what is observed in them is clearly in contradiction to our edicts here." Roger was clear: his state was an amalgam of many peoples whose customs he would continue to tolerate, so long as they did not contradict the royal will.

Roger died in 1154, having earlier appointed his son William I (r. 1154–1166) as his successor. William I—called "the Bad," though Loud (1999) suggests that "the Unlucky" might be more appropriate—and his son William II, "the Good" (r. 1166–1189), sustained the tradition of strong monarchical government established by Roger II. The power of the monarchy diminished during their reigns, however, perhaps because they lacked Roger's personal charisma and political skill. An unsuccessful coup attempted against William I in 1161 and the anarchy incited by his chief minister, Maio of Bari, exposed undercurrents of discontent among top officials and barons. William II made efforts to appease his barons, especially those on the mainland. His true legacy

was a marriage he negotiated in 1184 between Roger II's daughter Constance (William's aunt and only heir) and Henry (later Emperor Henry VI, r. 1194–1197), the son of his great rival, the Holy Roman emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. The relationship between the empire and the Regno was complex: on the one hand the Sicilian monarchs were seen as usurpers of imperial sovereignty, but on the other hand they were bound together through marriage.

Following William II's death, there was a struggle between the supporters of his chosen heir, Constance, and his illegitimate son, Tancred of Lecce. Tancred ruled the kingdom until his own death in 1194, at which point Henry VI assumed the title he acquired through marriage, king of southern Italy and Sicily—a title long desired by his German forebears. The dynasty that originated with the Normans produced a new heir: Frederick Roger, later King Frederick II, called *Stupor Mundi*. Frederick II would inaugurate a new kingdom that rested on foundations created by his Norman ancestors.

Historians of the medieval Mezzogiorno debate the extent to which the Regno actually reflected the mixture of cultures it contained. How to characterize the monarchy—was it "absolute" or "composite," "Byzantine" or "western"?—is frequently discussed. Roger II and his successors had extensive contacts with or knowledge of the Holy Land, Egypt, and Byzantium. They also knew something of their Norman heritage, and possibly had notions of feudal relationships and the evolving feudal monarchy in England. The king of southern Italy and Sicily, in theory, was the ultimate feudal lord in the kingdom. All lands were held ultimately by the king. The *Catalogus baronum* (*Register of the Barons*, c. 1150) offers an accounting of the kingdom's wealth for Apulia and Capua and lists the obligations of the king's vassals. This document clearly supports the image of an absolute feudal king. Furthermore, the crown tightly controlled its natural resources (including grain, salt, steel, pitch, and wood) and small industry (the renowned silk production in Palermo). Some products had military value; others contributed to the splendor of the royal court. An intriguing aspect of Norman kingship is the management of the southern Italian economy. Commercial activity, however, was not as developed as might be expected, given the promise and potential of resources and seaports. In the pre-Norman period, cities such as Amalfi

and Bari had been prosperous commercial centers. During the Norman period, commercial privileges were increasingly granted to northern Italian cities.

Kingship in twelfth-century southern Italy, however absolute, was strongly supported by a permanent administration and royal court at Palermo. This underclass of officials who oversaw the complex running of the kingdom reveals a medley of cultural influences. The titles of officials at court—*emirs*, *justiciarii*, *strategoi*—reflect the Muslim, Latin, and Greek institutions in the Norman kingdom. A French-style chancery issued documents in Greek, Arabic, and Latin. Many of the laws owed their origin to Justinian. Roger II's kingdom was so different from anything else in Europe at the time that scholars studying the iconography of the royal chapel and Martorana in Palermo have argued for both Byzantine and Ottoman influences. Roger II's court had a harem; William I's palace included a zoo with exotic animals. The most obvious example of cultural intersection is found in the art and architecture of the Regno. Churches with Arab workmanship and Latin architecture were spectacularly adorned with mosaics in the Greek style. Magnificent examples include the cathedrals at Monreale and Cefalu and the Palatine Chapel in Palermo. A mosaic in the Martorana in Palermo is one of the most famous images of absolute, divine-right kingship. In this mosaic, Christ crowns King Roger II, and the facial similarity between the two figures is unmistakable.

Recent scholars urge restraint in giving the Normans credit for discovering the secret of the "modern state" through their seemingly forward-thinking approach to multicultural rule. Perhaps ironically, a mosaic might be the best metaphor for the Regno, acknowledging the variety of influences in the Norman kingdom but connoting separation and coexistence, rather than a fusion or a *mélange*. The terms "united" and "homogeneous" are currently giving way to "heterogeneous" as scholars recognize the Normans' achievement but suggest that its origins lay in the necessity and expediency involved in managing diverse peoples. Moreover, current discussions of the Mezzogiorno during the medieval period focus on the articulation of local powers (family, governance, ecclesiastical) against the backdrop of the Norman kingdom. The extent of practical governmental authority—especially on the mainland—is a fruitful topic for future research.

The sources and essential critical studies on southern Italian medieval history are not always easy to access, and they represent many different languages. The general studies by Norwich (1967, 1970) and Matthew (1992), in English, are a good place to start. For current bibliography see Matthew (1992), Loud and Wiedemann's edition (1998) of Falcandus, and Abulafia (1977, 1987, 1989). The sources listed below represent a sampling of the major works to which scholars refer in various languages, but English-language studies are emphasized.

See also Anacletus II, Antipope; Aversa; Bari; Benevento; Bohemond of Taranto; Capua; Cefalù; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gregory VII, Pope; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Leo IX, Pope; Monreale; Nicholas II, Pope; Palatine Chapel; Palermo; Pandulf I, Prince of Capua-Benevento; Rainulf, Count of Aversa; Robert Guiscard; Roger I; Roger II; Roger Borsa; Salerno; Sicily; Tancred of Hauteville, Sons of; Tancred of Lecce and Roger III, Kings of Sicily; William, Duke of Apulia; William I; William II

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Notaries

In medieval Italian society, the notary served vital functions in both public and private life. Usually invested with authority ultimately

derived from the emperor, he served popes, bishops, monasteries, the emperor, kings, princes, civic governments, courts, and offices, and the needs of common citizens. The notary composed official correspondence, recorded deliberations and decisions, and drew up the documents that these generated. Often the only literate member of local society, the notary recorded private transactions such as contracts, deeds, donations, and wills. The notaries' guilds, usually organized with lawyers and judges, were among the earliest and most powerful in northern and central Italian cities. Notaries were crucial in the transmission of Roman law after its revival and were instrumental in establishing civic archives and early chronicles. With their access to official papers, they were pioneers in creating document-based secular histories; and their literary interests, with roots in classical Roman culture, spurred developments in both medieval and Renaissance humanism. Steinhoff has noted, "Excluding the profession of the sword, that of the notary was among the earliest, the most self-conscious and certainly the largest in the medieval world" (1976, 1).

The medieval Italian notary was the direct descendant of the later imperial Roman *notarius*, *exceptor*, and *tabellio*. Earlier, scribes (*scribae*) acted as court recorders and copyists of private and official acts, while the *notarius* took raw notes (*notae*) of proceedings in a kind of shorthand. By the fourth century, *notarius* was a label attached to secretaries in the imperial service. The *exceptor* had emerged as the official clerk attached to all bureaus and courts and required at all municipal meetings of *curiae*, whereas *tabelliones* handled private matters such as wills and contracts without holding any public office. Apparently both *exceptors* and *tabelliones* were organized into civic guilds (*collegia*, *scholae*), headed by *aprimicerius*, to ensure the official recording of both public and private acts. Though the *tabellio* was generally of lower social status, his was a position with potentially high mobility; and the official positions often drew young nobles.

The earliest known regulation of the acts of *tabelliones* was in the forty-fourth and seventy-seventh *novellae* of Emperor Justinian's law code (*Corpus juris civilis*, 536–538). These required the actual presence of the *tabellio* as a witness to the proceedings, as well as the recording of the names of other witnesses, dating by regnal and consular year and indiction, inclusion of a *completio* in which the *tabellio* claimed

responsibility for the document, and signatures by witnesses. These requirements were soon ignored in the non-Byzantine western empire, but they were resurrected and reapplied along with much of the rest of Justinian's code in the eleventh century.

In the early Christian church, notaries served bishops and monasteries and were important as correspondents in the doctrinal battles of the third and fourth centuries. Constantine himself created *scholae* of notaries under *primicerii* for bishops and their courts. In Rome, perhaps as early as the first century, seven subdeacons were chosen "faithfully to collect the deeds of the martyrs," according to *Liber pontificalis*. Pope Gregory I (r. 590-604) organized papal *notarii* or *scrmarii* into a *schola*; Gregory's registers demonstrate that they were responsible for recording correspondence, ordinations, privileges, donations, synodal *acta*, and matters relating to the *patrimonium* of Saint Peter, as well as serving as papal advisers, diplomats, and envoys. At about this time, the papal chancery, archive, and library were organized around their efforts.

In the wake of the Germanic invasions, Roman law and its roles for notaries remained intact in Byzantine areas, though bishops usually inherited even the civil aspects of administration and the Greek language often replaced Latin. The *notarius ecclesiae* came to fill private and ecclesiastical functions, both drawing up and recording documents. The dramatic shifts in civic culture and government certainly reduced the supply of and demand for notarial services. By the eighth century, the terms *tabellio* and *exceptor* had disappeared in Germanic northern Italy, though in the Ostrogothic and Lombard periods these functions were continued by *scriptores* and notaries. The *notarius civitatis* ("of the city") served Lombard kings and nobles in their courts; *notarii ecclesiae* continued to aid bishops, abbots, and some of the public. These two kinds of notaries attended the same episcopal schools, and Petrucci (1958) believes that the existence of ecclesiastical notaries led to the demand for secular ones. Unorganized and unregulated "lay notaries" (*publici notarii*) handled private matters, since the Lombards did not practice *insinuation*, the official recording of private notarial acts. From the late 600s on, significant organizations of notaries (and probably notarial education) existed in Pavia, Cremona, Milan, Lucca, and, of course, Rome and Ravenna.

The Carolingians' taste for order and uniformity dictated changes during the ninth and tenth centuries. Under Charlemagne, church notaries were raised in status to the diaconate or priesthood, and the notariate became a stepping-stone to higher church office. These men also continued to serve as public notaries until the twelfth century and the full emergence of a lay notariate. Charlemagne mandated that every bishop, abbot, and count employ a notary, appointed by himself if necessary. He thus accepted and altered Lombard practice, formalized it, and spread it to the rest of his empire. His own secretaries were the *cancellarii*; and notaries, such as Paul the Deacon, served him in other ways. Paul was trained at Pavia, was chancellor to the Lombard king Desiderius, wrote the *History of the Lombards*, taught at the Prankish palace school (782–787), and may have been responsible for reform of the notarial system. The famous *missi dominici* oversaw the work of comital (counts') and episcopal notaries, who, under Louis the Pious, were drawn specifically from the noble class. Under Lothair I, imperial law regulated notarial practice of both *cancellarii* (now episcopal or comital) and private notaries, and limited the geographic jurisdiction within which one could operate.

Imperial Ravenna, and perhaps other Byzantine sectors in Italy, retained separate *scholae* of imperial notaries, ecclesiastical notaries, and *tabelliones*. With the fall of the Exarchate, imperial notaries all but disappeared until the revival of Roman law, with nonauthorized *tabelliones* absorbing most of their legal jurisdiction and function. During the eleventh century and the early twelfth century, attempts to bring the tabellionate under imperial purview were resisted and failed at Ravenna, though by the thirteenth century many professionals styled themselves *notarius et tabellio*, combining both functions in their practice. By the thirteenth century, even the Ravennati adopted the title "notary by imperial authority," and the retrograde tabellionate slowly dissolved. The ecclesiastical notariate in Ravenna retained its position until the twelfth century, but it did not interfere in the sphere of the secular notariate. During the 1100s, the lay tabellionate absorbed most of the functions of the church notary, even running Ravenna's episcopal chancery by 1127. Elsewhere in Italy, where it had survived, the independent ecclesiastical notariate likewise slowly disappeared; in Lucca, the comital notariate replaced it during the Carolingian period;

and in Bologna, home of the revived imperial legal tradition, the bishop's last clerical notary died in 1133. Even in Rome, lay notaries gained in importance, and in 1211 Pope Innocent III declared that no notary in a church court could hold major orders (a restriction much argued against afterward).

In southern Italy, many areas that fell to the Arabs lost the Latin notarial tradition; and some—such as Puglia, Calabria, and Lucania—held to Greco-Byzantine practice. Areas retaining Latin-Lombard traditions used the *notarius*, but he may have drawn his authority from the palace, church, monastery, or even city; or he may have been itinerant, without official authority. During the tenth century, Naples maintained a clear organization of *curiali* (notaries) in a *collegio* under a *primarius* aided by a *talndarius*. Documents were often drawn up by *discipuli*, who may have been apprentices, but only the *curiale* could apply the *completio*. Amalfi, under the Neapolitan duke, followed a similar though looser pattern of organization. *Scribae civitatis*, as they were originally denoted, became *curiali* by c. 1000. Many may have worked only part time, as most surviving documents are dated the first or the fifteenth of the month; and, though persons who were not *curiali* did draw up documents, there was no clear caste of *discipuli*. Gaeta retained the *scriba civitatis*, though mixing Greek with Latin traditions and clerical with secular functions and statuses. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, titles included *presbyter* (priest) *et notarius civitatis* and *Leo greco-latinus presbyter et scriba civitatis*, though by the early twelfth century a simple *notarius civitatis* would do.

The Normans initially left much intact in the southern Latin areas, while trying to impose Latin forms and practice in the Greco-Byzantine and Arab-dominated regions. Gradually, the king, and later the emperor (from Henry IV to Frederick II), was recognized as the source of notarial authority. Norman kings also regularized disparate practices in handwriting, the use and registration of professional notarial insignia (*signum*), and the presence of signatory witnesses. As a result, the prestige and position of the notary were enhanced. The Constitutions of Melfi, promulgated by Frederick II, went further, requiring clear handwriting (*communem et legibilem*), the use of long-lasting parchment, and clear signatures by witnesses (preferably "with knowledge of letters") and the notary; Frederick II also, however,

required the signature of a judge on each document. This might be considered a check to the notary's professional evolution, though the practice waned, especially by the fourteenth century, when many judges could sign only X or +. The Angevins and Aragonese introduced essentially minor changes and refinements.

In the north, late and post-Carolingian anarchy led to a localized notariate that operated under scant official authorization until the mid-tenth century. Two kings—Hugh and Berengar—recentralized the profession, and the Ottonians (963-1024) further standardized and organized it. The source of notarial authority remained an issue, however, and in Pistoia as late as 940 there were both royal notaries (*notarii domni regis*) and imperial notaries (*notarii domni imperatoris*). With the eclipse of Italian kingship, the formula *imperiali auctoritate notarius* ("notary by imperial authority") became standard (also in the south during Frederick II's reign); it remained in force until the modern era. The emperor's authority flowed through the counts palatine and eventually through lesser nobles, civic governments (e.g., Parma in 962), monasteries, and bishops (who were his vassals). With the Gregorian reform movement and the clashes between the papacy and the emperors during the later eleventh century, popes also claimed ultimate authority over ecclesiastical and Roman notaries, which flowed through the apostolic protonotary to the notaries or bishops. The notary thus took on a fully public role, acting as a third party to private acts with "magistrate's authority" and giving "public faith" to the acts thus recorded; this representative of public authority (not merely local but ultimately imperial) wrote up, dated, signed, and sealed the documents that regulated an enormous range of personal as well as official interactions. These documents came to have the essential force of statute in reference to the individuals involved.

This development proceeded with the revival of Roman law and organized civic life in the eleventh century. Gregorian reform sought to clarify the lines between secular and ecclesiastical matters; e.g., keeping lay notaries away from church business, and maintaining papal authority over church notaries. The "rediscovery" of *Corpus juris civilis* and its application to the legal and notarial professions laid the foundation for uniform practice in civil matters, just as the roughly contemporary development of canon law did for ecclesiastical legal

business. Notaries had always retained certain elements of official or ceremonial rhetoric for use in their documents, but there now began to emerge from *ars dictamini*—or literature on the art of letter writing—a branch devoted to typically notarial matters known as *ars notariae*. A book containing models for use in constructing documents—salutations, forms of address, legalistic *formulae*, phrasing of the *completio*—came to be known as a "formulary" (*formularium instrumentorum notariorum*). The earliest example may have been the papal *Liber diurnus* (late seventh century—eighth century), which contained 100 canonical *formulae*. The civil law, as adjusted and applied by such legal scholars as Guarnerius and Irnerius, who wrote the earliest civil formulary (*Formularium tabellionum*), and as adopted by reforming cities, required uniform verbal expression by men trained in this art, and training required more than simply models. The earliest secular manuals with wide circulation date from the thirteenth century: twenty-four formularies survive from 1200-1250; and Boncompagno da Signa (died c. 1235) wrote treatises on wills, statutes, and privileges. But the earliest *summa artis notarii* that combined elements of both, covering all aspects of notarial practice, was by Ranieri da Perugia (1223-1245), and the best and longest-lasting was by Rolandino de' Passeggeri (1255), who defined the notarial art as simply "the writing down in authentic form of the lawful business of men in a finished and rational document."

From the eleventh century on, as cities reemerged and grew, notaries played major roles in their "elaboration of government and ordering of social life." From the beginnings of the communal movements, notaries were leaders in challenging older feudal and ecclesiastical authorities and establishing new governments. Their literacy, legal expertise, close connections with lawyers and judges, and traditional roles in Roman municipal governments ensured that they would occupy high civic positions. Communal regimes and their offices required the services of notaries as letter writers, record keepers, and statute framers. When factions of the *popolo* overthrew the older civic oligarchies in the thirteenth century, the generally lower-class notaries—often the best-educated and most articulate laymen in the movement—played vital parts, as illustrated by the later career of Rolandino de' Passeggeri. Later, however, the notary's conservatism often shone through in his

support of the stabilizing one man rule that characterized the northern and central Italian *signorie* of the fourteenth century.

A city's chief notary was the chancellor (*cancelliere*), who had authority over all lesser notaries and who served the needs of the civic executive. Every level of government, every office with official functions, every court, and every guild employed at least one notary, as did ecclesiastical and quasi-public institutions such as hospitals and universities. Notaries recorded the minutes of meetings, carried on correspondence, and handled virtually all routine legal matters. In Florence, the *notaio delle riformazioni* authenticated and attested to all communal legislation, and every ambassador relied on a notary to draw up official documents. In maritime mercantile cities such as Genoa and Pisa, notaries tended to be fewer per capita than elsewhere, perhaps owing to higher rates of general literacy, but they played key roles in both commerce and diplomacy. In Genoa, they served as scribes for commanders of galley fleets; as companions for ambassadors; on the staffs of the city's creditor organizations, the *compere*; and as officials for the Genoese colonies in the eastern Mediterranean. For both communes and *signorie*, they formed essentially a civil service that was vital to urban government and provided continuity whatever the changes in regimes. In 1327, the city government of Modena employed fifty-one notaries, and Perugia had 108 on its payroll in 1381.

Part of their power in society stemmed from their organization into guilds, often combined with the very highly regarded judges and lawyers. In cities with law schools, such as Bologna and Padua, however, the guilds were kept separate. Lawyers and judges were products of university training and often came from noble families, whereas notaries were usually commoners who had attended local schools or merely served apprenticeships. In either case, their guilds regulated all aspects of notarial life, from training and entry into the profession to the collection of a deceased notary's books. They established uniform procedures, protocols, fees, examinations, forms for records, and ethical standards, and set them down in their statutes.

Guild organization reflected communal organization (or perhaps vice versa), as demonstrated by the case of Florence. The guild of judges and notaries was established by 1212, though it may have existed as early as 1190 or even 1150. The head of the guild was the proconsul, at times

necessarily a notary. He had to be at least thirty-six-years old and a guild member for at least ten years. He served for six months, during which time he lived in his own *palazzo* in Via del Proconsolo. Eight consuls—at one time two judges and six notaries, at another time all judges—aided the proconsul and arbitrated disputes. During their four-month terms, they lived in a modest residence in Via de' Pandolfini. At the end of their terms, they underwent an audit or *scrutinio* to ensure that they had carried out their duties honestly and ethically. A treasurer and provisor, both notaries elected to four-month terms, handled guild funds and guild property, respectively, and were likewise scrutinized. There was also an advisor)' council of ten notaries and six judges, and a larger council for special matters. In the later thirteenth century, notaries and judges voted on major issues first as separate groups and then as a body, in the church of San Piero Scheraggio.

In many, perhaps most, cases, the Italian notary had a notary for a father. Some notaries employed private tutors while others sent their sons to monastic school for a basic education. By the thirteenth century, many cities had both grammar and notarial schools supported by the commune. Bologna alone required university courses (directed by the arts faculty rather than the law faculty). Apprenticeship might replace formal education, with a quick trip through grammar and concentration on *ars dictaminis* and then on *ars notariae*. Pisa's guild required a four-year apprenticeship including at least four years of Latin. Both Siena and Florence mandated a minimum of two years of formal training or apprenticeship. Bergamo required only one year and a minimum age of eighteen. In Florence, one could enter the guild between the ages of seventeen and twenty with a dispensation but would normally enter after age twenty. A Florentine candidate was examined by four notaries and a lawyer in separate tests on Latin and vernacular Italian, handwriting, and knowledge of legal documents. Induction cost eight florins, and the new notary had to post a "guarantee" worth 200 *lire*. In the Romagna, the imperial representative presented the new notary with a deed of authority, they exchanged a "kiss of peace," and the initiate swore an oath of fidelity over the Gospels. The notary also registered his personal *signum* and adopted the formal title *ser*.

In 1291, the Florentine guild had some 575 members, with 376 working in the city itself. At about the same time, Milan had roughly

1,500; Padua 600; and Genoa only 200; but Bologna had nearly 2,000 active notaries. In Prato in 1339, of 139 heads of households whose professions were listed, 102 were notaries. In Florence's *catasto* of 1427, notary is the largest professional class. The mere numbers suggest the importance of the occupation, and also that it was highly competitive. In fact, many notaries held other jobs as well, the most important of which, arguably, was teacher of grammar. The typical notary, as notary, made a meager living from drawing up documents (sometimes fees were based on the value of the transaction), which he could augment in a number of ways both legal-ethical and not. He could forge documents or gain inside knowledge of "deals"—for example, when an institution was about to sell rather cheaply land that it held. As frequent communal officeholders, notaries could benefit from the perquisites of their positions and from the political connections they made. Cities that used tax farming, like Lucca, often awarded these lucrative contracts to notaries. Wealthy merchants and bankers made excellent clients who exploited their notary's social and professional connections, and sometimes became excellent patrons who shared valuable information or opportunities with their notaries. Some notaries purposely relocated: when a city had a large colony of merchants elsewhere—as Florence and Siena had in Avignon during the fourteenth century, or Genoa had in Pera or Caffa, or Venice had in Constantinople—one could always find notaries from the home city there.

Legal formulations increasingly encroached on most aspects of private life, and these were controlled by the notaries. As Larner (1965) puts it, "all economic life flowed through the pages of his cartulary": agreements for dowry, marriage, wet-nursing, house painting, commercial partnerships, mercantile insurance arrangements, large donations to churches—virtually any written arrangement between two unrelated people required or was strengthened by the services of a notary. Not least important was a person's *testamento* (last will), whose terms could conceivably have been shaped by the notary (who could not, however, draw up any document that benefited himself).

The importance of the notary in Italian culture is immeasurable, not least in shaping its literary elements. Nearly all the earliest civic chronicles were begun and maintained by notaries who had the requisite verbal skills and access to the highest levels of government

and society. This advanced the sense of civic identity and pride that led directly to the "civic humanism" of the late fourteenth century and its foundation in accurate historical reconstruction. By the thirteenth century, many chroniclers were illustrating their works with official documents from their civic archives, a practice that expanded to include large numbers of charters, letters, and statutes as a basis for expounding a city's history. The notary's early exposure to and continual use of classical rhetoric sometimes developed into literary interests in Roman writers, eventuating in a rehabilitation of Cicero the rhetorician (and lawyer, to Petrarch's horror). The emphasis on facts rather than fantasy, on lay civic culture rather than courtly or ecclesiastical culture, and on classical rhetoric rather than scholastic philosophy led directly to the Renaissance. The list of Florentine notaries with notable literary achievements is long indeed and includes Latini, Salutati, Bruni, and Machiavelli.

From the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) on, church court sessions required the presence of a notary (clerk) as a neutral third party, and copies of relevant documents were given to both parties "to protect the innocent party against judges who are imprudent and dishonest," as the council stated. The notaries went by various titles—*notarius*, *tabellio*, *clericus*, *mandatus curie*—and the permanent register of court documents was kept by the *notarius deputatus ad acta scribenda*. The Avignonese period saw the establishment of the Rota appeals court, with its demand for notaries; and the first official ecclesiastical *Fortnularium notariorum* (1327), the ultimate source for all later church formularies.

See also Albertino Mussato; Brunetto Latini; Guilds; Law: Roman; Rolando de' Passeggeri; Rolandino of Padua

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Novara

Novara is the name of a city, diocese, and province in the Po valley (today Piedmont), west of Milan. Ancient Novaria, founded by the Romans during the second century B.C., lay on a road from Milan by

way of Vercelli to Ivrea. Of the original Roman walls built in the first century after Christ, a few remains still exist.

The legend of the first bishop of the city, Saint Gaudentius, reflects the Christianization of Novara during the fourth century. Novara is the only diocese in northwestern Italy which has a complete register of all bishops since the introduction of Christianity. Therefore, one may assume that Novara remained an episcopal see even in the confusion of late antiquity and of the Lombard kingdom. Bishop Adalgisus (r. 830—848) founded the cathedral of Santa Maria and the collegiate church of San Gaudenzio. Privileges of Carolingian, Ottonian, and Salian emperors protected the position of the bishops of Novara. The existence of a cathedral school in Novara and cultural contacts with the realm north of the Alps (Reichenau, Wurzburg) are proved for the tenth century. Today, the library of the cathedral chapter still has an important collection of medieval manuscripts.

The long supremacy of the bishops over the city and province of Novara was gradually replaced by the rule of the commune in the twelfth century (in 1139 we find the first reference to *consules*). The cityscape was also modified considerably in this century. After the destruction of Novara in 1110 by the emperor Henry V, the city entered a time of economic prosperity. The city walls were rebuilt first, followed by several ecclesiastical buildings and the first communal palace (*domus consulum*, 1178). Moreover, numerous channels were excavated in the countryside surrounding Novara. In the major political conflicts, Novara was initially on the side of the emperor Frederick I Barbarossa; however, in 1168, the city joined the Lombard League under the leadership of Milan. Thereafter, the connection with its immediate and predominant neighbor, Milan, remained a constant factor in Novarese politics. Equally permanent was the antagonism of Novara toward the city of Vercelli—after the counts of Biandrate had lost their position as the most important feudal power in that region—which was caused by competing territorial interests in the Sesia valley. After the Milanese were defeated by the troops of Frederick II at Cortenuova (1237), Novara was associated with the Swabian emperor for a short period. In the long term, however, the city came inexorably under the influence of Milanese expansionist politics. The various *podestà*, who ruled in Novara from 1185 on (initially sporadically, but after 1200 regularly),

came almost exclusively from Milan. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the estimated population of Novara was approximately 3,000 to 5,000. In that period, the internal conflicts over supremacy in Milan (among the Della Torre and Visconti) spread to Novara as well. The codification of the statutes of Novara dates from this time (1277). In 1332, bishop Giovanni Visconti incorporated the city into Milanese territory, and Novara thus became part of the late medieval and early modern territorial state of Milan.

See also **Milan**

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Novella

Framed collections of tales from the orient (*Kalileh and Dimnah* or *Directorium humanae vitae*, *Disciplina clericalis*, *The Panchatantra* or *History of the Seven Sages*) and collections of exemplary anecdotes for use by preachers were circulating in Europe before 1300; but the *novella* as an Italian literary genre came to prominence with Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1350–1351). The popularity of this collection of tales, with its framing narrative and its appealing combination of popular and literary elements, encouraged many imitators throughout the following centuries. By c. 1400, the *novelle* of Sacchetti, Sercambi, and *ser Giovanni Fiorentino*, all influenced by Boccaccio, had appeared.

Novelle could mean "news," as in Sacchetti's anecdotes of recent events, or "new and strange things" as in the more fantastic tales of *ser Giovanni Fiorentino*. Thus *novelle* include both historically true and fabulous material. Within the variety of topics—and variety was one of

the aesthetic principles of these collections—several themes, often humorous or satirical, predominate: the hypocrisy, lust, and avarice of friars and other clergy; the clever deceitfulness of women; practical jokes or witty replies; and love stories, realistic or romantic, tragic or comic, moralizing or wish-fulfilling.

Not all collections were bound by a narrative frame, but many were. The framing tale is often a "disaster"—a plague, flood, snowstorm, or exile—during which a small group of people cheer each other up with stories. Recreation through tales and songs was recommended by doctors to maintain the balance of humors important for health, and thus especially as an antidote during times of plague or distress. Even Sacchetti, who does not use a frame, offers his tales as a recreative moment for people living in stress or sorrow.

Oral and popular sources remain important for the genre, which never aspires to anything beyond a modest literary status. Even within the written books there remains at least a fiction of orality, as the tales are told aloud by members of a group to one other. We know from other descriptions of social gatherings and street-corner entertainers that such stories were indeed often read or told aloud and commented on by the audience, just as happens within the book.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Pecorone II; Sacchetti, Franco; Sercambi, Giovanni

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Novellino, Il

Il novellino, an anonymous collection of tales, untitled in most manuscripts, was written in Florence between 1280 and the early 1300s. Its stories are drawn from a wide range of sources including the Bible; classical mythology; Persian and Arabic collections of stories; medieval chivalric stories; miracle legends and lives of saints; and historical anecdotes from Valerius Maximus, Vincent de Beauvais, and the *History of Charlemagne*. In *Il novellino*. Narcissus, Lancelot, Jesus, Cato, Nebuchadnezzar, Frederick II, Saladin, Trajan, and Saint Gregory

minge with courtiers, lawyers, servants, and street vendors in brief but lively anecdotes, witticisms, and moral tales. The preface suggests that they are offered to enliven the conversation of people who do not know good stories of their own; and one manuscript and an edition of 1572 call the work "the book of tales and fine gentle speech." The various fourteenth- to sixteenth-century manuscripts and sixteenth-century editions differ in the number, selection, and order of tales. The first printed edition (1525) was encouraged by Pietro Bembo, who owned a manuscript (now in the Vatican) and liked **comparing it to Boccaccio's *Decameron***. Thus, its first printed title was *The Hundred Old Tales (Le cento novelle antiche)*, with reference to Boccaccio's later hundred stories. The collection must have been popular before then, for tales from it appear in the writings of Dante (*Purgatory*, 10.73-93), Boccaccio (*Decameron*, 1.3 and 1.9), Chaucer ("Pardoner's Tale"), and others.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Novella**

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Numerology

Throughout the Middle Ages, numbers were deemed to possess a symbolic order of meaning, having the power to reveal divine truths by means of a rational calculus. Because numbers supposedly contained the hidden truths of God's creation, medieval philosophers and theologians sought in their writings to show precisely how the structure of the universe and the course of human events through time revealed God's shaping hand. In the Bible, numbers were mystical signs that pointed to eternal truths and at the same time served to demonstrate to the intelligent mind the perfection and order of God's plan (Isidore, *Liber numerorum*). A compelling form of allegoresis or symbolism, numerology, in reality more an art than a science, had the power to induce delight in divine creation and belief in the creator's purpose. Theologians cited the Bible in support of the notion that numbers symbolized eternal truths, the fundamental passage in this regard being Wisdom 11:21—*omnia in mensura et numero et pondere*

disposuisti ("thou hast ordered all things in measure, number, and weight"). Augustine, who did more to endorse the acceptance of numerology in the west than any other theologian, adverts to these verses approvingly in *The City of God* (11.30). By the High Middle Ages, number science had become fully established by the biblical exegesis of numerous theologians, foremost among them Hugh of Saint Victor, who defined the symbolic computational properties of numbers in *Exegetica* 15 (*Patrologia Latina*, 175.22); and by the arithmology of Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis*), Isidore of Seville (*Liber numerorum*), and Rabanus Maurus (*De numero*). This tradition was familiar to those who wrote in the vernacular as well as in Latin and for secular as well as religious purposes, but all writers shared a belief in the power of numbers to endorse and reinforce acceptance of ethical values. Numbers, then, were signs of good and evil; and the perceptive reader of world of nature (*res*) or the fictive realm of a written text (*verba*) could take from them both moral instruction and aesthetic delight in deciphering God's truths or a poet's vision. Number symbolism was virtually a sacred science.

Ail numbers, in theory, were thought capable of expressing symbolic meaning, but some more than others acquired special and enduring significance, to the extent that their symbolic properties became conventional among medieval thinkers and writers. The symbolic significance of the numbers 1 through 10 is virtually universal, with 1, 3, 7, 8, and 10 having special value. The primal number 1 signifies unity, which is God the creator; 3 signifies the Trinity; 7 is the number of creation and by extension life and the world itself, thereby symbolizing completeness and perfection, because God created the universe in seven days; 8 is the number of resurrection and salvation, because it goes one beyond the number of terrestrial life; and 10 is the number of perfection, because it is the base on which all numbers are built.

If the creator ordered his universe according to numerical patterns, the writer can express and endorse these truths in writing by imitating his procedure. Numbers have not simply aesthetic import but philosophical and theological significance: they have the power to convey hidden truths. Hence all aspects of the form of a literary work have potential meaning: the number of books in a work, verses in a stanza, or characters in a scene; the relation of any part to the whole;

the time that events take place; etc. Number symbolism works by analogy, symmetry, and association; consequently, identifying the presence of a numerical feature in a literary work has the power to invoke a full set of ideas and ethical values.

Systematic use of numerological significance in medieval Italy is most evident in the works of the *tre corone*—Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch—and it reaches its most complex and highly developed form of expression, as is well known, in Dante. For all three writers, numerological patterns prevail in their vernacular rather than their Latin works, and each uses numbers to create or reinforce a particular symbolic order of meaning.

Dante Alighieri

Dante's love of numbers begins with his love for Beatrice. *Vita nuova* establishes her identity with the number 9, the square of 3. The poet-lover repeatedly discovers that important moments in her life and their relationship are related to the number 9. He first sees her when both are in their ninth year; he does not see her again until another nine years have passed; she dies in 1290, the ninth decade of the century. In chapter 29, Dante discloses that she is related to the number 9 because she is related to the harmony of the creation itself, which has nine heavens, and to the Trinity, which is *fattore per sé medesimo del nove* ("the sole factor of nine," *Vita nuova*, 29.3). This association, which makes her a *miracolo* ("miracle"), affiliates her directly with the divinity. The term *miracolo* should be understood in its theological sense, as an external demonstration or sign of divine revelation. The root of the number 9 is, moreover, a structural feature of the book. As Charles Norton noticed more than a century ago, the placement of the thirty-one poems of *Vita nuova* reveals a conscious pattern based on the number 3. There are three and only three complete *canzoni*, so arranged that the second occupies the precise numerical center of the work and defines a chias tic (i.e., characterized by chiasmus) ordering of all the poems: ten poems, first *canzone*, four poems, second *canzone*, four poems, third *canzone*, ten poems. This symmetrical arrangement, which places the poet's vision of Beatrice's death at the poetic center,

thematically relating it to Christ's death and resurrection, turns on the number 3, the number of the Trinity. This pattern underwent some refinement in the hands of Singleton (1965), who argued that it was better to view the first set of ten poems as $1 + 9$ and the last set as $9 + 1$, and the center panel of four poems, the second *canzone*, and four succeeding poems as a 9. His eventual pattern, $1 + 9 + 1 + 9 + 1 + 9 + 1$, had its own elegance and suggestiveness, but the logic for such a division lacks the kind of strong internal evidence that one finds in Norton's pattern. Gorni (1990) has proposed an entirely different structure based on a revised edition of the text that posits three sequences of nine chapters (*novene*), followed by a coda of four chapters. This pattern stresses the centrality and interrelation of both 3 and 9, the numbers of the Trinity and of Beatrice, in a poetic context that has numerous thematic symmetries. The point of all such numerological patterning is, of course, that Beatrice's relation to Christ as the divinity is inescapable and the work of the divinity itself, not the poet.

The *Convivio*, which Dante wrote a decade after *Vita nuova*, appears to be little indebted to number symbolism, although the structure is clearly governed by the number 5 and its multiple 15. There were to have been fifteen *trattati* (treatises, or books): an introduction and fourteen others. Interestingly, all books except the first are based on the number 15. The second and third each have fifteen chapters; the fourth has thirty and is clearly divided thematically into two halves of fifteen each.

It is in the *Commedia* that we find the most sustained symbolic use of numerological principles. Its 100 cantos, symbolizing the totality and perfection of the universe (the perfect number 10 multiplied by its own perfection), break down into three major parts, or canticles (*Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, *Paradiso*), which in turn divide into cantos (nearly) equally distributed among them ($34 + 33 + 33$). Critics traditionally view the slightly greater number of cantos in *Inferno* as $1 + 33$, the first canto being a prologue or introduction recounting events that take place before the journey through the other world has begun. Indeed, its last line, *Allor si mosse, e io li tenni dietro* ("Then he moved, and I followed after him," 1.136), seems to define the moment of departure. Further support for isolating the first canto is the fact that the invocation to the

muses, which is placed in the first canto of each of the other two realms, appears only in Canto 2 of *Inferno* (2.7-9), thereby creating a precise numerical correspondence among the three realms.

The number 33, which invests the formal structure of the cantos, reappears in the next lower level of poetic division, the *terza rima*, a stanzaic form invented by Dante and based on a triple rhyme that binds each of the 14,233 hendecasyllabic verses of the poem. Just as each canticle contains thirty-three *canti* (plus the prologue of *Inferno*), so each *terzina* contains thirty-three syllables (3 X 11). The constituent parts of the *Commedia*, then, give a privileged place to the numbers 3 and 33—the sign of the Trinity and one of its most important multiples, since Christ died at the age of thirty-three. The poem marks the presence of Christ's death in every succeeding *terzina*, a death that signals the possibility of resurrection and eternal salvation. The poem's length—14,233 verses—itself records the presence of Christ's sacrifice in the last two digits. (Dante even divides his *Letter to Cangrande*, conceived as an introduction to *Paradiso*, into thirty-three sections.) It has often been observed that Christ's name is never spoken in hell and does not appear in the text of *Inferno*, as if to call attention to his triumph over evil and his dissociation from the realm of Lucifer, as well as to the sinners' utter ignorance of the power of redemption. But the text secretly records his tacit omnipresence, the imprint of his being, for the crucifixion is the central event of history on which all meaning hinges.

Dante's poem begins *in medias res*, in the middle of the journey of life, *net mezzo del cammin di nostra vita* (*Inferno*, 1.1). In a literal sense, that moment occurs at the arc of life, in the thirty-fifth year, half of the three score and ten that the Bible gives as the norm for human life (Psalms 90:10; Isaiah 38:10). In Dante's reasoning it was therefore proper that Christ should die in his thirty-fourth year, before reaching the point of perfection: "Christ had a perfect nature and desired to die in the thirty fourth year of his life, because it would not have been fitting for a divinity to enter into such a decline as [represented by passing beyond maturity into old age]" (*Convivio*, 4.23.10). By a stroke of numerological luck, Dante happens to be precisely in the thirty-fifth year of his own life at the time he undertakes his journey through the otherworld. His journey, then, takes Christ as its model, which is the

model for all who would be saved, an analogy further reinforced by the date assigned for the journey, Good Friday 1300.

Number symbolism governs not only the overall formal structure of the poem but the structure of the otherworld realms as well. Critics are not entirely in agreement about how the three realms divide into parts and subsections. Several models have been proposed, and it is possible that, to some extent, these models can coexist. All seem to agree that each realm divides into three major parts, by which each realm mirrors and corresponds to the others, although how and where such divisions occur has occasioned disagreement. For some, hell separates into the ante-Inferno (the Neutrals), upper hell, and lower hell (the city of Dis). For others, the three categories of sin (Incontinence, Violence, Fraud) define the division. Purgatory divides into the ante-Purgatory (balancing ante-Inferno), Purgatory proper, and the earthly paradise. Paradise divides its ten heavens into either 3 (lower heaven, virtue deficient) + 6 (higher heaven, virtue proficient) + 1 (Empyrean), or 7 (planetary) + 2 (heavens of glory) + 1 (Empyrean). In every pattern, however, 3 is the operative number.

Each realm simultaneously divides into ten subdivisions. Hell has nine circles of sinners plus one for the Neutrals; Purgatory has two levels in ante-Purgatory, seven terraces on which sinful disposition is purged, and the earthly paradise, for a total of ten; and paradise has nine physical heavens and a tenth that lies beyond time and space (the empyrean). Other critics stress 9 as the proper number of circular divisions, however, discounting the ante-Inferno altogether as lying outside hell proper, defining the ante-Purgatory as an undivided area, and excluding the empyrean because it is beyond the claims of time and space. The fact that the number of circles, terraces, or spheres in the three realms can be counted as nine or ten is probably due to the fact that originally there were ten orders of angels (10 being a perfect number), until Lucifer and the rebellious angels fell, leaving nine orders, until man was created to make up the perfect ten (Bonaventure, *Sentences*, 2.9.7). In *Convivio* (2.5.12) Dante associates the number of the heavens with the angels: *Li numeri, li ordini, le gerarchie narrano i cieli mobili, che sono none, e lo decimo annunzia essa unitade e stabilitade di Dio* ("The moving heavens, which are nine, declare the numbers, the orders, and the hierarchies, and the tenth proclaims the very unity and

stability of God"). Because the number 10 symbolizes perfection (*lo perfetto numero*, "the perfect number," *Vita nuova*, 29.1) and the law (the Ten Commandments), one beyond, 11, came to signify transgression of the law and hence sin (Augustine, *City of God*, 15.20). It therefore appears significant that Dante should present the moral structure of sin in *Inferno* 11 and expressly give the ninth and tenth pouches of *Malebolge* at the bottom of hell circumferences of precisely 22 and 11 miles, respectively (*Inferno*, 29.9 and 30.86). If each verse of the poem figures forth the number of sin in its eleven syllables, Christ, whose number is 33, might be said to redeem that sin in each *terzina* (thirty-three syllables) through his sacrifice.

Numerology is one means by which Dante establishes hell as the symmetrical inversion of paradise. Just as all goodness derives from a triune God (the Trinity), so evil, being but a perversion of that goodness, echoes the number 3 in its forms. Dante is attacked by three beasts (*lonza*, *leone*, *lupa*) in the dark wood; three ladies (Mary, Lucy, Beatrice) set his journey in motion; his journey is challenged by a three-headed Cerberus, the three Furies, and a tripartite Geryon; there are three categories of sin, three rivers feeding into Cocytus, three faces of Lucifer, and three archtraitors. The three attributes of the deity inscribed on the gate of hell (*divina potestate*, *somma sapienza*, *primo amore*. "divine power, highest wisdom, primal love," *Inferno*, 3.5–6) find their inversion in the negative attributes of Lucifer; the colors of his three faces symbolize impotence, ignorance, and malice. The symbolism of 3 attaches to Purgatory (the subdivision into three areas, the three steps at Saint Peter's gate in *Purgatory* 9, the three nights spent there) as well as to paradise, where, in addition to the overwhelming presence of the Trinity throughout (especially in the sphere of the sun), the final image of the divine essence is of a triple rainbow: *tre giri/di tre colori e d'una contenenza* ("three circles of three colors and one circumference," *Paradise*, 33.116–117). And Beatrice herself is seated in the third tier of the celestial rose (*Paradise*, 32.7–9).

For virtually all medieval theologians, the most sacred number, 7, is the number of humanity, the fullness and wholeness of life on earth, and universality. It is the number of man, as the sum of the soul and body (3 + 4), and the number of time, because God created the universe in six days, resting on the seventh. While 6 also symbolizes time, it is

traditionally taken to represent the number of distinct historical eras from Adam and Eve to the present. At the close of his *City of God* Augustine posits a final, future era of peace and tranquillity on earth, a seventh age, which in turn heralds the age of eternal repose in the afterlife. Consequently, 7 symbolizes the fullness or completeness of earthly life. There are the seven days of week, seven ages, seven planets, seven tones in the Gregorian mode, seven diurnal canonical hours (lauds, prime, tierce, sext, nones, vespers, compline), and seven sciences (the trivium and quadrivium). The moral structure of Purgatory is based on the traditional opposition between the seven virtues and the seven capital vices. The seven virtues are balanced by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the seven beatitudes. So significant is the mysterious power of 7 that Peter Lombard, at the suggestion of Hugh of Saint Victor and Roland of Parma, established in his *Sentences* that the holy sacraments should be seven because seven was a mystical number (La Monte 1949, 395). Among modern critics, Singleton has argued that Dante contrived to feature the number 7 at the very center of the *Commedia*, by arranging the length of the central canto and of the three cantos on either side of it so as to create a pattern of chiasmus. The fact that the central canto, *Purgatorio* 17, containing 139 verses, was preceded by cantos of 151, 145, and 145 verses, and followed by cantos of precisely 145, 145, and 151 verses, seemed to him part of a conscious design to depict the idea of "conversion," since chiasmus reverses the previous order of things, and to disclose a correspondence with the seven terraces of Purgatory. Moreover, Singleton believed that summing the digits of these verse numbers held further significance: the number of the framing cantos, 151, broke down into $1 + 5 + 1 = 7$, highlighting the number 7 yet again; and 145 became $1 + 4 + 5 = 10$, where 10 is the perfect number. But it should be observed that taking into account all canto lengths, from the shortest (the 130 verses of *Inferno* 7) to the longest (the 160 verses of *Purgatory* 32), summing the digits produces only four different numbers (4, 7, 10, and 13); and each of these numbers, except, perhaps, 4 (which occurs only four times), can be viewed as possessing symbolic meaning (13 being conceived, following tradition, as $10 + 3$). In the last analysis, because summing the digits virtually always produces an inevitable number, this kind of calculation may not be of special importance. Furthermore, symmetrical patterns

like the one Singleton noted can be found elsewhere in the poem (e.g., *Purgatory* 3-9: 145, 139, 136, 151, 136, 139, 145).

Because 7 symbolized the fullness of life on earth, the succeeding number, 8, came to express the idea of resurrection and salvation, as being one beyond 7; Christ's resurrection took place on an eighth day of the week; for that reason, Sunday became the lord's day and all major feasts are celebrated for eight days. It is also the number of baptism, because that rite establishes the possibility of the salvation of the soul. Consequently, a large majority of baptismal fonts and baptisteries in Europe are octagonal. On the closing page of the *City of God*, as noted earlier, Augustine speaks of a final eighth day of eternal rest in the otherworld following the seventh age in this world. The number 8 was also seen as expressing the idea of renewal in music, where the eighth tone renewed the first at the octave. In mathematics the symbol for infinity, called the lemniscate, is the number eight placed on its side; it was chosen because of the association between eternity and infinity, as well as because one could trace the number in writing continuously *ad infinitum* without lifting pen from paper. (The first documented use of this symbol is by the mathematician John Wallis, in *Arithmetica infinitorum* in 1656.) Significantly, Dante's earthly paradise—the garden on the summit of Purgatory that was the original site of the garden of Eden where man fell, now the locus of redemption—is placed on the eighth tier of the mountain. In paradise, the eighth sphere, that of the fixed stars, is the heaven in which the triumph of Christ and the church triumphant are manifested, thereby establishing a symmetrical correspondence with the appearance of the church militant in the procession in the earthly paradise.

Numbers may possess inherent, culturally assigned symbolic properties, as the preceding examples illustrate. But Dante also creates his own numerical symbolism on at least one salient occasion: his prophetic reference to the coming of the slayer of the Antichrist of his day, the papacy prostituted at the hands of the French king, Philip the Fair, who removed the papal court from Rome to Avignon. This mysterious figure is known only by the code name *cinquecento diece e cinque* (*Purgatory*, 33.43), or 515, a number formulated to echo in reverse the number of the Antichrist, 666, the beast of the Book of Revelation (13: 18). Despite a wealth of proposed solutions, some

reasonable, others far-fetched, the identity of Dante's political redeemer remains shrouded in mystery. Or perhaps it would be better to say that while the identity of Dante's hero is widely believed to be Henry VII of Luxembourg, no one is quite able to prove this numerologically. It has been suggested that the number expressed in Roman numerals, DXV, signifies Henry because those letters, rearranged, spell out the Latin word for "leader" (DUX, where V in Latin is the letter U). Edward Moore offered a suggestion that relied on gematria, or the numerical values of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet, to generate the name Arrico (a variant of Arrigo, or Henry). This suggestion may be the most ingenious, but it has not proved any more convincing than other interpretations. In fact, no attempt at decoding the conundrum of 515 can be said to have gained overwhelming favor: its significance remains a mystery.

Boccaccio

Boccaccio almost certainly had Dante's *Commedia* in mind when he assigned 100 tales to the *Decameron*, although his title derives from another work based on the temporal scheme of a sequence of days—Saint Ambrose's *Hexameron*, written almost 1,000 years earlier. By his title, Boccaccio sought to champion a new secular vision of human affairs that would shift the focus from the intensely spiritual and doctrinal attitude of his models to an emancipated celebration of life as it is lived, in its bounteous diversity, and of the virtues of *saper vivere*. Ten storytellers each tell one tale on each of ten days, making a total of 100 stories, a number that expresses universality within multiplicity and harmony within diversity. Critics have tried to decipher the moral and allegorical identities of the storytellers, and to explain Boccaccio's choice of three male and seven female protagonists. The most suggestive reading has been proposed by Kirkham (1978), who discerns a pattern based on the seven virtues (four cardinal and three theological) and three faculties of the soul (reason, the concupiscible appetite, and the irascible appetite). She finds support for this pattern in several other of Boccaccio's vernacular works that likewise make use of numerological symbolism. Her analysis of *Caccia di Diana*, *Amorosa*

visione (comprising 5 cantos), and *Teseida* suggests that if any number is most dear to Boccaccio, it is 5, which symbolizes marriage—2 (female) + 3 (male) = 5 (perfect union)—as well as the opposite, sensuality or adulter). (Dante may well have had a similar reason in mind for assigning his tale of Francesca da Rimini to the fifth canto of *Inferno*.) The *Teseida* comprises twelve books, in clear imitation of the epic convention that Virgil established when he evoked a proportional connection with the twenty-four books of the *Odyssey* and the twenty-four of the *Iliad* in his own twelve-book *Aeneid*. The association of the number 12 (or a multiple of twelve) with the structure of an epic became so compelling that both Milton and Tasso would extend their poems to proper epic length: *Paradise Lost* went from ten to twelve books, and the *Gerusalemme liberata* was expanded from twenty books to twenty-four in the *Gerusalemme conquistata*. After all, Statius had divided his *Thebaid* into twelve books, as Valerius Flaccus had intended for his *Argonautica*. Although Lucan's *Pharsalia* has only ten books, the poem, left unfinished, preserves signs that he intended to write twelve: Book 6, following Virgil, contains the underworld scene in which the future ruin of Pompey and Roman rule is prophesied.

Petrarch

It is clear that Petrarch intended his epic *Africa* to reach twelve books, even though he abandoned work in the ninth, for in Book 6 he inserts the mandatory underworld scene. His *Bucolicum carmen*, a collection of pastoral poems in Latin, contains twelve eclogues, but their topic has little to do with the epic world. His large collection of letters, *Rerum familiarum libri*, was originally divided in twelve, then twenty, and finally twenty-four books. The last division occurred at the time Petrarch was studying Greek with Leonzio Pilato, the first person to teach Greek in Italy. Since the last letter in the collection is addressed to Homer, it seems inescapable that Petrarch meant to pay homage to the greatest poet of antiquity, the father of the epic, by evoking the Homeric number.

If Boccaccio chooses 5 as his personal number, Petrarch embraces the number 6. It is the *senhal* of his beloved, Laura, as 9 was for Dante's

Beatrice. Petrarch's love for Laura, which informs the lyric collection known as the *Canzoniere*, is born on 6 April 1327, and Laura dies on 6 April 1348, dates that Petrarch makes coincide with Good Friday. The fact that in 1327 Good Friday fell on 10 April and that Laura died on 18 April indicates the degree to which Petrarch sought to fashion and preserve Laura's symbolic identity in poetic form. The number 6 had a long-standing connection in Biblical commentary: the birth of man takes place on the sixth day of creation, and the death of Christ on the sixth day of the week—both Fridays. One tradition, moreover, held that Christ died at the sixth hour of the day, at noon, just before the sun began its decline. Moreover, 6 symbolized the caducity of human life, the fleeting beauty of temporal joy, the vanity of human dreams, the imperfection of an earthly existence destined to pass away, and the inescapability of human mortality, a complex of attitudes the poet summed up in the figure of Laura. For Petrarch, Friday must have held etymological and nominative significance as well: *venerdì* is the day of Venus, goddess of love and sensuality, whose son Cupid is the formal cause of Petrarch's experience of love. Petrarch would also divide his only other vernacular work, the *Trionfi*, into six parts, although he ultimately left it unfinished.

The *Canzoniere* underwent multiple textual revisions at the hand of the poet, but in its final form it contained 366 lyrics, a number that has suggested to many critics a connection with the number of days in a year, symbolizing the course of life on a smaller scale, and the cyclic nature of the poet's love for Laura, which alternates between periods of exuberant joy and recriminatory contrition. Leaving aside those who consider the number entirely adventitious, there are three ways in which it has been interpreted symbolically. Some critics argue that it represents simply a leap year. Others are persuaded that it represents a year of 365 days, and that the first poem, which provides a retrospective judgment of the poet's amatory experience, functions as an introduction or prologue to the collection (hence a total of $1 + 365 = 366$). Still others accept the equivalence of 365 with the passage of a single complete earthly year but see the last poem, the *canzone* dedicated to the Virgin Mary, as representing life beyond death (Zottoli 1928). Hence the pattern is expressed as $365 + 1$, where the first number expresses a solar year on earth, under the aegis of the sun, and the second symbolizes the

perfection and uniqueness of eternity, which triumphs over earthly existence. Such a pattern not only is typical of medieval numerology—Augustine thought of 11 as the number of evil because it transgressed the number 10, which embodied the ten commandments—but has a corollary in *Trionfi*, which comprises a series of triumphs ending in the triumph of eternity.

Roche (1974) was the first to trace out an actual connection between the 366 lyrics and the day-by-day progress of the year. He discovered that if the first poem represents the first day, and if the first day is Good Friday, 6 April, then the beginning of the second part of the work, as defined by *canzone* 264, falls on Christmas, 25 December. The linking of the birth of the poet's love for Laura with Christ's death and the death of Laura with Christ's birth has seemed to many too precise to be mere happenstance, despite the presence of several complicating factors. Roche's groundwork for even more detailed connections with the liturgical calendar has received less attention, but any pattern that becomes excessively complex invariably invites a higher degree of skepticism on the part of readers.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri; Petrarca, Francesco

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O

Occitan Language in Italy

An Occitan dialect is still spoken in the Cottian Alps by the Waldensians, who in the fourteenth century composed religious texts in assonance or rhyme, of which *La Nobla Leïçon*, an exposition of the evangelical precepts and doctrines of the sect, is the most important. For the rest, Occitan existed in medieval Italy only as a literary language, understood at least since the last quarter of the twelfth century because the troubadour Peire Bremon lo Tort had stayed at the court of the margraves of Monferrat in 1176 or 1177. Other troubadours and wandering minstrels followed, and their presence is attested to at the courts of the margraves of Este in Ferrara and the counts of Malaspina in Oramala (Lunigiana). Soon, northern Italian poets—such as Sordello (born c. 1200 at Goito near Mantua), Lanfranco Cigala (attested to in Genoese documents, 1235-1257), and, among the minor poets, Bartolomeo Zorzi (a Venetian, imprisoned in Genoa from 1266 to 1273) and the Genoese Bonifacio Calvo—also adopted Occitan as their literary language, often with quite a few Italianisms. Dante (*Convivio*, 1.10) defended the Italian vernacular against those who preferred *la lingua d'oco*, but he himself was also capable of composing complete passages in that language to praise the troubadour Arnaut Daniel (*Divina Commedia*, *Purgatory*, 26.140-147).

Conversely, the poets of the Sicilian school and their "leader Giacomo da Lentini (attested to in 1233 and 1240), encouraged by Emperor Frederick II, a poet himself, imitated many of the forms and much of the content of the Occitan love lyrics by inventing their own literary language, based on the Sicilian dialect, Italianizing many key words and concepts of Occitan poetry, such as *pregio* for *pretz* ("merit," "distinction"), *gioia* for *gaug* ("joy") and *joi* ("pleasure"), and *valore* for *valor* ("merit," "price"). However, with the death of the emperor (1250) this artificial language disappeared, being "Tuscanized" by the scribes of

the manuscripts containing the Sicilian poets' lyrics.

See also Bonifacio Calvo; Dante Alighieri; Giacomo da Lentini; Lanfranc Cigala; Scuola Poetica Siciliana; Sordello

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Odo Delle Colonne

Odo delle Colonne (thirteenth century) is the author of two *canzoni*, transmitted by the Vatican Codex 3793, where they appear in the section reserved for Sicilians. The second *canzone*, *Oi lassa namorata*, bears no name of an author; but the first, *Distretto core e amoroso*, is attributed to *messer* Odo de le Colonne di Messina. There seems little doubt that he was from Messina. Monaci (1955), however, identified him with an Odo delle Colonne who was senator in Rome in 1238 and

again in 1241, but this hypothesis was rebutted by Torraca (1902). The title *messer* points to Odo's social prominence, but we know nothing about his life, and we have no proof that he was related to Guido delle Colonne.

See also Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Odovacar

Odovacar (Odoacer, Odovacer, Odovakar; c. 433-493) was of diverse barbarian parentage: his father seems to have been a Hun and his mother perhaps a Scirian, although he is also referred to as a Goth or a Rugian. Odovacar apparently is to be identified as the "Adovacrius" who in the mid-460s led a band of Saxons in an attack on Angers in Gaul. By the early 470s, he had decided to pursue a career in Roman service in Italy, where he became a member of the imperial bodyguard. In 476, he was proclaimed *rex* (king) by the barbarian soldiers in Italy

after their requests for land had been refused. Odovacar then proceeded to depose the young usurper Romulus (r. 475-476). He then notified the eastern emperor Zeno (r. 474-491) that the west no longer needed an emperor of its own and that he, Odovacar, would be content to rule Italy in Zeno's name in the capacity of "patrician." These terms were granted. In 489, Italy was invaded by Theodoric the Ostrogoth; and after being besieged in Ravenna for three years, Odovacar finally surrendered on condition that he and Theodoric would rule Italy jointly. Soon thereafter, however, Odovacer and his family were murdered by Theodoric. Odovacar serves as an example par excellence of barbarian adventurers who successfully pursued their careers in the midst of the decay of the western Roman empire.



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See also Huns; Ravenna; Theodoric; Zeno, Emperor

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Ognibene

Ognibene (d. 1185) was one of the earliest canonists. He taught at Bologna until 1157. In 1156 he published his *Liber aureus decretorum concordatorum*, an abbreviated version of Gratian's *Decretum*. It was intended to provide a brief guide to Gratian's complex collection. Ognibene served as bishop of Verona from 1157 until his death.

See also Gratian; Law: Canon

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Old Roman Chant

Old Roman chant is the music for the liturgy of the Roman Catholic church as primarily recorded in five manuscripts, all copied in Rome between the eleventh century and the thirteenth. These consist of three books for the mass (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di San Pietro, MS F. 22; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di San Pietro, MS lat. 5319; and Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, MS 74) and two for the office (London, British Library, MS Add. 29988; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di San Pietro, MS B. 79). In the sources for the mass, the texts and liturgical calendar that these books preserve are, on the whole, similar to the more familiar Gregorian chant repertoire (though they suggest an earlier stage of liturgical development than their Gregorian counterparts). Their melodies, however, are often quite different, showing a preference for stepwise melodic motion, long and elaborate melismatic passages, and recitational procedures that consist of the hypnotic repetition of two-note *podatus* figures. Yet undeniable musical relationships are usually clear between the Gregorian and Roman settings of the same liturgical text. Old Roman chant is, then, a different melodic redaction of the same repertoire that lies behind the more familiar Gregorian version, as opposed to truly distinct and non-Roman repertoires such as the Milanese and the Spanish.

Many theories have been advanced to explain the origins of Roman chant and its chronological relationship to the Gregorian corpus. The monks of Solesmes described it as a late and decadent curiosity and explained its highly ornate style as a corruption of the presumed original (which they were certain was preserved in the Gregorian sources). The subject lay largely untouched until 1950, when Stablein (1952) suggested that the Roman chant and the better-known Gregorian were sung simultaneously in seventh-century Rome. The earlier dialect, Stablein said, was the Roman, which he described as the original repertoire edited by Gregory the Great. The Gregorian version represented a thorough melodic revision of the chant undertaken by *singers* during the reign of Pope Vitalian (657-672), as an expression of Rome and the papacy's emergence as a world power free from

Byzantine and Lombard constraints. Josef Smits van Waesberghe and Ewald Jammers also saw the two versions thriving simultaneously in Rome: Smits van Waesberghe held that Gregorian was the chant sung in the papal court and described Roman chant as the version used in Roman monasteries; Jammers linked the origin of Gregorian chant to polyphonic performance in imitation of Byzantine practice.

The notion of two melodic redactions of a single repertoire, sung simultaneously in Rome, has been generally discarded following the work of Huckle (1955, 1980). He held that Gregorian chant stemmed from the introduction of the Roman chant into the Carolingian empire at the behest of Pepin and Charlemagne: "It is the result of the adaptation of Roman chant by the Franks, a version of Roman chant created by Frankish cantors, a kind of translation of foreign music into their own musical language" (1980). More recent studies have focused on the influence of orality on the transmission of both the Gregorian and the Roman redactions before they came to be written down, and the degree to which the extant sources for either version might better reflect the chant as it was sung in eighth-century Rome when it was first exported north.

See also **Gregorian Chant; Liturgy**

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Opicino de Canistris (24 December 1296-c. 1355) was born near Pavia, where his family was deeply involved in the Guelf faction. The family spent several years in exile in Genoa; there, Opicino learned the art of manuscript illumination. When the family returned to Pavia in 1318, Opicino became a chaplain at the cathedral and studied theology and law. In 1324, he was elected rector of the small parish of Santa Maria Capella. Opicino left Pavia in 1328, perhaps in the wake of political unrest, and settled eventually at the papal court at Avignon. In addition to various expectations of benefices in Pavia, he obtained the position of scribe in the apostolic penitentiary.

In 1334, Opicino suffered a severe illness that left him partially crippled and mute and impaired his memory. Although he regained almost all his faculties, the illness, in conjunction with a series of dreams and visions, seems to have caused a profound change in his attitude toward his life and religion, which he discussed and worked out in the two manuscripts written soon afterward. We have little information about Opicino's life from c. 1340 until his death in Avignon, probably in 1355.

From his autobiographical comments, we know that Opicino wrote and translated several religious works (including, for example, a book on the poverty of Christ). Of his extant works, *De preeminencia spiritualis imperii*, written in 1329, is a polemic defending the supremacy of papal rule. In 1330, he composed a vivid description of the city of Pavia and its religious and social life, which is a fundamental source for later medieval Pavian history. The two works written shortly after his conversion (c. 1336-1337) also survive. These untitled autograph manuscripts deal with a wide range of topics, connected by a concern for understanding the relationship between the visible and the spiritual worlds. Many of the examples and issues stem from his experience as a parish priest and as a citizen of one of the troubled communes of Lombardy. Opicino's technique in these manuscripts is particularly interesting, since he relies equally on texts and schematic drawings to develop and express his ideas. The drawings combine portolan charts of the Mediterranean with other types of maps, diagrams, and figural representations; the graphic layering characteristic of his work gave Opicino a way of expressing the world, the church, and even the individual Christian as a series of overlaid

realities, ranging from the material to the spiritual. Opicino's works, taken together, represent an important source for the political, religious, and intellectual concerns of one fourteenth-century Italian priest.

See also Avignonese Papacy; Painting; Miniature; Pavia

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Orcagna, Andrea Di Cione

Andrea di Cione, known as Orcagna (d. 1368), belonged to an extended family of Florentine artists, among whom he and his brother Nardo are best-known to modern scholars. Both artists were also well-known in their own time. Indeed, in a list identifying the six most prominent painters of Florence, compiled in 1349 (near the midpoint of Andrea's career), Andrea and Nardo occupy the third and fourth positions, respectively.

Over the course of his career Orcagna worked as a painter, sculptor, and architect, but he was trained as a painter and identifies himself as such even on the great sculptured tabernacle in Or San Michele

(Orsanmichele). Thanks to the efforts of Kreytenberg and others, who have pieced together the extant documents and the known works, we now have a relatively comprehensive picture of Orcagna's career. We know that he matriculated in the Florentine painters' guild (part of the larger Arte dei Medici e Speziali) sometime between 1343 and 1346. We also know that he joined the guild of builders and masons in 1352. Between 1343 and 1360 Orcagna executed paintings and sculptures for many important civic and ecclesiastical sites in Florence, including the city's prison, the city grain market of Or San Michele, and the great mendicant churches of Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella. At Santa Maria Novella, he was involved in the decoration of the Cappella Maggiore, one of the most important commissions of the day. Beginning in 1357 Orcagna participated in the ongoing planning of the cathedral of Florence; and in 1358 he was appointed *capomaestro* of the masons' workshop for the cathedral in Orvieto.



Orcagna (c. 1308-c. 1368), *Christ as Redeemer with Saints*. Polyptych (Strozzi altarpiece). Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Orcagna's presumed early works include the great fresco of the *Triumph of Death, the Last Judgment, and Hell* for the nave of the church of Santa Croce, which was attributed to him following Ghiberti's testimony and is now generally held to have been painted in 1344-1345.

Another early work is a frescoed roundel depicting the *Expulsion of the Duke of Athens* (now in the Palazzo Vecchio), painted for the entry hall of Florence's prison, the *carcere delle Stinche*. This fresco, which has been attributed to Orcagna on stylistic grounds, was possibly commissioned as early as 1343-1344, immediately after the expulsion from Florence of the infamous duke of Athens, Walter of Brienne. It is a permanent version of the type of ephemeral defamatory images (*pittura infamata*) commonly commissioned by Italian cities to be painted on the facades of public buildings. In Orcagna's painting, realistic details, including a remarkably accurate portrait of the Palazzo Vecchio as it appeared during the rule of the duke of Athens, are unified in an abstract narrative structure to produce an effect of reality within a timeless image of the triumph of virtue over tyranny.

Until relatively recently, scholars of art history generally associated Orcagna with a retrogressive style of painting that supposedly took hold in Florence after the black death. In fact, Meiss (1951) considered Orcagna's great altarpiece *Christ with Saints Thomas and Peter*, made for the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, an example of this style. Although Meiss's study remains a powerfully persuasive piece of *eckphrasis*, his assessment of Orcagna's style as the repository of a general cultural psychology has been challenged by scholars who have looked less to the history of style and more to the circumstances of individual commissions to explain the formal characteristics of Orcagna's work. In this process, paintings like the Strozzi altarpiece have emerged as highly sophisticated visual structures. In his work for the Strozzi Chapel, Orcagna manipulated space and form to evoke a sacred vision, which appears in the midst of a panoramic view of the *Last Judgment* painted by his brother Nardo on the surrounding walls.

One of Orcagna's most important commissions was the richly decorated marble tabernacle for Or San Michele, designed and executed between 1352 and 1360. The site—on the main street leading from the Duomo to the Palazzo Vecchio—was not only the city's grain market but also a nexus of power. Or San Michele served as the center of devotion for the city's guilds, and Orcagna's tabernacle was commissioned by the Compagnia della Madonna di Orsanmichele to enshrine a miracle-working image of the Madonna that had made the site the center of a popular cult. Actually, the object enshrined in

Andrea's tabernacle was a newly painted image commissioned in 1346 by the *compagnia* from Bernardo Daddi. The tabernacle itself is a freestanding marble structure, inlaid with stone and gold glass and covered with relief sculptures, including scenes from the *Life of the Virgin*. The structure is neatly tied, both thematically and visually, to the surrounding loggia, with a crowning figure of Saint Michael (San Michele), rising to nearly touch one of the bosses of the vaulting. As Cassidy (1992) has shown, the tabernacle was also engineered to meet the needs of the cult, with movable screens which normally shrouded the image of the Virgin but which could be raised to reveal the icon on Sundays, feast days, and other significant occasions. It was in connection with this commission that Orcagna, a painter, became a member of the guild of masons and stone workers; and it was presumably through this project, for which he must have assembled a workshop of skilled masons and sculptors, that he established his credentials as an orchestrator of architectural decoration.



Orcagna, Tabernacle. Or San Michele, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

See also Florence; Nardo di Cione; Painting: Fresco; Painting: Panel

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Ordinances of Justice

The promulgation in Florence of the *ordinamenti ai giustizia*, or "ordinances of justice," over several months in 1293 marked one of the final stages of the rise to full political power of the *popolo*, the association of prosperous, non-noble urban citizens who tended to dominate the guilds. The communal government issued twenty-two rubrics on 18 January 1293. During the priorate of Giano della Bella (15 February-15 April), the priors added five more ordinances to the original twenty-two. The communal councils approved several more rubrics in May, August, and September of 1293. As a whole, the ordinances of 1293 covered at least two areas of concern: they laid the basic constitutional foundation for the new regime of the priorate (established 1282), and they codified investigative procedures to be followed and civil penalties to be levied against magnate lineages for violence perpetrated against persons and property. They also included measures designed to eliminate governmental corruption. All in all, by defending the interests of the *popolo* (especially the lesser guildsmen or *popolo minuto*) against those of the traditional elite, the ordinances of justice helped provide political legitimization for the guild-based regime of the priorate.

The first four rubrics affirmed the political importance of the guilds, creating guidelines and eligibility requirements governing elections to the highest offices of the commune. Only guildsmen were eligible to be elected to the priorate; knights were excluded. Rubric 4 created a seventh member for the priorate, the *gonfaloniere digiustizia*, or "standard-bearer of justice." He commanded a 1,000-man military force and was responsible for the enforcement of the ordinances of justice and the maintenance of civic order.

The ordinances of justice of 1293 also codified discriminatory civil penalties and procedures to prevent and punish acts of violence perpetrated by magnate houses against each other and against members of the *popolo* (rubrics 5-22). Antimagnate legislation to restrain violent

behavior was common in communes throughout northern Italy; Bologna had passed similar legislation between 1282 and 1292. The tendency of magnates to engage in blood feuds and threaten *popolani* had been a menace to civic order. In 1281, the commune of Florence had required magnate houses to post a security bond, set by law in 1286 at 2000 *lire*, to guarantee peace and order in the city. The law of 1286 had designated a lineage as "magnate" in either of three ways: the inclusion of at least one knight in the past twenty years, designation as magnate by popular opinion, and the posting of a security bond. The ordinances of justice increased the number of lineages designated by communal officials as magnates from thirty-eight to seventy-two urban houses. In all, the commune considered about 147 lineages in the city and *contado* to be magnates.

The penalties outlined in 1293 were generally harsher than those outlined in the previous legislation, especially for acts of violence against property and persons. The ordinances of 1293 stipulated that a magnate who killed a *popolano* would lose his life and property. A magnate who struck a *popolano* without drawing blood had to pay a 500 *lire* fine. Guarantors (*fideiussore*s) had to pay the requisite fines if a condemned magnate defaulted. One provision extended special communal protection to church property, which was a traditional source of status and income for many magnate houses and over which several had often feuded.

The ordinances of justice also made magnates ineligible for the highest offices in the government (the *signoria*). As noted above, the priorate that presided between 15 February and 15 April, which included Giano della Bella (a champion of the interests of the lesser guildsmen), added five more rubrics to the ordinances on April 10 and 11. The most important one, which appeared as rubric 34 in the later edition of the ordinances (1295), excluded magnates from the "council of the hundred," from the special and general "councils of the captain of the people," and from the guild consulates. Another rubric stipulated that kinsmen would be held responsible for magnates who had refused to post the security bond and had committed a crime.

In May, August, and September, the communal councils approved several more measures to reinforce and strengthen the ordinances of justice. These appeared as rubrics 35-62 in the edition of 1295. The most

important of these supplementary rubrics (number 50 in the 1295 edition) declared that anyone excluded from the guild consulates or from the councils of the captain of the people was ineligible to be prior, standard-bearer of justice, or judge. This all-important law effectively barred magnates from serving in the priorate and was the most important anti-magnate measure passed by the government in 1293. The ordinances of justice therefore had helped redefine the criteria for elite status in the commune, shifting it from knighthood to membership in a guild.

Actual enforcement of the provisions appears to have been spotty, although the commune did establish a prison for magnates in August 1294. According to the chronicler Giovanni Villani (8.1), the first magnates to be punished under the provisions of the ordinances were the Galli. In 1295, the regime revised the ordinances of 1293 and issued another text that contained sixty-two rubrics, including those passed after April 1293.

See also Florence; Guilds

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Orestes

Orestes (d. 476) was a native of Pannonia (Hungary). He first appears as the notary (secretary) of Attila the Hun. In 449, Orestes was twice sent as Attila's ambassador to Constantinople. Following Attila's death in 453, Orestes vanishes from history and does not reappear until 475, when he was made patrician and master of soldiers by the western emperor Julius Nepos (r. 474-480). Orestes responded by marching on Ravenna in 475 and putting Nepos to flight. Orestes then named his young son Romulus as western emperor but retained the real power in his own hands. In the next year, Orestes was captured and killed by the barbarian chieftain Odovacar (Odoacer) near Piacenza. The boy Romulus was allowed to abdicate and retire to an estate on the bay of Naples.

See also **Odovacar**

Orfino of Lodi

The Ghibelline partisan Orfino of Lodi (c. 1195—c. 1251) was a judge and government functionary in the March of Ancona under the imperial vicars Frederick of Antioch and Richard of Chieti. Orfino is best-known for his Latin poem *De regimine et sapientia potestatis* ("The Rule and Wisdom of a Governor"), a metrically varied treatise of some 1,600 lines. The poem begins with a laudatory history of the Swabian dynasty in Italy culminating in a panegyric on the reigning emperor Frederick II. At lines 280-298 there is a formal exordium, and the remainder, except for a short epilogue, is devoted to a consideration of human nature and to precepts on city governance, with a strong emphasis on law and the courts. The poem is thus a contribution to the usually prose "*podestà* literature" of the period. It was apparently begun in or shortly before 1245 and was transmitted with marginal additions suggesting ongoing revision. It is written principally in leonine hexameters. End-rhyme is frequent and is most often used to form couplets setting off individual maxims; this device is sometimes used more extensively for other special effects. Scattered throughout the work are more than 100 elegiac distichs and three brief "inserts" in different accentual forms.

The anonymous author of *De laude civitatis Laude* ("Laudation of the City of Lodi," in eighty-eight lines, probably written between 1252 and 1259) praises Orfino as one of the city's glories and helps himself to several verses from his predecessor's poem.

See also Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Latin Literature

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Orlandi, Guido

The Florentine poet Guido Orlandi (c. 1264-c. 1333 or 1338; was a member of the powerful Rustichelli family. He began to participate actively in civic affairs c. 1290, and by 1296 he had held several important positions in the city government. After 1296, his name seems to disappear from historical records for some time. We know, however, that he was sympathetic to the Black Guelfs; after their famous expulsion of the Whites in 1302, he commemorated the victory in his sonnet *Color di cener fatti son li Bianchi*. This was an allegiance that lasted at least until 1313, when Guido's name appears on the list of Black Guelfs condemned by Emperor Henry VII. The two additional references made to the poet in extant documents allow us to place his death somewhere between 1333 and 1338.

Orlandi's literary production (three ballads and seventeen sonnets) shows a relatively wide range of influences. As a rule, his poems are conservative in nature and show his indebtedness, both thematic and lexical, to the Sicilian school and the Provençals. Although the effect of the *stil novo* poets is certainly discernible in his poetry (as in *Come servo francato* and *Partire amor nonn-oso*), it is consistently moderated by allusions to and stylistic borrowings from Giacomo da Lentini and the troubadours. Of perhaps greatest interest to literary historians is Orlandi's poetry of correspondence, which accounts, remarkably, for fourteen of his twenty compositions. Among the recipients of these *tenzoni* (nearly all of which are dedicated to the subject of love) were Guido Cavalcanti, Dino Compagni, and Dante da Maiano. The incompatibility of the conventional style of Guido Orlandi and the

innovative ideas of Guido Cavalcanti makes their exchange of sonnets especially interesting. Indeed, it was in response to Orlandi's *Onde si move, e donde nasce Amore?* that Cavalcanti composed the famous *canzone Donna me prega*.

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Compagni, Dino; Dante da Maiano; Dolce Stil Nuovo

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Orlandi Da Pistoia, Lemmo

Very little is known about the life of the lyric poet Lemmo Orlandi da Pistoia (Guglielmo, c. 1260-c. 1294), except that his father was Giovanni di Rolando di Oddo; that he married a certain Sobilia, the daughter of Picchio d'Inghilberto, c. 1278; and that they had two children, Vanni and Frosina.

The two *canzoni* and one *cobbola* (an isolated *canzone stanza*) of Lemmo Orlandi da Pistoia reflect, by and large, the attitudes and themes of the Provençal, Sicilian, and Siculo-Tuscan schools. In the two

canzoni—*Gravoso affanno e pena* and *Fera cagione e dura* (both found uniquely in MS Rediano 9, in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence)—he reiterates his faithful service to his lady and his hope that she will alleviate his physical torment by showing him compassion. In the *cobbola*, *Lontana dimoranza*, he examines the condition of tension in which he finds himself—torn between two differently motivated states of sadness. One cause of grief is the fact that he must dwell far away from his lady; the other cause, equally great, is that once he has returned home, he must depart from her again. In the last two verses—*Così del rimanere/e dell'andare son diverse pene* ("Thus staying and leaving are both painful, each in a different way")—we see how he combines the contrasting states of "staying" and "leaving" to refer both to his own state and to that of his lady, who will also suffer sadness in remaining alone after his departure. One of the four manuscripts containing the *cobbola* (Vatican Lat. 3214) bears the rubric *Lemmo da Pistoia. Et Casella diede il suono* ("Lemmo da Pistoia. And Casella set it to music"). This has given rise to much speculation as to whether Lemmo Orlandi da Pistoia and the Florentine musician Casella (who appears in Canto 2 of Dante's *Purgatorio*) were acquainted. However, we possess none of Casella's music and no evidence, aside from this rubric, of any association between the two.

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Orosius

Paulus Orosius was probably born c. 380-385 in the Roman city of Bracara (now Braga) in Hispania (now Portugal). He was a presbyter (roughly equivalent to a parish priest) and seems to have taken a

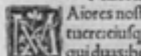
leading role in fighting heresy in his homeland. In 413 or 414, he traveled to North Africa and met with Saint Augustine concerning the heresies he was fighting. Augustine sent him on to Saint Jerome, who was living in Palestine; there, Orosius became embroiled in a theological controversy with the Pelagians, which he describes in his *Liber apologeticus*. Orosius made his way back to Africa and, at Augustine's urging, wrote his most famous work, *Historiarum adversum Paganos libri vii* (*Seven Books of History against the Pagans*), which presents a universal history from the fall of Adam to Orosius's own day. Orosius was responding—as Augustine responded in Book 3 of *The City of God*—to speculation that the recent sack of Rome at the hands of Alaric's Visigoths had been caused by Christians' abandonment of the pagan gods. Orosius set out to prove that things had actually been far worse in pagan times. He described world history as a succession of four empires: the Babylonian, Macedonian (established by Alexander the Great), African (established by Carthage), and Roman. The vicissitudes of each of these powers reveal the providential hand of God directing history for the benefit of humanity. The establishment of the Christian church, which worked with and within the Roman empire to the advantage of all, is the fruit of this divine ordering of history.



Go initium miserie hominum ab initio peccantis hominis ducere institui: paucis distaxati: iisdemq; breuiter deliberatis. Sit autem ab Adam primo homine usq; ad Ninum magnū iudicant regem: quādo natus est Abraham anni tria milia. xxxiii. qui ab omnibus historiographis uel omnissi uel ignorati sūt. A Nino autē uel abraham usq; ad Cæsare augustum id est usq; ad natiuitatem Christi qui fuit āno imperii Cæsaris. xlii. cum facta pace cum Parthis Iani portę clausa fuis: & bella toto orbe cellantes coliguntur anni duo milia. xy. in quibus inter se autores scripto

reliq; omniū oia negotiaq; triuerūt: quā ppter res ipsa exigat ex his libris q; breuissime uel pauca attingere: qui originē mundi loquentes preteritoq; fidem annūciatōe futuroq; & post subsequa phantōe fecerūt: non quo auctoritatem coque cuiq; uidemur ingerere: sed q; operæ precium sit de opinione uulgata: quæ nobis cum oibus cōmunis est cōmonere: primum quia si diuina puidētia quæ sicut bona ita pia & iusta est: agitur homo & mundus hominē autem qui cōuertibilitate naturæ & libertate licentia infirmus & cōtinuus est: sicut pie gubernare egenuū opīs oportet ita iuste corripi immoderate libertatis necesse ē: iure ab initio hominis per bona malaq; alternatū exerceri hūc modum sentit quisq; ut per se atq; in se humanū genus uidet: deinde cum ab ipso primo homine peccatum punitioq; peccati corpille doceratur: porro autem cū etiam isti de medijs tēperibus inchoantes: quīs superiorum nūsq; meminerint: nihil nisi bella cladesq; descriperint: quæ bella quid aliud dicenda sunt: nisi urgentia in alterutrum mala: mala autem huiusmodi quæ tunc erant sicut & nunc sunt in quibus sunt sine dubio aut manifeste peccata sunt: aut occulte punitiones peccatorū quid impedimenti est nō eius rei caput pandere: cuius illi corpus exproserint: & priora illa secula quæ multo numerosiora monstrabimus: uel tenui limo testari relata similes miseria pertulisse. Dicturus igitur ab epe cōdito usq; ad urbem conditā: de hinc usq; ad Cæsare precipitum natiuitatemq; Christianicæ quo sub potestate urbis erbis mās imperium uel etiā usq; ad dies nostros in quātum ad cognitionem uacare suffecerit: cōflictatōes generis humani & ueluti per diuersas partes ardentē malis mundum: face cupiditatis incensum & specula ostentaturus: nec solum reor ut primū ipsum terrarum orbē quē inhabitabat humanū genus: sicut est a maioribus tritare distributus: deinde regionibus prouinciisque de terminatus expediam: quo facili⁹ cum locales bellorum morboque clades ostentabū tur: si uideri quæ nō solum rerū ac temporum: sed etiam locorū scientiā cōsequant.

Maiores nostri in tres partes mundum totum diuisisse. Cap. II.



Maiores nostri orbem totius terræ oceani limbo circumseptum triquadrista tuere: cuiusque tres partes Asiā Europam & Africā uocauerūt: quīs alii qui diuixi: hoc est Asiā: & deinde Africā in Europā accipiendā potauerint. Asia tribus partibus oceano circūcincta p totā transuerſi plagā orientis extendit. Hæc oculum uersus a dextra sui sub axe septentrionis leipitē cōtingit. Europā a sinistra Africā dimittit: sub Aegypto uero & Syria mare nostrū quod magnū generaliter dicimus: habet. Europa incipit septentrionalis a flumine Tanai: quā Riphæi montes Sarmatio uerſi oceāo Tanaim fundit: fluit: qui preteritis aras ac terminos Alexandri magni in Roxolanorū simib⁹ sitos Maotidas auge paludes: quæq; immensa exiata

Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum initium ad Aurelium Augustinum*. Venice: Christoforus de Pensis de Mandello, 1499. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Orosius's work was not frequently mentioned in his own day, but it later became very influential. In 494, Pope Gelasius issued a bull that fully endorsed *Seven Books*, and it remained extremely popular throughout the Middle Ages, surviving in more than 200 manuscripts. It provided a model of a universal Christian historiography, and in many instances it proved more popular than Augustine's subtler and less optimistic view of earthly history in the *City of God*.

See also **Augustine, Saint; Jerome, Saint; Pelagius and Pelagianism**

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Orseolo Family

The Orseolo family produced important doges of Venice during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Pietro I Orseolo (r. 976-978) was the only Venetian doge to be beatified by the Roman church. The Venetians chose this saintly man as doge to calm and rebuild Venice after an angry mob had murdered the previous doge, Pietro Candiano IV, and had set fires that burned the ducal palace, San Marco, and 300 Venetian homes. After two years of mild and equitable government, Pietro I abdicated at the urging of Saint Romuald, founder of the Camaldolese order, and secretly left his city, his wife, and his son to become a monk. He spent the rest of his life in contemplation and self-denial in the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa in southern France. Meanwhile, under his successor, Tribuno Mennio (or Memo), Venetian affairs returned to chaos, from which the city would be delivered by Pietro II Orseolo.

Pietro II Orseolo (r. 991 — 1009), the son of Pietro I, was the true founder of the Venetian state and brought it both internal peace and recognition from foreign powers. He began his reign by making peace

between the feuding families of Venice. He reestablished Venice's commercial relations with the western and eastern empires by treaties with the Saxon emperor Otto III and with the Byzantine coemperors Basil II Bulgaroctonus and Constantine VIII. In 998, he campaigned successfully against Dalmatian pirates (the Narentani) who had terrorized the northern Adriatic for many decades and had exacted tribute from Venice. Pietro II led the Venetian war fleet past the towns of Istria and the Dalmatian coast as far as Zara. When these towns recognized Venice as their protector, he took the title of Duke of Dalmatia. The doge also prevented the Saracens from gaining control of the Adriatic by leading a Venetian fleet to Bari to lift the Saracens' blockade (1002). In Venice, he embellished the ducal palace and chapel, San Marco. Otto III, the young Saxon emperor, admired Pietro II Orseolo so greatly that he was godfather to two of Pietro's children and even visited the doge in Venice, incognito, in the year 1000. The Byzantine emperor Basil II likewise favored Pietro II Orseolo by giving his sister in marriage to John, eldest son of the doge. Otto, the second son of Pietro II, married the sister of Saint Stephen, king of Hungary; their son became King Peter of Hungary (r. 1038-1041). Pietro II Orseolo's reign in Venice ended tragically, with famine and a violent pestilence in which many died, including the doge's eldest son, his Byzantine daughter-in-law, and his grandson. Events of the reigns of Pietro I and Pietro II were chronicled by a contemporary Venetian, John the Deacon, who honored both Orseoli and had participated in their governments.

After the death of Pietro II Orseolo in 1009, his surviving son, Otto, ruled as doge. Otto's executive ability did not equal that of his father or grandfather, and the Venetians expelled him in 1026. Other sons of Pietro II became prominent churchmen of Venice: Orso Orseolo, patriarch of Grado (r. 1013-1040), who served as vice-doge in 1031-1032; and Vitale Orseolo, bishop of Torcello (r. 1013-1048). A certain Domenico Orseolo, of uncertain parentage, briefly served Venice as doge in the summer of 1032. The family became extinct in the twelfth century.

See also **Venice**

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Orsini Family

The Orsini, for centuries rivals of the Colonna for supremacy in Rome, were descended from Orso di Bobone, a nephew of Pope Celestine III (r. 1191-1198). In 1222, Orso's grandson Matteo Rosso I (d. 1246) became the second Orsini senator, and with him began the rise of the family. As leader of the pro-papal Guelfs, he was the first to oppose the Colonna, who appeared on the side of Emperor Frederick II (d. 1250).

In the city of Rome the family's power was centered in the bend of the Tiber River, particularly between the theater of Pompey in the present-day Campo dei Fiori and the mausoleum of Hadrian, both of which were rebuilt as fortresses. In Latium, its power was concentrated to the east and north of Rome. Soon the Orsini were able to acquire from the Angevin kings of Naples fiefs in the kingdom of Naples, although there were also partisans of the Hohenstaufen among the Orsini. Of some eight main lines of the Orsini family, four were also named after their prominent bases of operation.

In 1262, the first division of property in the Orsini family occurred, allowing some insight into the nature of its possessions; in this distribution, Cardinal Giangaetano Orsini (d. 1280) played a significant role. Giangaetano became Pope Nicholas III in 1277; his nepotism was

proverbial and is condemned by Dante (*Inferno*, 19). Several Orsini were entrusted with leading roles in the papal state. Two Orsini—another Matteo Rosso (d. 1305) and Napoleone (d. 1342)—sat in the college of cardinals. Matteo Rosso defended the full authority of the pope, but Napoleone worked to secure broad autonomy in his position as cardinal. Napoleone was one of the most powerful figures in the college of cardinals, to which he belonged for more than half a century, from 1288 to 1342. His political policies were often willful, and in 1305 he had to answer for the fact that the election of a southern Frenchman, Bertrand de Got, as Pope Clement V, which he had made possible, had set in motion the events leading to the removal of the curia to France. However, this absence of the popes from Rome, which lasted for decades, was advantageous to the laymen of the Orsini family, who remained in Rome and were able to enhance their power in competition with the Colonna and associate themselves politically with the Angevin kings of Naples.

In contrast to the Colonna, who were suspected of being Ghibellines, the Guelf Orsini succeeded in protecting their extraordinary position in the papal state and in the college of cardinals; from 1350 to 1405, four Orsini were inducted into the college. The Orsini were also able to adapt to new political conditions in Rome, as is shown by the fact that Cola di Rienzo (d. 1354) found support among them. Giordano di Poncello, from the Orsini line of Monte Giordano, helped Cola militarily and later became rector of the *patrimonium* of Saint Peter. Earl Niccolò of Nola followed Giordano in this office in 1365. The schism of 1378 led to a split within the family, but it also gave the Orsini new opportunities for service as *condottieri*. In later centuries, the Orsini would maintain their prominent position among the Roman baronial nobility.

See also **Rome**

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Orvieto

The town of Orvieto is built on a site of spectacular beauty and considerable strategic value, on top of a stub of volcanic rock, 600 feet (180 meters) above the floor of the valley of the Paglia River. The sheer face of the rock presents a formidable defense against assault. The site also dominates a bridge over the Paglia, on the major road from Rome to Arezzo and Florence. Orvieto's strategic location and probably also its beauty drew the attention of the papacy, and from the mid-twelfth century on, the popes' efforts to strengthen their hold over the Tuscan patrimony of Saint Peter centered in part on Orvieto. In 1157, Orvieto became a self-governing commune within the patrimony. In the thirteenth century, repeated visits from the papal curia made the town an important cultural crossroads. Orvieto faded in importance with the transfer of the curia to Avignon. The town retained its independence within the papal states for almost two centuries; not until 1354 did it give up its liberty and submit to the papal vicar Cardinal Alborno.

Early History

Orvieto's site attracted an urban community at least from the time of the Etruscans. The Romans invaded in 264 B.C. and sent the population off to neighboring towns. The site was inhabited in the Roman and late antique periods, since traces of Roman burials, roads, and a temple complex remain, as do Christian burials from the late third century. The sixth century saw the town's revival. A tiny Christian church was built

in an Etruscan necropolis. A bishopric existed: Gregorius Candido, bishop of Orvieto, is mentioned in three letters of Pope Gregory the Great, dated 590-596. The church of San Severo was founded in the sixth century in the valley below the town and may have been the original episcopal seat. San Severo became a Benedictine monastery in the eleventh century, and perhaps in this period the episcopal seat was moved to its current site on top of the plateau. The town is mentioned in imperial records from 817 as part of Lombard Tuscany, although internal documentation does not begin until 1024.

Bishopric and Papacy

In the twelfth century, Orvietan history centers on the bishopric. The growth of the town's influence is signaled by a series of submissions to the bishop's authority. In the second half of the twelfth century, the bishop was besieged on all sides. There was a long conflict with the canons of San Costanzo, whose possession of the episcopal procuratorship enabled them to exploit the see during a series of long vacancies, particularly in 1161-1168. Episcopal vassals and tenants sought to usurp the bishop's property, often aided by kinsmen among the canons. The Monaldi family probably originated as the bishop's vassals, and in the late twelfth century they effectively exploited episcopal resources; the family came to dominate Orvietan politics and in the early decades of the fourteenth century established *signorie*, lordships over the town. The cathedral was left badly dilapidated at least from 1154 to 1200. The focus of Orvietan worship of necessity was not the cathedral, Santa Maria Maggiore, but the church of Sant'Andrea, on the old forum in the heart of the city that was to become the Piazza Comunale.

Nevertheless, at least from the time of Bishop Rustico (r. 1168–78), the bishops played a growing role in civic politics. When the town's consuls, in February 1170, granted privileges to a civic official called the master of bridges and of the people, the bishop acted with them. In the early thirteenth century, energetic bishops, notably Ranerio (r. 1228-1248), developed systematic forms of administration and record keeping, enabling them to rebuild episcopal resources. In many ways,

civic administration followed their lead.

In 1155, the English pope Adrian IV chose Orvieto for a meeting with Frederick I Barbarossa. Although the plan was forestalled, Adrian in 1157 signed the convention in which the Orvietans formally recognized papal sovereignty. Orvieto achieved a gradual conquest of its *contado* from the twelfth century on, as rural nobles submitted to rule by the bishop and then, after 1168, to the town. These efforts to expand the town's sphere of influence strained relations with the papal curia. A long struggle over strategic lands centered on Aquapendente, the town commanding the bridge where a major north-south road, Via Francigena, crossed the Paglia; and the adjoining Val di Lago di Bolsena, a valuable grain-producing region. Orvieto competed with the papacy and the German emperors to control Aquapendente, and the town changed hands repeatedly. The Aquapendentes periodically rose in revolt against outside rule. Orvieto was placed under numerous papal interdicts during the conflict, beginning with an interdict from Innocent III in 1198. The dispute was not settled until 1297, with Boniface VIII.

Cathar Heresy, the Death of Pietro Parenzo, and the Orvietan Inquisition

In the 1190s, a series of Cathar preachers visited Orvieto and attracted converts. The orthodox feared that the papal interdict of 1198 would embolden the Cathars and appealed to the papacy for help. In February 1199, Innocent III sent a young Roman nobleman, Pietro Parenzo, to serve as papal rector. Parenzo worked energetically to extend papal jurisdiction and combat heresy, notably by imposing large fines, and was soon kidnaped and murdered, purportedly by Cathars. The account of his death, written by a member of the cathedral chapter in an effort to have him canonized, is an important source for early Italian Catharism. A local cult developed, but when Innocent III visited the town in 1216 and preached a new crusade, he refused to canonize Parenzo. Despite efforts to punish Parenzo's killers, the Cathars continued to flourish in Orvieto for several generations.



Duomo, Orvieto. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

In the 1230s, Franciscan and Dominican convents were established in Oriveto. The saintly Franciscan healer Ambrose of Massa died in Orvieto, and a cult quickly developed; in 1240, more than 200 Orvietans testified in an inquiry into his miracles. The Dominicans were charged with the Inquisition into heresy in the town. In 1239, Orvietan Cathars responded with violence. A group of men broke into the modest early Dominican convent and gave the inquisitor and other friars a bloody beating. One of the attackers, a civic official named Provenzano Lupicini, was forced by the *podestà* to perform a dramatic public

penance for his part in the attack. Provenzano nevertheless continued to serve in high public office, and as consul he even adjudicated a dispute over episcopal property—strong evidence of the Orvietans' tolerance of their Cathar neighbors. Thirty years later, however, after the town had become closely aligned with the papacy and the Angevins, a Franciscan Inquisition of 1268-1269 sentenced eighty-five people in Orvieto for heresy. They included nine former civic officials and their families, as well as merchants, moneylenders, and artisans, notably furriers. After 1269, Orvietan Catharism faded.

The Rise of the Popolo and Guild Rule

The thirteenth century saw the rise of popular institutions. The popular movement in Orvieto, as in other towns, had a double organization, by profession and by neighborhood. The first mention of guild consuls is in 1214; neighborhood associations played a political role by 1229. A *carta del popolo* (popular constitution) and executives called rectors of the *popolo* were established by October 1244. However, an outsider *capitano del popolo*—crucial to popular organization in larger towns such as Florence—did not appear until 1250. Popular policy reflected the interests of urban guildsmen, petty nobles, and merchants. They protected collective resources, particularly the *beni comunali*, woods, and probably pastures held by the commune in the countryside; and in 1244 they drew up an inventory. They extended the town's power and independence; in these decades a long series of nobles and adjoining communities submitted to Orvieto's authority. Popular public works included, in 1247, repair of the city gates and the construction of an aqueduct as well as the Palazzo del Popolo and its *piazza*.

Local factions headed by the Monaldeschi and Filippeschi lineages formed and became involved in the rivalry between the Guelfs and Ghibellines. After the defeat, in 1266, of Manfred and the imperial cause, Orvieto became loosely aligned with the Guelf and Angevin cause. In 1280, a bipartisan regime was established, led by Raneri della Greca, who served as *capitano del popolo* in 1280-1281 and 1284 and revived the power of council of the *popolo*. Gradually, Orvieto built a stable guild regime that was broad based in comparison with the

regimes of other towns. From 1292 on, the town was governed not by a single *capitano del popolo* but by the *signori sette*, seven executives drawn from the guilds who served six-month terms, advised by a general assembly.

Economic and Social Structure

Even at its peak, c. 1300, Orvieto was a small town, with much of its population closely linked to the countryside. In 1292, there was a *catasto* or household-by-household survey of holdings in rural land that allows a detailed look at the town's economy and social structure. Rural lands were mixed. Arid mountainous areas supported a sylvan and pastoral economy; alluvial lands allowed intensive cereal production and, particularly in the light, fertile volcanic soils of the southwestern portion of the Orvietan *contado*, viticulture. Orvieto is in one of the driest regions of Umbria, and it relied heavily on aqueducts and systems of irrigation. On the basis of the *catasto*, Carpentier (1986, 1993) estimates the urban population in 1292—near the height of demographic expansion—as between 14,000 and 17,000. The population of the *contado*, or diocese, and the district, the town's zone of influence, was somewhere between 19,000 and 32,000. This division between urban and rural populations is artificial, since virtually all residents except small peasant proprietors had urban homes and were assessed as townsfolk. A purely rural nobility did not exist. The vast majority of people listed as country residents were peasant proprietors, with an average holding of a meager hectare and a half (less than 4 acres).

The *catasto* reveals a small hierarchy of great landowners and then a striking majority of modest proprietors: city dwellers with a few plots of land near the town and peasants with tiny holdings. The few old feudal comital families included the counts of Montemarte, a branch of the Aldobrandeschi, and a local house, the Bulgarelli. Eighty households (or "hearths") were headed by men called lords, including dubbed knights, jurists, and former members of the *signori sette*. The average assessed value of their holdings was close to 4,000 *libra* (silver pounds). People described as *the* children of lords, with average holdings at 2,350 *libra*, headed 173 hearths. This 9 percent of the

population owned 55 percent of the acreage owned by townsmen. The counts in particular tended to hold large tracts of low value, including woods and scrub.

Social divisions were indistinct, as urban and rural sources of wealth and status were intermingled. A few of the lords derived from branches of the older comital families, but most were more recent. Lineages such as the Monaldeschi, deriving from twelfth-century landed proprietors, included merchants and jurists by 1292. Only two men called themselves merchants in the tax records; but in fact people who called themselves lords, such as the Monaldeschi and the Miscinelli, demonstrably owned shops and engaged in merchant ventures. One hundred and one hearths were headed by men called masters, including twelve notaries and five doctors, as well as master artisans. They held smaller parcels of valuable land, typically vineyards and plots near the town, and the produce was used for the family table. In all, 246 identifiable artisans appear. A few groups were particularly well-to-do, including the textile and leather trades and the potters, who made the jugs for Orvietan wine. Probably, the prosperity of Orvieto's artisans reflected the presence of the court in the late thirteenth century. In effect, Orvieto included a tiny older landed nobility, a large petty urban elite, and a prosperous artisanate, all with close ties to the countryside.

Influence of the Papal Curia

Orvieto's ties to the popes gave the small town an unexpectedly central role in thirteenth-century affairs. Adrian IV initiated what was to become a long tradition of visits to Orvieto by the papal curia. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the town was a popular residence of the popes, particularly after Urban IV withstood a siege there in 1262-1264. Clement IV was in residence in 1266; Gregory X, in 1272 and 1273; Martin IV, in 1281-1284; Nicholas IV, in 1290 and 1291; and Boniface VIII, in 1297. Their presence gave the town a distinctive character. The popes traveled with as many as 200 salaried officials and retainers, as well as merchants and copyists and the cardinals with their large staffs—perhaps 500 to 600 people in all. Two palaces adjoining the cathedral complex were built to house them, one of these at the town's

expense.

Orvieto became, for a time, a cosmopolitan cultural center. Scholars of the caliber of Hugh of Saint Cher, the geometrician and physician Giovanni Campano, and Albertus Magnus resided there for a time, as did Thomas Aquinas, who became lector at the Dominican convent in 1261. Aquinas became friends with Urban IV and wrote treatises for him, including *Catena aurea*, a commentary on the four gospels that became a source for preachers. Charles of Anjou with his court and garrison visited in 1268 and 1289. Saint Louis was canonized in the church of San Francesco in 1297.

Patronage from the curia attracted great artists, including Arnolfo di Cambio, who carved the tomb of Cardinal Guillaume de Braye for the Dominican church, as well as the Sienese architect Lorenzo Maitani. Orvieto's superb cathedral was planned beginning on 22 June 1284. In 1290, an agreement between the cathedral chapter and the papal chamberlain called for the church to be built "in the likeness of Santa Maria Maggiore," the great Roman basilica reworked under the patronage of Pope Nicholas IV. Nicholas laid the foundation stone in Orvieto on 15 November 1290. The building was initially constructed between 1290 and 1309, when Lorenzo Maitani took over the project. The reliefs on the facade, depicting the *Creation*, *Tree of Jesse*, *Life of Christ*, and *Last Judgment*, are the work of Maitani. The plague of 1348 greatly reduced the workshop; building continued until 1600

Miracle at Bolsena and Corpus Domini Feast

Urban IV instituted the universal Corpus Domini feast in Orvieto in 1264, perhaps in response to the "miracle at Bolsena." A Bohemian priest—called Peter of Prague in Orvietan tradition troubled by doubts over the eucharist, stopped in Bolsena on his way to see the pope in Orvieto. When he performed a mass and consecrated the host, the altar cloths dripped blood, a miraculous vindication of the doctrine of transubstantiation. The documentation for the miracle is late, and scholars have questioned its date and its actual connection to the feast, which originated in the intense eucharistic piety of the early Beguines in Liege. Recent research has shown that a Bohemian protonotary

named Peter of Prague did visit Urban in Orvieto in 1264; this strengthens the case for dating the miracle at Bolsena to that year. If so, the pope probably instituted the feast when he had the relics translated to Orvieto. Thomas Aquinas may have composed the Corpus Christi liturgy at the pope's request. In the early fourteenth century, a chapel was built in the cathedral to house the relics and was frescoed with tales of eucharistic miracles. The feast was celebrated with a public procession and, from 1325 to 1330, with a theatrical performance of the miracle by the confraternity of the *disciplinati* of San Martino.

Fourteenth-Century Signorie and Decline

In the early fourteenth century, Orvieto—like many towns in central Italy—fluctuated between broad-based oligarchy and domination by *signori*, strongmen. In the first decade of the century, internal politics were tranquil, though the town engaged in a long struggle for control of the Val di Lago and the lands of the Aldobrandeschi counts. Factional wars were sparked in part by the Italian venture of the German emperor Henry VII. The Orvietan Guelfs triumphed in 1313, exiled their Ghibelline opponents, and destroyed the Ghibellines' urban property; contemporary accounts speak of a whole neighborhood in ruins. The new regime substituted "the Five" (*cinque*) for "the Seven" (*signori sette*); these offices were dominated by the Guelf nobility, particularly the Monaldeschi. Disastrous foreign policies and the threat of a popular rebellion led in 1315 to a reinstitution of the *signori sette* and the last popular regime, with Poncello Orsini serving as captain in 1315-1317 and 1321. In 1322, the Monaldeschi took over; there was a brief popular resistance and then, in 1334, the establishment of a *signoria* by Ermanno di Corrado Monaldeschi. Ermanno's death in 1337 led to a long period of political instability as several factions, including four competing branches of the Monaldeschi, struggled for control. A final brief period of Ghibelline rule under Siennese auspices led to war in 1346. The famines, plague, and fiscal problems of the late 1340s fostered a new reliance on *balie*, commissions with extraordinary powers overriding the constitutional system. In 1354, Cardinal Albornoz led a papal reconquest of the patrimony. Orvieto for a short time was

involved in the efforts of the Prefetti di Vico to resist but then submitted to papal rule. When the council voted to appoint Cardinal Albornož ruler of Orvieto for life as the pope's vicar, according to a contemporary source, "each and every council member" remained seated in indifference.

After its loss of independence, Orvieto suffered badly during the intermittent wars of the Great Schism. The town was initially held by Urban. In 1380, it was sacked and burned by Breton mercenaries; more than 3,000 Orvietans were killed, and hundreds of houses were burned. Forces of the Avignonese pope Clement VII held the town until it was briefly regained by Rome in 1390, after a siege during which, according to a chronicler, the town's population dropped to 500 and ate mice to survive. It was recaptured by Clement's forces and held until 1398, when it passed to Pope Boniface IX. Orvieto remained under papal control, though the town was briefly lost to Ladislao of Naples in 1414 and was then ruled on behalf of the papacy by the *condottiere* Braccio da Montone from 1416 to 1419. In 1292, the town had included nearly 3,000 hearths; by 1397 the number had dropped to 1,000.

See also **Bolsena; Maitani, Lorenzo**

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Ostrogoths

The Ostrogoths entered the historical record at the end of the third century under the name Greuthingi, as just one of several groups that Roman sources noted as attacking along the lower Danube. However, the Ostrogoths never developed a refined sense of territoriality or ethnicity; instead, their political evolution, which necessarily preceded territorial definition, was directed toward the imperial systems of Roman and Hunnic origin. The troublesome *Historia Augusta*, from the late fourth century, equates the third-century Greuthingi with the Ostrogoths, who by then had developed into a major confederacy of Gothic-speaking peoples. Ammianus Marcellinus, writing c. 395, called them Greuthingi and recorded the suicide of their heroic king Ermanaric, the subject of many sagas, who killed himself rather than lead his people under Hunnic domination. Sixth-century sources sometimes referred to them as Ostrogoths, but just as often merely as Goths. The Ostrogoths continued to welcome others into their families and society from the earliest period until they are lost from the records. The beginnings of this process of ethnic formation are part of the Gothic hegemony within the so-called Cherniakhov civilization centered on the Ukraine.

Ermanaric's fears about Hunnic domination were realized, but not as anticipated. The leading families of the Ostrogoths as well as those of other Gothic-speaking groups became the second ruling class of the Hunnic empire. In this environment the Amali family and those allied to it through marriage or obligation fared well. In 454 many Ostrogoths joined the Gepids in defeating the Huns following the death of Attila, whom they had served faithfully. In the next year the Amali sought and received imperial permission to settle in those parts of Pannonia now in northeastern Yugoslavia under three brothers: Valamir, Vidimir, and Thiudmir—father of the most important of all Ostrogothic rulers, Theodoric the Great.

At this time the empire was attempting to stabilize the eastern Balkans by the direct recruitment and settlement of many different groups of barbarians. The Ostrogoths were settled not in three contiguous areas but in three zones with other groups. Other groups of

Ostrogoths, not tied to the Amals, followed their leaders directly into Roman service elsewhere in the Balkans, notably those following Theodoric Strabo. The result of these settlements and recruitments was about a quarter-century of struggle among the Ostrogoths themselves and with the Roman empire. In 489-490 this phase of Ostrogothic history ended, when Emperor Zeno invited Theodoric the Great to lead his people into Italy and remove Odovacar (Odoacer).

The Ostrogoths under Theodoric's leadership achieved the highest level of cohesion and unity of purpose that they were ever to know. Their population rose to 75,000-100,000, and most adhered to Arian Christian beliefs, which emphasized the dominant role of the God the father within the Trinity. Most lived in Picenum or in the vicinity of Ravenna, where they were accorded the privileges of *hospitalitas*, typically a sharing of a combination of landed estates and their revenues. At least in their capital, Ravenna, now accorded equal status with Rome on some of the coinage minted during their rule, Arian churches and the Arian baptistery were the focal points of their identity and culture. However, there remained virtually no aspect of the Ostrogoths' life that was not in some way influenced by their long association with Roman civilization. This was as true for their items of personal dress and symbols of rank and power as for their mechanisms of government, even among themselves. Marriage to Romans, although forbidden, occurred, as did conversion to Orthodox Christianity, tolerated but equally discouraged throughout their years of rule. For the most part, the Ostrogoths continued the evolutions begun in the context of their experience with the Roman frontier, but with certain families—strengthened by their role in the Hunnic empire—playing a leading role.

Predictably, the Ostrogoths dominated the military, but Romans did serve there as well, especially during the war against Justinian. Theodoric issued laws, *edicta*, in his own name to govern all the people, Goths and Romans, of the Italian dioceses and some areas beyond. Some Ostrogoths, though not many, lived in garrisons in the outlying areas. Civilian government remained separate from the military except in frontier areas and was left in the hands of the Roman upper classes (*honestiores*) with whom the elite Ostrogoths shared power and many attributes of daily life. Ostrogothic noble families were able to establish

strong bases of local support even under Theodoric and grew even more dominant under his successors, especially his weak grandson Athalaric (r. 526-534). They deposed Theodahad (r. 535-536) without difficulty. The poorer Ostrogoths, despite the support of the monarchy and despite the special privileges that came with their military obligations, gradually merged with the Roman tillers of the soil. Most never truly became just other members of the Roman *humiliores*, primarily because of their annual military donatives and their occasional access to the king. However, this fate befell some of them at least within a decade of the collapse of their independent kingdom in 554.

The end of the Ostrogothic kingdom was but a part of the Emperor Justinian's attempts to reconquer the "lost" western provinces of the empire. By 537 his leading general, Belisarius, was marching on Rome, which suffered several sieges before the final battle of this twenty-year struggle. Internally, this war was at least in part precipitated by the collapse of the Amali line within a decade of his death. Although Theodoric's central vision of an Ostrogothic identity within the empire survived his line, it did so only as a rallying call for those who regarded Justinian's armies as invaders. King Totila (r. 541-552) in particular seems to have tried to evoke the visions of equipoise associated with Theodoric, but he failed both in society and on the battlefield, where he fell against Belisarius's successor, Narses. Most Ostrogoths simply merged with the indigenous populations of Italy— some left Italy forever; others served in the armies of Rome in the east; and after 568 some married into the Lombard aristocracy. The Ostrogoths under Theodoric were the most successful and tolerant of the first generation of Germanic kingdoms and arguably the most Romanized.

See also Belisarius; Gothic Wars; Narses; Odovacar; Ravenna; Theodahad; Theodoric; Totila; Zeno, Emperor

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Otranto

Otranto, the southernmost city on the Adriatic coast of the "heel" of Italy, took its ancient name—Hydrous (Greek), or Hydruntum (Latin)—from the river now known as the idro, on which it is located. (To the present, its citizens call themselves *idrunтини*.) It gives its name today to the Strait of Otranto, at the virtual mouth of the Adriatic. Otranto may have been a Cretan Greek colony or may have been a colony of nearby Tarentum (Taranto). It acquired early importance as the most logical port connecting traffic between Italy and Greece. However, it was bypassed by the Via Appia connecting Taranto and Brindisi, and its importance diminished after Brindisi was developed as the Romans' port of choice. The extension of the Via Appia-Traiana to its terminus at Otranto in the early first century after Christ did renew something of Otranto's importance as the closest Italian port to Epirus (present-day Albania). Nevertheless, it remained overshadowed by Brindisi and became a relatively small backwater, of which little is documented before the sixth century.

During the Gothic wars attending Justinian's program of reconquest, Otranto held out against Totila, even at the height of the Ostrogoths' recovery, serving as an important imperial base. Unlike many other areas of Byzantine Italy, Otranto long resisted the Lombards' attacks,

thanks partly to its isolation. It was the seat of a Greek bishopric, was the administrative center of its district (*terra d'Otranto*), and remained stubbornly Byzantine in culture and population. At some point early in the eighth century, the Lombards succeeded in occupying it, and it was used by the dukes of Benevento in their hostilities with the Lombard king Desiderius. Nevertheless, the Byzantines soon recovered it (758) and made it their substitute capital for what was left of their Italian holdings following their loss of Ravenna.

Otranto maintained that status until 976, when the Byzantines regained Bari, which became the new administrative and military capital. Otranto continued to be an important Byzantine naval port, however, as well as a center of trade between the Byzantine east and the Adriatic and southern Italian districts. By way of further compensation, the city's episcopal see was made into an autocephalous archbishopric, the only one in southern Italy; and in the tenth century, it was further elevated to the status of a metropolitan, dependent solely on the patriarch of Constantinople. These steps acknowledged the profoundly Orthodox spirit and Greek culture that continued to characterize the city, despite an increasingly cosmopolitan population. Not until 1067 did the city begin to accept Latin archbishops, and much of the clergy remained Greek for some centuries thereafter.

In 926, Otranto was attacked by a Saracen fleet that was driven off only because a disease spread among the attackers. There were renewed Saracen assaults in 950 and 977, in the course of which disaffections and dissent between the local population (now more "Lombardized") and the Byzantine officials became more open. Weak in the face of the first serious Norman offensives, the city was forced briefly, in the late 1040s, to pay tribute to the Norman count Unfred, and it suffered brief occupations by the Normans in 1055-1060 and 1064. Otherwise, Otranto was joined with Bari and Taranto to form a defensive triangle as a final base of resistance to the Normans. The triangle cracked when, after a prolonged beleaguerment by land and sea, Otranto fell to Robert Guiscard. He then used it as his base for completing the process three years later with his decisive capture of Bari and secure reduction of the remaining Adriatic coast of Puglia.

Robert Guiscard's rule was not initially welcomed, and Otranto was in rebellion against him in 1085 when he died and his son, Bohemond,

retook the city by storm. Generally, however, the Norman era, like the Hohenstaufen era that followed, was a prosperous time for Otranto, which was ruled by its own Greek governor. Otranto was an important naval base for the Normans, and its merchants traded actively with Constantinople, Venice, and other merchants from all over Italy and the Adriatic regions; it also served as a port of embarkation for crusaders and pilgrims, parallel with Brindisi.

By the mid-thirteenth century, the rulers of southern Italy seemed less and less interested in their Apulian territories, and disaffection was further inflamed by the transition into the Angevin era. Otranto turned against the heirs of Frederick II and was seized first by Conrad and then, again, in 1255, by the Saracen forces of Manfred. Its loyalties were tossed about in the Angevin dynastic wars. Otranto was occupied in 1348 by Louis the Great of Hungary. Finally, in 1464, it submitted to the Aragonese.

Otranto's decline was signaled dramatically when, With the help of some Italian allies, the Ottoman Turks of Sultan Mehmed II took the city in August 1480, after a fifteen-day siege, and massacred the surviving inhabitants. The fear that this would initiate a Turkish conquest of all Italy was allayed the following year, when the sultan died; and the city was quickly recovered by Alfonso of Aragon, though it suffered a brief occupation by Venice in 1484. Otranto was happy to accept Aragonese rule but received a dubious reward when Ferdinand of Aragon used it as one of his debt pledges and briefly turned it over to the Venetians (1496). Otranto was restored to the Spanish after a final seizure by the Venetians (1528) and then slipped into a long period of decay. Thereafter, only a literary quirk drew attention to it: after recovering the city from the Turks in 1481, Alfonso of Aragon built a strong new defensive fortress (1485-1498), which provided the title for Horace Walpole's famous Gothic novel, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764).

Besides that late structure, the city's chief medieval monument is the cathedral, dedicated to Santa Maria Annunziata. The crypt was begun by the Normans in 1080, and the structure in general was completed in the later twelfth century. Its nave and aisles still preserve an unusual pavement mosaic of 1163-1165. The church was badly damaged by the Turks in 1480 and extensively restored and refurbished thereafter. In the south transept there is a Cappella dei Martiri, a shrine to the tragedy of

1480. In it, along with the decapitation stone, are preserved bones representing some 500 citizens who, refusing to renounce their faith, were slaughtered by a Turkish executioner—who, moved by their devotion, professed Christianity himself and was executed in his turn. The crypt contains interesting column capitals and fresco fragments from various periods.

Near the cathedral is a scant survival of Otranto's Byzantine era, the little church of San Pietro. Built in the tenth and eleventh centuries, on the Byzantine plan of a Greek cross with barrelvault ceilings in the arms and a central cupola, it is thought possibly to have been the city's earlier cathedral. In its interior are some interesting Greek inscriptions and frescoes. In the suburb to the southeast of the city center, there survives also the church of San Nicola di Casole, part of a Greek monastery founded in 1099. The church itself dates from the twelfth century. It was rebuilt after the Turkish devastation of 1480 but still retains elements of its original interior decoration, and it is noteworthy for its association with its twelfth-century abbot, Nicholas of Otranto. Nicholas, a distinguished scholar and patron of Greek manuscript production, is symbolic of the city's long-lived Hellenic traditions.

See also Bari; Bohemond of Taranto; Brindisi; Byzantine Empire; Desiderius; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gothic Wars; Justinian I; Lombards; Manfred; Ravenna; Robert Guiscard

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Ottava Rima

Ottava rima is a strophe composed of eight eleven-syllable lines. At one time, Giovanni Boccaccio was considered the "inventor" of *ottava rima*, but that assertion is simplistic and problematic, and various revisionary hypotheses on its origin have since been put forth. Its antecedents were most likely part of a current of French and Provençal lyrics flowing into Italy via the southern kingdoms of Sicily and Naples. Certain French and Provençal examples of eight-line stanzas are datable to the late thirteenth century. There is also documented evidence suggesting that the Sicilian octave (abababab) had developed out of French troubadour poetry by the late twelfth century. The eight-line unit itself may have originally been part of a longer poetic form such as the *canzone*.

If Boccaccio did not invent the octave, his historical contribution is, however, undisputed, for he elevated the form to its definitive artistic level with two early works: *Teseida* (c. 1335) and *Filostrato* (c. 1340-1342). Boccaccio probably became acquainted with the octave at the brilliant Angevin court in Naples during a sojourn he made there from c. 1328 to 1340. On returning to Florence, he would have transported the octave to Tuscany. Indeed, the form most widely used in Italian verse of subsequent centuries, rhymed abababcc, is traditionally called the Tuscan octave. Despite this name, a few French exemplars (datable c. 1300) remain for this type as well, and it was also found at the Neapolitan court. It is also important to note that the so-called Tuscan octave was used in many regions of Italy in the ensuing periods.

Metrically, the octave is extremely flexible, and it is useful for expressing a variety of tones (serious, amorous, comic, satiric), modes (narrative, discursive), and registers (lyric, epic, sacred drama). Its language also runs the spectrum from elevated to colloquial. Suitable for any subject matter, a single octave is long enough to present a complete description or idea, yet short enough to be clear and efficient. The potential of the octave for elegant expressivity and fluidity is demonstrated by the fact that a syntactic period can extend through an entire strophe, or even into a second one. On the other hand, the rhythm of many early examples is frequently fragmented and "choppy,"

being composed of couplets (2 + 2 + 2 + 2), while enjambments are almost unknown. Owing to its adaptability, the octave has been exploited throughout the centuries and by poets of different nationalities.

In the fourteenth century, the octave was most widely used in *cantari*, many of which had as their subjects the heroic narratives of the "Carolingian material." In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the octave was adopted by major poets, who expressed their individualistic voices by applying various "reforms" and experimental adaptations to this versatile meter. Masterpieces of Italian literature composed in octaves include Pulci's *Morgante*, Poliziano's *Le stanze per la giostra*, Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*, Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, and Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. Lorenzo de' Medici should also be remembered for his experiments with many dimensions of the octave, and especially for his effective use of enjambment, which would inspire both Boiardo and Ariosto. Many studies have been devoted to the balance and symmetry of the Ariostean octave, which harmoniously matches content and meter and exploits the internal rhythms of the stanza for ironic effect. Following the Italian models, Spanish and Portuguese poets of the Renaissance used the octave in their epics. Its English equivalent maintained the abababcc arrangement, although iambic pentameter was substituted for the Italian eleven-syllable line. The octave flourished in the Renaissance, being well suited to epic poems, and it was still in use by some Italian poets as recently as the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

See also **Cantare; Carolingian Material in Italy; Italian Prosody**

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Otto I

Otto I (912–973) was duke of Saxony, king of Germany (from 936), and emperor (962-973). Saxony was one of five major regional "duchies" (probably tribally based) into which the northeast and north central portions of Charlemagne's empire— what would later become Germany —broke up, the others being Bavaria, Franconia, Swabia, and Lorraine. Otto's father, Henry the Fowler, had obtained the title of king and a vague suzerainty over the other four dukes. But Otto succeeded in making his rule factual as well as theoretical throughout Germany.

Adelaide, widow of Lothar, king of "Italy" (actually northern Italy), appealed for Otto's help in averting a forced marriage to Adalbert, son of Berengar, a northern Italian warlord. In 951, Otto, himself a widower, descended on Italy, married Adelaide, and forced Berengar into a kind of vassalage. Troubles in Germany kept Otto away from Italy through the rest of the 950s. A renewed opportunity for intervention came in 961, when Pope John XII appealed for help against Berengar, who had reasserted his independence in Otto's absence. Otto stepped in and rescued the pope, who in turn gratefully crowned Otto emperor in February 962. But relations between the two cooled quickly, and Otto

installed his own papal candidate, Leo VIII. The situation was resolved by John XII's death in 964.

Otto left Italy in 965 but returned the following year to put down a rebellion in the city of Rome. In 967, Pandulf ("Ironhead"), duke of Capua-Benevento, became Otto's vassal. The expansion of Otto's power into southern Italy sparked resistance from the Byzantines. After he failed to take the stronghold of Bari in 968, Otto sought better relations with the Byzantines by forming a marriage alliance negotiated through Bishop Liudprand of Cremona, who knew Greek and was also one of Otto's strongest supporters in Italy. Liudprand's first embassy in 968-969 was unsuccessful. But the negotiations eventually bore fruit when Theophano, a kinswoman of the Byzantine emperor John I, Tzimiskes, arrived in Italy in 972 and married Otto's son, Otto II, in April of that year. Otto returned to Germany, where he died in May 973.

Otto can be considered the first ruler of the Holy Roman empire, though that term was not used until the twelfth century. His involvement in Italy was criticized by historians in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, but more recent scholars have noted that one should not read the troubles of the late eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries back into earlier times. Otto had little choice but to intervene in Italian affairs. Two other German dukes—Henry of Bavaria and Ludolf of Swabia—had already been meddling in northern Italy. Otto's Italian policy was a sound one for his time.

See also Adelaide; John XII, Pope; Liudprand of Cremona

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Otto II

Otto II (955-983) was duke of Saxony; king of Germany (from 961); co-emperor with his father, Otto I (from December 967); and sole emperor on his father's death in 973. During much of the early part of his reign he was taken up with troubles in Germany, Bohemia, and Lorraine, which he generally settled successfully. In late 980, Otto II was at last able to go to Italy. But after some initial successes, an expedition against the Saracens in southern Italy went awry, resulting in a disastrous

defeat near Stilo in July 982. Otto was able to escape to a Byzantine ship by concealing his identity. Otto II died in Rome in December 983; at the time of his death he was campaigning against Venice, was planning a fresh offensive against the Saracens, and had secured the election of his nominee (Peter, bishop of Pavia) as Pope John XIV.

Otto II had married a Byzantine noblewoman, Theophano, in 972. Earlier scholars viewed this marriage as an attempt by his *father*, Otto I, to develop better relations with the Byzantine (eastern Roman) empire. This is true, but recent social historians have also noted that the church had tightened the law against incest c. 875, and that the higher nobility in western Europe attempted, conscientiously, to follow the new regulation. As a result, many western royal houses looked far outside their own circles for marriages. This may have been an important secondary reason for the marriage of Otto II and Theophano.

Historians consider Otto II to have been energetic and ambitious, but not as gifted a ruler as his father. He was succeeded as emperor by his son, Otto III.

See also Otto I; Theophano

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Otto III

Otto III (980-1002) was the son of Otto II and Theophano; in 984, at age four, he succeeded his father as king of Germany. The child had two able regents in his mother and Adelaide, the widow of Otto I. Theophano, like her husband, died young (June 991), but Adelaide continued as regent.

Otto crossed the Alps and was crowned Roman emperor on 21 May 996 by his cousin Bruno, whom Otto had appointed as Pope Gregory V. When Otto returned to Germany, he learned that Gregory had been driven from Rome by John Crescentius, a local warlord styling himself patrician of the Romans. Cres-centius enthroned a new pope: John Philagathon, archbishop of Piacenza, who assumed the name John XVI.

Otto reentered Italy, took Rome, executed Crescentius, blinded the wretched John XVI, and restored Gregory V. Otto then advanced triumphantly into southern Italy, where many local rulers did him homage. On Gregory's death, Otto returned to Rome and appointed Gerbert, a former tutor, as pope; Gerbert took the name Sylvester II.

Otto built a palace in Rome and revived many old Roman customs and titles. Returning to Rome after a tour of central and northern Europe in the summer of 1000, he faced a revolt of the citizens that forced him to leave. He died on 23 January 1002 while campaigning against the Romans.



Otto III. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 182r.

Scholarly judgment of Otto has been divided. He was possessed of great intelligence, but his political abilities have been questioned. Some scholars criticize Otto III for (like his grandfather) neglecting Germany in favor of Italy. Others note that because of his youth, his role in government was limited even after he attained his majority. But he had capable advisers, and his appointments of German officials were shrewd. Otto's visits to Prague and Aachen (where he visited the tomb of Charlemagne) in 1000 indicated that northern and central European questions were still very much on his mind. His death at age twenty-one left his true abilities forever a mystery.

See also Adelaide; Gerscentn Family; Otto 1; Otto II; Rome

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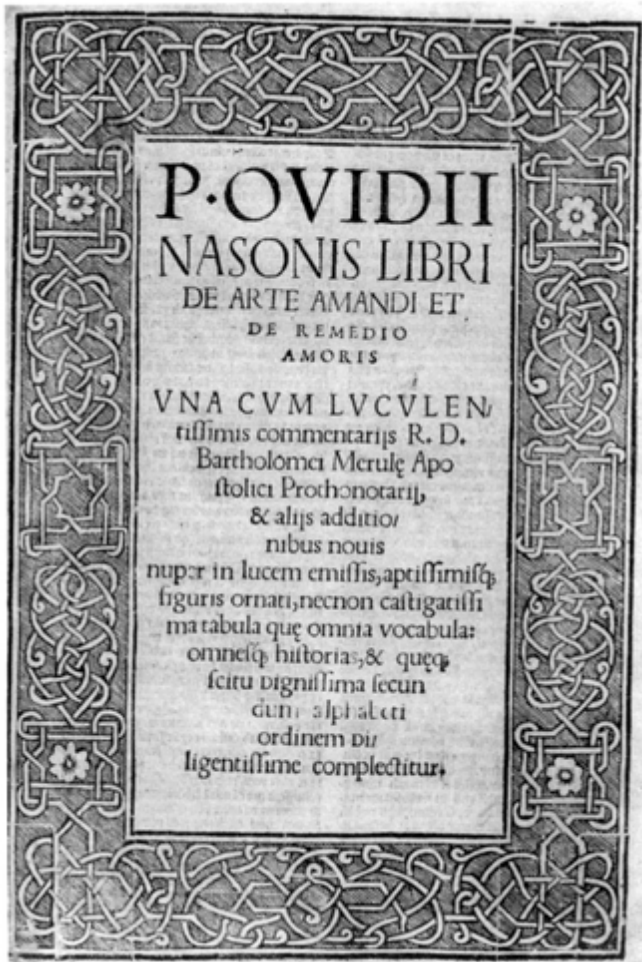
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Ovid

The Latin poet Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 B.C.-A.D. 17 or 18) was born into an affluent family of equestrian rank in Sulmo (modern

Sulmona) in the Apennine region, east and slightly north of Rome. After an early education in Sulmo, Ovid was sent at age twelve to Rome to study rhetoric and to prepare for a career in law and politics. Rome was then beginning to flourish under the emperor Augustus, and the capital gloried in such great poets as Virgil, who was composing the *Aeneid*; Horace, who was writing odes; and Propertius and Tibullus, who were fashioning their elegies. For Ovid, who—to his father's chagrin—had shown an early predilection for poetry, the lure of a literary life proved to be much stronger than the attraction of public office. He began reciting his poems in public and cultivating acquaintances among the literary elite. He soon established himself as a leading wit of Roman society and became known to the emperor. Ovid married three times and considered himself an expert in affairs of the heart and in women's ways. In A.D. 8, for a now obscure reason ("a book and an indiscretion," according to Ovid), Augustus expelled him from Rome and banished him to Tomis, a bleak outpost on the Black Sea. The exiled Ovid, sad and forlorn, died there a decade later.



Ovid, *Libri de arte amandi et de remedio amoris*. Toscolano: Alexandri Paganini, 1526. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Ovid's extant poetry falls into three categories: early, or erotic; mature, or mythological; and "exilic." The erotic poems are as follows: *Amores* (*Loves*), his earliest published work, consisting of some fifty short poems, many of which praise the pseudonymous Corinna, perhaps a symbol of several mistresses; *Epistulae heroidum* (*Heroides* or *Epistles from Heroines*), fifteen-verse letters presented as messages from famous women (all but one of whom are legendary) to the men they

love; *Ars amatoria* (*Art of Love*), a treatise to men on how to find, win, and keep a woman; *Remedia amoris* (*Cures for Love*), on how to cure lovesickness; and *Medicamina faciei feminae* (*On Facial Treatment for Ladies*), ironic instructions on how young women may make themselves *beautiful* and attractive to men. The mythological poems include Ovid's most prized work, *Metamorphoses*, a fifteen-book epic that brilliantly weaves scores of myths into an almost unparalleled literary tapestry; and *Fasti* (referring to the Roman calendar), an incomplete poem in six books of myths, legends, rites, and events that correspond to the days of the year from January to June. The exilic poems include *Tristia* (*Sorrows*), a markedly autobiographical work in five books detailing the hardships Ovid endured during the first five years of his exile; *Ibis*, an invective against an anonymous person (referred to as Ibis) who betrayed Ovid; and *Epistulae ex Ponto* (*Epistles from Pontus*), forty-six poetic letters in four books written from the Black Sea to Roman friends.

In the history of classical Latin poetry, Ovid is second only to Virgil in overall significance and literary influence; and in western letters Ovid is perhaps unsurpassed as a teller of tales. Although he composed verse primarily to delight, rather than to convey lofty principles, his works had considerable influence on Christian writers and artists of the medieval, Renaissance, and baroque eras. During the Middle Ages, his *Metamorphoses* served as the most popular and readily available handbook for mythology, and medieval commentators often interpreted the tales in a moralized or allegorical fashion.

See also Ovid in the Middle Ages; Virgil; Virgil in the Middle Ages

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Ovid in the Middle Ages

During the Middle Ages, countless Christian authors studied, imitated, allegorized, and incorporated into their own work the writings of the Latin Augustan poet Publius Ovidius Naso, known more commonly today as Ovid. The *Metamorphoses*, the poet's *magnum opus*, achieved such popularity that medieval scholars referred to it simply as *Ovidius maior* (in Italian, *Ovidio maggiore*) to distinguish it from his minor works, such as *Fasti* (*Roman Calendar*) or *Ars amatoria* (*Art of Love*). Some favorite Ovidian characters—such as Narcissus, Philomena, and Pyramus and Thisbe—inspired autonomous, often anonymous, narratives. More generally, Ovid provided detailed myths, well-defined characters, lyrical images, and literary models to which medieval authors could easily refer. Certainly the history of Ovid's influence, often referred to as his *Nachleben* or his *fortuna*, is long and complex as it relates to the Middle Ages and is best considered as a continuum that stretches from late antiquity to the Renaissance.



Ovid, *Metamorphoseos vulgare*. Milan: Per Rocho & Fratello da Valle ad instantia de Miser Nicolo da Gorgonzola, 1520. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Although scholars have traced Ovid's influence to distinguished post-Augustan poets, including Lucan and Statius, and have uncovered quotations from Ovid even in lowly Pompeian graffiti, the study of Ovid in the late Roman empire continued perhaps most notably and most systematically in schools of rhetoric. As the empire decayed and Christianity burgeoned, Christians also studied Ovidian texts and were

either repelled (as Saint Augustine and Gregory the Great were) or intrigued. In the early fifth century, Prudentius, the "Christian Ovid," in his antiheathen tract *Contra Symmachum*, used descriptive Ovidian passages; and much later in that century, or early in the sixth century, Fulgentius Planciades in his *Mythologiae* quoted both *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*. Lactantius Placidus, in the fifth or sixth century, summarized tales from the *Metamorphoses* in his *Narrationes fabularum Ovidianarum*. Much later, in the eight or ninth century, Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, justified his use of Ovid's erotic poetry in an often-quoted couplet (*Patrologia Latina*, 105.331): *In quorum dictis quanquam sinfrivola multaj Plurima subfalso tegmine vera latent* ("Although in these writings there may be many frivolous things, many truths lie hidden beneath a false covering"). From about the tenth century, Goliardic minstrels—forerunners of the troubadours and minnesingers—began unabashedly incorporating Ovidian characters and images into their love poetry.

Notwithstanding the manifold uses of Ovid in the early Middle Ages, he remained largely a marginal author until about the eleventh century, when monks began regularly including his works in their curricula. Many scholars now hold that Ovid's influence during the Middle Ages peaked in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—a period of such intense study and such widespread production of manuscripts of Ovid that Ludwig Traube called it *aetas Ovidiana*. But Ovid was also highly esteemed during the fourteenth century. For example, Dante exalted Ovid as one of the virtuous pagans in Limbo (*Inferno*, 4.90) and referred to Ovid by name fourteen other times in various works. More important, Ovid's characters and images served as sources for numerous episodes in Dante's *Commedia*. Similarly, Boccaccio's *Filocolo* resounds with Ovidian echoes, and Petrarch's *Canzoniere* abounds in allusions to such popular Ovidian myths as that of the god Apollo in pursuit of Daphne.

As for Ovid's allegorizers, in the mid-twelfth century Arnulph of Orléans composed *Allegoriae super Ovidii Metamorphosin*, the first major, albeit brief, commentary on the *Metamorphoses*. Arnulph's allegorical reading reinforced a pattern for the many moralized interpretations that followed. In the early thirteenth century Albrecht von Halberstadt wrote a German commentary on the *Metamorphoses*

(this commentary, in rhymed couplets, is only partially extant). Another notable allegorization of Ovid's major work, also from the thirteenth century, is the grammarian John of Garland's *Integumenta super Ovidium Metamorphoseos*, in 260 elegiac distichs. Other thirteenth-century commentaries include *Versus Bursarii Ovidii* (on most of Ovid's works) and *Liber Titan* (on *Metamorphoses*). In the early fourteenth century, Giovanni del Virgilio, a correspondent of Dante, composed *Allegoriae librorum Ovidii Metamorphoseos*.

Common to most of these and later Ovidian commentaries was a desire to make Ovid's often lascivious or risque tales acceptable to the Christian reader. To accomplish this lofty goal the interpreter had to read Ovidian episodes in as imaginative or figural a manner as possible. Just as the evangelists (and later the church fathers) had interpreted events in the Old Testament as prefiguring events in the New Testament, the moralizing readers of Ovid specialized in uncovering hidden Christian meanings in blatantly pagan and even erotic episodes. The innovative work of these Ovidian interpreters paralleled that of biblical commentators on the amatory *Song of Songs*.

The most detailed and most famous medieval interpretation of Ovid is *Ovide moralisé*, an anonymous moralization sometimes attributed to Chretien Legouais. Composed in French in fifteen books in octosyllabic couplets, most likely between 1316 and 1328, *Ovide moralisé* paraphrases and moralizes each book of the *Metamorphoses*. For example, the serpent Python, representing Satan, is slain by Apollo, symbol of Christ; Tiresias, a Theban seer, stands for the ancient prophets; Phaethon, son of Apollo, represents the Antichrist; Jupiter's rape of Europa prefigures Christ's descent from heaven to save mankind. This moralized version of Ovid proved so popular and influential that it too was summarized, for example in the fifteenth-century *Ovide moralisé en prose*.

Another popular medieval reading of the *Metamorphoses*, from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, is Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus*, consisting of most of Book 15 of the Benedictine Bersuire's *Reductorium morale*. Other moral interpretations of Ovid from the fourteenth century include the Dominican Robert Holkot's *Moralia super Ovidii Metamorphoses* and Giovanni dei Bonsogni's *Allegorie ed esposizioni delle Metamorphosi*.

To limit the role of Ovid in the Middle Ages to that of *Ovidius theologus* ("theological Ovid"), however, would be to focus primarily on *Metamorphoses* and not to tell the whole story of Ovid's pervasive influence. Although many medieval commentators focused on mythography and *Ovidius maior*, others perceived the poet as *Ovidius medicus* ("medical Ovid") or *Ovi-dius magus* ("magical Ovid"). Ovid functioned as a medical adviser through his *Remedia amoris* (*Cures for Love*), which served as a textbook for such medical scholars as Arnold of Villanova (1240-1311). Ovid was perceived as a magician chiefly in legends that flourished in and around Sulmona, where he was born. Many of these legendary tales concerning Ovid parrot or at least parallel earlier tales of Virgil as magician or prophet.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri; Giovanni del Virgilio; Ovid; Petrarca, Francesco; Virgil; Virgil in the Middle Ages

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P

Pacino di Bonaguida

The Florentine painter and illuminator Pacino di Bonaguida (fl. before 1303-c. 1330s) became a leading exponent of what Offner (1923, 1987) described as a "miniaturist tendency" in Florentine painting of the early *Trecento*. This tendency was prevalent in small-scale panel painting rather than monumental mural art and is characterized by a spirited approach to narrative, keenly observed anecdotal detail, and a shift toward decorative abstraction. To judge from the number of works attributable to Pacino, he commanded a successful workshop, which by 1330 appears to have been the busiest and the most significant center for the execution of manuscript illumination in the city, especially for copies of the works of Dante Alighieri. Pacino's only surviving signed painting is the *San Firenze Polyptych* (c. 1315-1330; Florence, Accademia), which has been crucial in establishing his artistic personality as well as for building up the not inconsiderable corpus of work linked to him or his *bottega*. Pacino is first mentioned in 1303 in connection with the painter Tambo di Serraglio, with whom he dissolved a partnership established in the preceding year; he is documented for the last time c. 1330, when he enrolled in a Florentine guild, the Arte dei Medici e Speziali.

Among Pacino's earliest works is thought to be the *Tree of Life* (c. 1302-1315; Florence, Accademia), originally from the Convent at Monticelli and closely based on Saint Bonaventure's text *Lignum vitae*. While the solemn air of the crisply defined crucified Christ owes something to the artistic traditions of the *Duecento*, the episodes in the forty-eight roundels exhibit lucid narrative designs that suggest some awareness of the contemporary art of Giotto. Change is evident in Pacino's later work, however, as the style of the *San Firenze Polyptych*, which comprises a central *Crucifixion* with flanking saints, testifies. This altarpiece combines a Giottesque naturalism, conveyed in the

convincing plasticity of the forms, with a sense of grace and elegance, especially in the poses and suggested movement of the figures, which are close in temperament to the art of the Saint Cecilia Master.

See also **Florence; Giotto di Bondone; Saint Cecilia Master**

FLAVIO BOGGI

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Padua (Latin Patavium, Paduensis, Padua; Italian Padova) is a city of the Veneto, situated about 22 miles (35 kilometers) west of Venice on the floodplain between the Bacchiglione and Brenta rivers. The Roman historian Livy, a native of nearby Abano, maintained that Padua was founded by the Trojan hero Antenor. On the basis of the legend, thirteenth-century Paduan chroniclers attributed Trojan ancestry to the local nobility and claimed for their city a preeminence comparable to that of Rome. In 1284, in a gesture of civic pride, the Paduan commune erected in the Piazza Antenore a sarcophagus containing the alleged relics of Antenor. The city, however, was probably founded by the Veneti, a tribe of uncertain origins who settled in the region in the tenth century B.C. Padua was an ally of Rome by the third century B.C. and a subject city from the early second century onward. It obtained Latin rights in 89 B.C. and full Roman citizenship in 49 B.C.



Tomb of Lovato dei Lovati, Padua. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Ancient Padua flourished as a trade nexus and a center for the manufacture of woolen textiles. By the time of Augustus it ranked second only to Rome in wealth, but from the fourth century after Christ it experienced a decline, accelerated by the Germanic migrations. It was sacked by the Huns under Attila in 452, and it passed to the Ostrogoths in 476. The city was captured by Justinian's armies during the Gothic wars and remained under Byzantine control until the Lombards

occupied the region at the end of the sixth century. An unsuccessful rising against the Lombard king Agilulf in 601 resulted in a long siege and the virtual destruction of the city. Until the ninth century, the center of municipal activity in the Padovano (the province of Padua) moved to Monselice, about 12 miles (20 kilometers) to the southwest. As part of the Lombard duchy of Friuli, the region passed to the Franks in 774, when Charlemagne annexed the kingdom of Italy.



Duomo and baptistery, Padua. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

During this period, a measure of continuity was provided by the church. According to legend, the first bishop of Padua was Prosdocimus, reputedly a disciple of the apostle Peter, and an early cult of Saint Prosdocimus is attested to by a sixth-century Italo-Byzantine shrine preserved under the present basilica of Santa Giustina. The first historical evidence of a bishop in Padua dates from the mid-fourth century. The see survived the Germanic migrations, but the bishops of the seventh century suffered exile and a loss of territorial jurisdiction through their adherence to the Nestorian doctrine of the "Three Chapters," which had been condemned as heretical by Rome. To this period belongs the foundation of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Giustina. Generously endowed with rural estates and tithes, the monastery became the richest religious corporation in medieval Padua. The Carolingians restored some of Padua's former importance as an

ecclesiastical and administrative center. The ninth century saw the construction of the church of Santa Sophia, a cathedral, and new walls enclosing the Roman city. Little survives of the original cathedral, which was renovated in the twelfth century and entirely rebuilt in the Renaissance after designs by Michelangelo. Santa Sophia, the oldest extant church in Padua, was reconstructed in the twelfth century in a Lombard Romanesque style but retains its original apse, modeled on the Byzantine churches of the Ravenna exarchate. With the disintegration of the Carolingian empire, accumulated feudal and jurisdictional privileges, which after 897 included comital powers, left the bishop virtually the sole public authority in the city and the immediate district. In the tenth century, Bishop Peter (r. 897-904) defended Padua against the Hungarians; early in the eleventh century, Ursus (r. 992-1015) sponsored an extensive reconstruction of the city. Later, Uldericus (r. 1064-1083), a partisan of Pope Gregory VII in a region that was generally pro-imperial, played a role in the investiture controversy as an intermediary between the pope and Emperor Henry IV.

For administrative purposes, the Carolingians divided the Lombard duchy of Friuli into four counties, one of which was centered at Padua. At the end of the tenth century, the Ottonian emperors renewed the jurisdiction of the counts of Padua, with the exception of the city, where the bishop retained comital privileges. But within a century, the Germanic custom of partible inheritance had caused the title of count and the powers associated with it to become dispersed among several branches of the Conti family, some of which merged into the urban citizen body. Other lines, such as the Da Carturo, the Schinelli, and the Maltraversi, remained powerful feudal landowners, with estates in the northwestern Padovano and *palazzi* in Padua; but by the mid-twelfth century they were overshadowed by the Estensi, the Da Romano, and the Camposanpiero. Descended from noble clans that came to Italy with the Ottonians in the tenth century, these families exploited their wealth and grants of imperial privileges to divide the Padovano among themselves. The Camposanpiero and Da Romano possessed extensive estates and castles northeast of Padua; the Estensi, the leading aristocratic family, took their title from the castle of Este in the southern Padovano. The Estensi acquired the title of *marchesi* (margraves) of Ancona from Pope Innocent III in 1208 and a permanent

urban base as *signori* (lords) of Ferrara in 1264. Padua shared in the demographic and economic growth of Italy between 1100 and 1300. Although the statistics are necessarily conjectural, it appears that the population of the city more than doubled in this period, from about 15,000 in the late twelfth century to at least 35,000 at the beginning of the fourteenth, putting it in the middle rank of contemporary Italian cities, comparable to Verona, Perugia, and Pavia. In contrast to its neighbor Venice, Padua did not greatly benefit from long-distance trade, with the result that unlike Venice, Genoa, and Florence, it never developed a substantial merchant-banker class. Instead, the wealth of medieval Padua derived from the shrewd exploitation of the *contado*, its rural hinterland and subject territories, an area of about 260,000 hectares (640,000 acres) that corresponded roughly to the modern civil province of Padua. The rich volcanic soils of the Pedevenda, the Euganean hill country southwest of the city, were intensively cultivated for wine and olive oil; and the plain, once drained, was devoted mainly to arable land and pasturage. Linked to the *contado* and to export markets in Venice and Chioggia by a system of canals built between 1189 and 1212, Padua served as a market and conduit for the distribution of the region's produce. By the thirteenth century, the city's monopoly of regional trade and the lucrative duties it generated were guaranteed by its political control of the *contado* and by statutes forbidding competition against the Paduan market.

The nature of the Paduan economy dictated the structure of urban society. Victualers (butchers, taverners, bakers, salt merchants, greengrocers), transport workers (wagoners, bargees), and leather workers (tanners, cobblers, saddlers, shoemakers), all of whom dealt directly in the produce of the *contend*, made up a majority of the guilds recognized in the statute of 1287. In contrast to the situation in the ancient city, linen workers and merchants dominated the textile sector: the production of woolen textiles did not become a significant factor in the Paduan economy until the fourteenth century. Millers and their sponsors, both private and public, benefited from the water power provided by the Bacchiglione, and Paduan grain and fulling mills attracted business from the surrounding district and from as far away as Venice. The dependence of the city on the resources of the *contado* created a vigorous market in land, since most Paduans who made their

fortunes in trade, usury, or the professions invested their profits in the purchase or leasing of land in the *contado*. The land market also encouraged the development of a large class of notaries—some 500 by the late thirteenth century—who monopolized the business of drafting and authenticating legal acts; and judges, who dominated the administration of the city and the subject communities of the *contado*.

Economic growth and feeble imperial control in northern Italy allowed Padua to make the transition to communal government before the mid-twelfth century. The origins of the commune are obscure, but documentary evidence indicates that by 1138 the city was governed by seventeen consuls. In 1164, the commune formed an alliance with Verona, Vicenza, Treviso, and Venice to resist an attempt by Frederick I Barbarossa to enforce imperial judicial and fiscal rights. Three years later, an expanded coalition including Brescia, Mantua, Cremona, and Milan became the first Lombard League, which inflicted a humiliating defeat on Frederick in 1176. Under the peace of Constance (1183), the emperor was forced to recognize the effective autonomy of the communes in matters of internal government, lawmaking, and control of their *contadi*. Padua joined a revival of the Lombard League in 1226 in opposition to Frederick II's renewal of imperial claims, and a coalition against Frederick II's son Conradin in 1267.

As in other cities where communes evolved, Padua was dominated by established landowning families with a small admixture of the richer urban elements that had begun to emerge by the twelfth century. The appointment of a *podestà* (chief magistrate) in 1174 may reflect tensions and conflicts within the original ruling class. As a foreigner invested for a limited term with executive and judicial authority, the *podestà* was supposed to transcend local factions. Nevertheless, according to the chronicler Rolandino, by the end of the twelfth century the city and the region were split by feuds that pitted the Da Romano against the Camposanpiero and the Estensi, and the rural nobility against the urban bourgeoisie. During the first half of the thirteenth century, these rivalries were translated into a struggle for domination of Padua itself. Briefly under the control of Azzo VII d'Este, the city was captured in 1237 and held for twenty years by Ezzelino III Da Romano in the name of Frederick II. The turbulence of the period was reflected in the reconstruction of the old walls enclosing the administrative center of

the city (1195-1210)—of which the Porta Altinate and the Porta di Ponte Molino survive—and a castle (La Torlonga) built by Ezzelino in 1237. Opposition to Ezzelino's increasingly arbitrary regime united the rural nobility and the urban communal classes, particularly in the confusion that followed the death of the emperor in 1250. In 1256, a crusade of political exiles sponsored by Pope Alexander IV and led by the Estensi toppled the Da Romano and restored the independence of the commune. Until the death of the free commune in 1318, Padua would usually align itself with the Guelf cause in its relations with other cities.

In Padua, the society of the *popolo* (the people) was called the *comunanza*. It originated as a coalition of rich urban citizens and guildsmen who lacked a rural power base and were consequently excluded from the commune. Members organized militia units based on the city's four quarters and bound themselves by an annual oath to defend their common interests, by force if necessary, against the nobles who dominated the commune. Although the early history of the *comunanza* is obscure, it appears to have been the leading political force in the city by the time Ezzelino seized power, and probably as early as 1200. It returned to a position of control soon after the expulsion of the Da Romano in 1256. The victorious *comunanza* refrained from abolishing the commune: as the statutory code compiled between 1276 and 1285 shows, the *comunanza* subordinated the commune by making adherence to the popular coalition a condition of participation in government. The *consiglio maggiore* ("great council"), the communal legislative assembly, was retained and even expanded in 1277 from 400 to 1,000 members, but participation was restricted to members of the *comunanza*. The *podestà*, along with his judicial and administrative staff, continued to be recruited from foreign cities at fixed intervals, but the *comunanza* ensured its monopoly of power through an armed force of cavalry and infantry and a twelve-man council of *anziani* (elders). Selected every two months by an assembly of the *comunanza*, the *anziani* represented the administrative quarters of the city and eight of the thirty-six guilds recognized by the city statutes. Electors chosen by lot designated the district *anziani*, and councillors nominated by the outgoing magistrates determined which guilds would elect *anziani* to speak for the guildsmen. Once appointed, the *anziani* exercised considerable powers: they reviewed all decisions

of the *podestà*, controlled the agenda of the council, and reserved the authority to appoint a *capitano del popolo* ("captain of the people") to defend their interests in a crisis.

Although the regime of late thirteenth-century Padua represented a widening of the political class in response to pressure from below, as much as 90 percent of the urban population, and virtually all of the rural population, was denied access to government. Minimum property qualifications barred wageworkers, peasants, and many minor guildsmen from participation in the council and officeholding. At the other end of the social scale, about twenty noble families were formally disenfranchised by communal statute. The wealth, prestige, and potentially signorial ambitions of such *magnati* (magnates) were viewed as a threat to the stability of the commune. The few thousand Paduans who enjoyed political privileges represented two distinct classes: guildsmen and nonguildsmen. Despite the preponderance of guildsmen on the board of *anziani*, the non-guildsmen—mainly judges and representatives of nonmagnate noble families—seem to have exercised leadership by virtue of their social status and administrative expertise. The hegemony of this hybrid ruling class remained largely unchallenged until the early fourteenth century; its internal coherence may be ascribed to a community of interest between the guild and non guild elements, both of which were created and sustained by the economic exploitation of the *contado*.

The period from 1256 to 1318 was the golden age of medieval Padua. In the absence of external threats to its security and the internal dissensions that led to upheavals and signorial rule in most other Lombard cities, the commune consolidated its hold on the *contado* and even extended its influence through the annexation of Vicenza in 1266 and Rovigo in 1306. Stability and prosperity found expression in ambitious building programs and a vital cultural life. To this period belong several of the most notable churches and civic monuments of Padua, the refoundation of the university, and the flowering of a civic literary tradition.

The focus of public life was the Palazzo Comunale, or Palazzo della Ragione, which stands in the city's central market square between the Piazza delle Erbe and the Piazza delle Frutta. Originally built in 1216, it was extensively reconstructed in 1306 by the native architect Fra

Giovanni degli Eremitani (fl. 1295-1320), who added the vast upper hall with its ribbed timber roof inspired by Venetian ship design. Measuring about 260 feet long by 89 feet wide by 89 feet high (79 by 27 by 27 meters), the *salone* (chamber) is the largest and most impressive of extant medieval Italian halls. The fresco cycles illustrating the calendar, the liberal arts, and the religious history of Padua date from the fifteenth century; they replaced earlier frescoes destroyed by fire in 1420 and said to have been painted by Giotto under the direction of the scientist Pietro d'Abano (c. 1250—c. 1316). Also preserved in the hall is the *pietra del vituperio* ("stone of shame") where bankrupts were publicly humiliated before expulsion from the city. In the communal period, the Palazzo Comunale housed the offices of the *podestà* and the law courts, while the covered arcades on the ground level served as market stalls. West of the Palazzo Comunale stood the palace of the guilds; and to the east, on the site of the present *municipio*, there was a complex of buildings constructed or refurbished between 1281 and 1285—of which only a tower remains—that housed the residence of the *podestà*, the Palazzo degli Anziani, and the Palazzo del Consiglio.

The most conspicuous monument of thirteenth-century Padua is the great pilgrimage basilica of Sant'Antonio, popularly known as the *Santo*. The basilica was begun in the 1230s to house the remains of the famous Franciscan preacher and theologian, who spent his last years in the vicinity of Padua; it took almost a century to complete. The external arrangement of six domes complemented by a central cupola and two campaniles blends Romanesque, Gothic, and Byzantine elements in a style that is reminiscent of San Marco in Venice. The impressive interior, measuring nearly 380 by 108 feet (115 by 32.5 meters), reflects a similar mixture of influences. The basic plan of a Latin cross with an ambulatory and radiating chapels at the east end is Gothic in inspiration, while the details of the central aisle and choir are Romanesque. With a few exceptions, however, the sculpture and decoration, including the shrine of Sant'Antonio, date from the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

The Eremitani, the church of the Augustinian friars in the northern Ponte Altinate quarter, was built between 1276 and 1306, and the facade was added in 1360. This church was virtually destroyed by bombing in 1944 but has been restored, though most of the medieval decoration is

lost, except for fragments of apse frescoes and sculptures. The nearby Cappella degli Scrovegni, or Arena Chapel, contains Giotto's most famous frescoes. The chapel was erected in 1303 in the ruins of a first century amphitheater adjacent to the palace of the Scrovegni, who were among the richest of the "new families" that flourished under the *comunanza* regime. The donor, Enrico Scrovegni, inherited a fortune from his father, Renaldo, a notorious usurer whom Dante consigned to hell (*Inferno*, 17.64-75), and the commission was probably intended as a gesture of expiation. If, as some argue, the chapel itself was designed by Giotto, it is the only intact example of a building both planned and decorated by him. The brick structure comprises a simple barrel-vault nave of about 69 by 28 feet (20.8 by 8.5 meters) terminating in a small Gothic sanctuary containing Scrovegni's tomb. Painted between 1304 and 1313, the fresco cycle tells the story of human redemption and final judgement in a series of forty wall panels framed by painted moldings and architectural details. The upper registers on the south and north walls recount the life of Mary; the middle registers recount the life of Christ; and the bottom recounts the history of the passion, the resurrection, and Pentecost. The whole scheme surmounts a painted marble wainscoting broken by monochrome allegorical figures of the seven virtues and vices. The theme of the east wall is the Annunciation, and the choir arch is dominated by a panel of God the father dispatching the angel Gabriel to Mary. The west wall depicts the Last Judgment; among the blessed, Giotto included a portrait of Enrico Scrovegni presenting the chapel to Mary. The frescoes are complemented by statues of the Virgin and two acolytes executed for the altar by the sculptor Giovanni Pisano (d. 1320).

Although there were schools of law and grammar associated with the cathedral in the twelfth century, the *studium* (university) of Padua traced its history to 1222, when a group of students and masters seceded from Bologna and established schools in the Rudena district in the eastern suburbs of the city. Suppressed or restricted in its activities under Ezzelino, the *studium* revived with the commune, and its development into an important academic center was actively fostered by the new regime. By 1264, when Pope Urban IV confirmed the statutes of the *studium*, universities of canon and civil law, a university of arts and medicine, and colleges of doctors of law and arts had been

created or refounded. As in Bologna, the universities properly speaking were student corporations that elected their own rectors and teachers. The colleges represented doctors and professors, and controlled admission to degrees. As chancellor, the bishop of Padua exercised formal jurisdiction and conferred degrees, but in practice the university was closely regulated by the commune. In 1262, the commune assumed responsibility for paying the salaries of law professors, and by 1331 it was appointing professors directly, subject only to formal ratification by the student universities. As early as 1261, communal statutes prescribed curricular texts; and the codification of 1285 defined the legal privileges of students and guaranteed them exemptions and protection with respect to lodging, taxation, and loans.

Although Padua was later famous for its medical schools, the medieval university was dominated by law. Medicine was taught along with grammar, rhetoric, logic, and natural science in the arts university, which remained formally subordinate to the jurists' university until the mid-fourteenth century. By 1321, the commune was supporting four professors of medicine and one professor each in surgery, philosophy, logic, and grammar. The foremost arts professor in this period was the physician and astrologer Pietro d'Abano. A native of Padua, Pietro studied in Constantinople and lectured in Paris, where he came into contact with the prevailing Averroist interpretation of Aristotle. He returned to Padua in 1306 to teach medicine and philosophy. His extant writings include several influential translations of Greek medical texts and specialized treatises on poison and physiognomy. Astrology is the central topic of Pietro's two major works, a commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems* and *Conciliator*, an attempt to reconcile medicine and philosophy. These, along with a series of astronomical treatises by Pietro, testify to the existence of a flourishing school of astrology in early fourteenth-century Padua.

With the overthrow of Ezzelino, a school of distinctly 'civic writing emerged first in the ambience of the university and then among the judges and notaries of the administrative class. Rolandino, the first figure in this tradition, was born in 1200, the son of a notary, and was trained in Bologna, where he was a pupil of the Florentine rhetorician Buoncompagno da Signa. Rolandino appears to have combined a notarial practice in Padua with teaching in the arts university from 1221

until his death in 1276. *Cronica*, his only surviving work, was read before the university and approved by the masters and doctors of arts in 1262. Inspired by a local tradition of civic annals and the example of Buoncompagno, who had written on Frederick I's siege of Ancona, Rolandino related the history of the Da Romano tyranny from which the city had just been liberated. Tightly written in the rhetorical style of the schools and varied by speeches and diatribes, the *Rolandina*, as the chronicle came to be known, is a powerful indictment of tyranny and a celebration of communal ideals; it achieved virtually canonical status as an expression of the popular regime's ideology. Despite its popularity, however, Rolandino's chronicle had no imitators: later chroniclers reverted to the spare annalistic style that had prevailed before Rolandino. An exception was the judge Giovanni da Nono, who turned to different models altogether. His *Visio Egidii* (*Vision of Egidius*, a legendary king of Padua), written between 1314 and 1318, was inspired by popular pilgrim guides to Rome and is notable as the only topographical description of Padua by a medieval writer. His *De generatione aliquorum civium urbis Padue* (*On the Ancestry of Some Citizens of Padua*) drew on noble genealogies and popular legends to construct an unconventional portrait of the city seen through the histories of more than 100 of its most prominent families, ranked according to their status.

The circle of Latinists that appeared in the last decades of the thirteenth century was significant because it anticipated several characteristics of Petrarchan humanism. As lawyers and notaries, the Paduan "prehumanists" shared the social and professional background of the chroniclers. What distinguished them was their effort to reproduce the vocabulary, style, and cadences of classical Latin in their own writing. Lovato Lovati, the leading figure in the group, was born c. 1240 into a family of notaries, was a communal judge by 1267, was knighted in 1291, and died in 1309 after a successful judicial and administrative career. His literary reputation rests on a series of metrical letters that display a new awareness of classical prosody. The source of Lovato's interests is unclear, but echoes and allusions in his poetry suggest that he was familiar with manuscripts of Tibullus, Martial, Horace, Valerius Flaccus, and Seneca preserved in the libraries of Verona, Pomposa, and Bobbio. Perhaps his most significant

accomplishment was deciphering the meter of Seneca's *Tragedies*, which he explained in a commentary written in the 1290s for the benefit of his circle.

Lovato's disciples and imitators displayed a similar dedication to the classics. Rolando da Piazzola (fl. 1300), Lovato's nephew, was among the first medieval intellectuals to take an interest in recording classical inscriptions. Geremia da Montagnone (c. 1255-1321), whose knowledge of ancient Latin writers rivaled that of Lovato himself, compiled a popular *florilegium* of classical tags, including extensive quotations from the newly recovered Verona Catullus. However, Lovato's most accomplished disciple, and the writer in whom the Paduan tradition culminated, was Albertino Mussato (1262-1329). The son of a court messenger, Mussato made a meager living as a copyist of university texts until 1282, when he became a notary. By 1296, he had obtained a knighthood and married the daughter of Guglielmo Lemici, one of the richest moneylenders in Padua. The Lemici connection opened the way to politics, and Mussato emerged as a leading figure in communal affairs and diplomacy between 1310 and 1325. Under the influence of Lovato, Mussato explored the contemporary potential of Senecan tragedy and immersed himself in the historical writings of Livy, Sallust, and Caesar. In his tragedy *Ecerinis* (1314), he resurrected the legend of Ezzelino da Romano to alert his fellow citizens to the threat posed by the territorial ambitions of the *signore* of Verona, Cangrande della Scala. Although the Senecan meter of *Ecerinis* made it virtually incomprehensible to its intended audience, the play nevertheless earned Mussato popular acclaim and the distinction of a laurel crown from the university in 1315. The gesture, with its classical overtones, created a sensation in literary circles and inspired Dante, exiled in Verona, to long (in vain) for a similar honor in Florence. Inspired by Livy and Sallust, Mussato's *Historia Augusta* (*Imperial History*) and *Degestis Italicorum* (*On the Deeds of the Italians*) attempt to explain the contemporary history of Padua by reference to the larger geopolitical realities of Italy: the theme of the *Historia Augusta* is Henry of Luxembourg's Italian expedition of 1310-1314; and the unfinished *Degestis* draws a parallel between the decline of the Roman republic and the death of the Paduan commune.

Paduan prehumanism inspired similar movements in Vicenza,

Verona, and Venice, but as an indigenous school it perished with the commune. A postscript, however, was provided by Marsiglio Mainardini. Marsiglio was born between 1275 and 1280 and studied in Padua and then in Paris, where he was rector in 1312-1313. He probably studied medicine under Pietro d'Abano after returning to Padua and was associated with Mussato, who wrote a dialogue on Senecan meter at Marsiglio's request and addressed to him a verse letter on the relative merits of medicine and law. Marsiglio left Padua at the time of the first Carrara takeover (1318), but his renowned treatise on government, *Defensor pacis* (*Defender of Peace*), which he completed in 1324, reflects the republican ideals of the Paduan circle. Marsiglio was condemned as a heretic for his radical critique, in *Defensor*, of the temporal power of the pope; he sought refuge in 1327 with Lewis of Bavaria, whom he served as an adviser and court physician until his death in 1342.

Henry VII's expedition initiated a prolonged crisis in Paduan affairs that ended with the abolition of the commune and the establishment of a permanent *signoria* by the Carrara family in 1328. Before this, however, rifts had begun to appear in the ruling coalition. In 1293, internal divisions caused by the commune's decision to go to war against its traditional allies, the Estensi, provoked fears of a coup by the magnates. Guildsmen reacted by creating an armed "union of the guilds" to protect their interests, and when peace was restored, the union continued to represent a powerful bloc within the *comunanza*. Under pressure from the union and the council of guild provosts, the board of *anziani* was expanded to eighteen in order to strengthen the influence of guildsmen in government. The new guild leadership exhibited less deference to Padua's traditional alignments: conflicts with Este Ferrara, in which Padua was supported by the della Scala of Verona, and a war in 1304 against traditionally friendly Venice undermined the old network of Guelf alliances that had favored the independence of the commune.

It was against this background of unsettled regional politics that the emperor, Henry VII, arrived in Italy. Padua felt the effects of his intervention almost immediately when an insurrection erupted in the subject city of Vicenza. In 1311, Vicen tines—backed by Veronese and imperial troops—expelled the Paduan garrison and confiscated Paduan property in the Vicentine *contado*. When the commune's friendly

overtures to Henry failed to prevent his appointment of Cangrande della Scala as imperial governor of Vicenza, Padua joined Florence and other Guelf cities in rebellion. An internal power struggle resulted in the replacement of the *anziani* and guilds by a twelve-man emergency commission controlled by rich nonguildsmen and professionals led by Albertino Mussato, who immediately set about repairing the commune's links with its former allies. But the early defection of magnate families, combined with the regime's Ghibelline witch-hunts and the failure of its campaign against Cangrande, provoked an uprising in 1314 and a return to the prewar forms of government.

The reestablished commune faced a powerful rival in the Carrara family, which had emerged from the upheavals of 1311-1314 at the head of an influential party in favor of peace. One of the old magnate clans of the southern Padovano, the Carraresi, had declined during the thirteenth century as the family estates were dispersed through inheritance. By the early decades of the fourteenth century, however, the main branch of the family, headed by Giacomo da Carrara, had recouped some of its fortune and influence, which were now deployed to achieve control of the city. In September 1314, Giacomo successfully negotiated a treaty with Cangrande that held until 1317, when the commune made an unsuccessful bid to retake Vicenza. In the ensuing war, Padua was badly defeated, and the terms of a second peace arranged by Giacomo ensured his election as *signore* in July 1318. His triumph, however, proved ephemeral: undermined by Cangrande, who was determined to incorporate Padua into his own regional empire, Giacomo was forced to barter his *signoria* to the imperial claimant, Frederick of Austria, in exchange for help against Verona. Submission to the empire bought Padua a brief respite from Veronese aggression, but domestic politics degenerated into bloody factional clashes in the city and magnate revolts in the *contado*. The death of Giacomo in 1324 unleashed new levels of violence. On the order of Giacomo's nephew Marsiglio, opponents of the Carraresi were murdered or, like Mussato, forced into exile. Unable to secure further German troops, Marsiglio reached an accommodation with Verona. In September 1328, an intimidated *consiglio maggiore* elected Cangrande della Scala imperial vicar and nominated Marsiglio da Carrara "captain, protector, and general defender" of Padua.

The Carraresi ruled Padua for seventy-five years. After 1337, when Florence and Venice helped Marsiglio shake off the della Scala, they governed alone. Francesco I "il Vecchio" stabilized the new order. Elected to the *signoria* in 1350 following the assassination of his father, Giacomo II, Francesco shared power with his uncle Giacomino until the latter's deposition in 1355, after which he ruled as sole *signore* until 1388. Granted broad authority by the statute of election, Francesco formalized the concentration of power in the hands of the *signore*. Under revised statutes of 1362, the *podestà* became an appointee of the Carraresi, while the *anziani* and the *consiglio maggiore*, the latter now stripped of its legislative powers, were reduced to confirming the election of new *signori*. The guilds lost their independence through subordination to the *podestà*, who was put in charge of regulating economic activity. The communal administrative apparatus was left intact, but the status of the notaries and judges who had dominated government in the thirteenth century was drastically diminished. Magnate relatives and supporters of the Carraresi monopolized the most lucrative posts, advised the *signore*, and commanded the new military formations that replaced the communal militia. The Carrara household, which was now the real locus of power, recruited its officials, jurists, and diplomatic secretaries from the upper strata of the citizen class. Through gifts of land and tax exemptions, this privileged group of bourgeois families merged with the old nobility to produce a new, distinctly signorial ruling class.

The Carraresi maintained public sponsorship of the university. Francesco patronized legal studies by endowing a college for destitute law students and importing distinguished law professors, such as the Florentine canonist Lapo da Castiglionchio (d. 1381) in 1379, and Baldus de Ubaldis (c. 1327-1400), who lectured on civil law between 1376 and 1379. The growing distinction of the arts university fueled a dispute with the law component that led to the effective separation of arts and law under Francesco in 1360. Three years later, Pope Urban V completed the evolution of the medieval university when he sanctioned the creation of a faculty of theology from a union of the existing *studia* of the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian friars.

The patronage of the Carrara attracted several humanists to Padua, of whom the most famous was Petrarch (1304-1374). Petrarch was

presented with a benefice by Francesco in 1349; and in 1370, near the end of his life, he settled permanently at Arquà in the Euganean hills, where he devoted himself to editing his poetry, his letters, and his incomplete epic on Scipio Africanus. A year before his death he composed, at Francesco's request, an epistolary tract on the duties of a ruler, which is included in his *Letters of Old Age*. Drawing on classical and patristic sources, Petrarch represented the ideal prince as a benevolent, paternal figure who stood above factional interests and surrounded himself with just advisers. Petrarch sketched an ambitious program of public works, low taxes, and cultural largesse as an alternative to the petty wars that plagued the region, many of which were instigated by his patron. Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna (1343-1408), an admirer of Petrarchan humanism, entered the service of the Carraresi in the 1380s. Under Francesco Novello, he became a professor of rhetoric in 1392 and later chancellor of the university. Conversino's commitment to the Ciceronian ideal of *virtus* strongly influenced his pupils, among them the founders of the first humanist schools, Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446) and Guarino da Verona (1370-1460). Similar interests were expressed by Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1444), the first theorist of humanist pedagogy. Vergerio was born in Istria and studied in Padua and later in Florence. In 1399, he returned to Padua to lecture on logic in the university. His *De ingenuis moribus* (*On Noble Customs*) was written in 1402 or 1403 and addressed to the third son of Francesco il Vecchio, Ubertino, whom Vergerio had probably tutored. The tract departed from medieval precedents by emphasizing the value of the *studia humanitatis*—particularly history, rhetoric, and moral philosophy—as a preparation for public life. An anticipation of the educational ideals of the humanist schools that soon proliferated in northern Italian princely courts, Vergerio's treatise remained influential throughout the fifteenth century.

A local school of painters inspired by Giotto flourished under the Carraresi. Guariento di Arpo (died c. 1368) and his younger contemporaries, the Veronese Altichiero di Zevio (d. 1395) and the Florentine Giusto de' Menabuoi (d. 1393), were responsible for the most important surviving examples of late medieval painting in Padua. Guariento's earliest extant work is a series of twenty-nine ceiling panels in the former Cappella del Capitano of the Loggia Carrarese, depicting

Old Testament themes and the angelic hierarchies. Frescoes of saints Philip, James, and Augustine painted in 1338 are unfortunately all that survive of his cycle in the apse of the Eremitani. On Petrarch's advice, Francesco il Vecchio commissioned portraits of famous Romans for the Sala dei Giganti, part of the original Carrara *palazzo* incorporated into the sixteenth-century Palazzo del Capitano. A fragment of the original series portraying Petrarch in his study at Arquà has recently been attributed to Altichiero. In 1379, Altichiero decorated the chapel of San Felice in the south transept of the basilica of Sant'Antonio with frescoes of the crucifixion. The neighboring Oratorio di San Giorgio, built by the Lupi family between 1377 and 1384, contains the painter's important cycle of the lives of saints George, Lucy, and Catherine. Though much damaged, Giusto's contemporary paintings in the Belludi Chapel of the *Santo* illustrating episodes from the lives of the apostles Philip and James are, apart from their stylistic importance, vivid evocations of the busy street life of medieval Padua. Giusto was also commissioned by Fina, the wife of Francesco il Vecchio, to decorate the baptistery, which had been constructed in 1171 and renovated in 1260. The cycle is among the most ambitious and complex of medieval Italian fresco programs. Executed between 1376 and 1378, it depicts the Genesis narrative, episodes from the lives of John the Baptist and Christ, and the Apocalypse.

The autonomy of the Carrara lords of Padua was compromised by their early dependence on Venice and by the constant threat of neighboring Verona and Milan. From the beginning of his *signoria*, however, Francesco il Vecchio pursued an aggressive policy of territorial conquest, financed by heavy taxation, compulsory loans, and arbitrary confiscations, which increasingly alienated his subjects. War with the duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, resulted in a Milanese occupation of Padua in 1388 and the imprisonment of Francesco, who died five years later. Returned to power with Venetian support in 1390, Francesco's heir, Francesco Novello, resumed his father's policy; and when Gian Galeazzo's death in 1402 removed the Milanese threat, Francesco Novello's territorial ambitions brought him into direct conflict with Venice. Deserted by the population of the *contado*, which had been exhausted and impoverished by decades of conflict, Francesco and his supporters were reduced to maintaining a precarious hold on

Padua itself. After a siege of eighteen months, the city fell to the Venetians in November 1405. Francesco was taken to Venice, tried, and later strangled in prison. Other members of the Carrara family were banned from Paduan territory, and their supporters were exiled. The "Golden Bull" of 30 January 1406 formally deprived Padua of its independence and incorporated it into the mainland empire of Venice, of which it would remain a province until 1797.

See also Albertino Mussato; Ezzelino III da Romano; Giotto di Bondone; Lovato dei Lovati; Marsilio of Padua; Petrarca, Francesco; Pietro Abano; Rolandino of Padua; Scrovegni Family; Scrovegni Family Chapel; Universities

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Paganino da Serezano

Paganino da Serezano is an unknown poet of the *Duecento*; only one of his poems has survived—the *canzone Contra lo meo volere*. From the place he occupies in the Vatican Codex 3793, between Arrigo Testa and Pier della Vigna, we may infer that he belonged to the oldest generation of the poets of the Sicilian school, and he imitates a practice of Giacomo da Lentini by naming himself in his poem. His exact geographical extraction remains a mystery. The locality is given in the Vatican Codex as Serezano, but MS Rediano 9 (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence) proposes Serzana. The identification of a township bearing a name of this configuration is quite difficult. Among the many suggestions are Sarzana in the Lunigiana, Serezano in the Tortonese, and Serezzano in

the Versilia region.

See also Giacomo da Lentini; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Pagliaresi, Neri

Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi (c. 1350-1406) was one of Catherine of Siena's secretaries and a poet who composed religious *lattede*, an encomiastic poem about Saint Catherine, and two *cantari* about spiritual conversion. Neri was born into an aristocratic family of Siena and was a prominent public figure, serving two terms in the general council in 1371 and 1375. It was during these years that he underwent a spiritual conversion and became a devout follower of Catherine. In an undated letter that was probably written in 1371 (Dupré-Thézeider 1940, 7-99) Catherine welcomes Neri to her *famiglia*. Along with Stefano di Corrado Maconi and Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, Neri became a leading member of Catherine's group, and he quite likely collaborated with her on *Libro della divina dottrina* (Fawtier 1921-1930, 1:349). According to several letters and documents, he often

accompanied Catherine on important diplomatic missions, such as a mission to Lucca in 1376, when she attempted to dissuade the Lucchesi from joining the antipapal league. As Catherine's ambassador, Neri traveled to Avignon to consult with the pope and was active in the peace negotiations between Rome and Florence in 1378. He learned of Catherine's death while he was on an embassy to the Neapolitan court of Giovanna (Joanna) II in 1380. Neri spent the remaining years of his life in Siena, where he collected Catherine's letters and translated Raimondo di Capua's *Legenda maior*.

According to Gardner (1907, 85), Neri is a high-strung and sensitive poet, whose *laude* and *cantari* are among the best religious poems of the trecento. The *Leggenda di Santo Giosafà* is a *cantare* in *ottava rima* that recounts an Indian prince's conversion to Christianity. It is based on an Iranian tale about Barlaam and Josaphat, two names for Buddha. Again using the *ottava* form, Neri also composed the *Istoria di Santa Eufrosina*, which narrates the life and death of a virtuous maiden. Conversion is the climactic moment of hagiographical narratives, and it often causes distress among the convert's loved ones. In his poetry, Neri represents the psychological and social conflict caused by spiritual commitment. Because it uses a popular tone and language, his poetry is at once personal and social, as can be seen in the eulogy to Catherine, *Spento è il lume che per certo accese*, and in the fifteen *laude*.

See also Catherine of Siena, Saint

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Painting: Fresco

The term "fresco," derived from the Italian for "fresh," is used to denote a variety of techniques for painting wall surfaces, practiced extensively from Roman antiquity through the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century. Though fresco is found all over Europe, this mode of mural painting was best suited to the dry climate of the Mediterranean countries, and its great flourishing occurred in medieval and Renaissance Italy, where from the thirteenth century onward a tremendous proliferation of frescoed images is found.

Two varieties of fresco technique were in widespread use in medieval Italy: *buon fresco* and *fresco secco*. *Buon fresco*, or "true fresco," is a process in which powdered pigments, suspended in water, are applied to a wet, freshly spread lime plaster surface. The damp plaster absorbs the brushed-on pigment like a sponge, and, as it dries, the lime of the plaster forms a chemical bond that fixes the pigment in a crystalline film of calcium carbonate, insoluble in water. The resulting image is one of the most durable paint surfaces known, as the pigment is embedded in the wall itself rather than forming a superficial coating. *Fresco secco*, or "dry fresco," also uses a plaster ground, but in this case the plaster is allowed to dry before the pigment is applied to the surface through a tempera, oil, or lime-water binder. This technique is necessitated by some pigments, such as lapis lazuli, and it is much easier to execute; but the result is much less durable, tending to flake off over a period of weathering or abrasion.

Both techniques were apparently known since antiquity; the ancient Roman architect Vitruvius describes a method of true fresco that is close to the technique spelled out in *Il libro dell'arte* (*The Craftsman's Handbook*), a late fourteenth-century shop manual set down by Cennino Cennini, a Florentine pupil of Agnolo Gaddi; and many *fresco*

secco murals survive from Roman antiquity. It seems that *fresco secco* was practiced continuously from antiquity through the Middle Ages, as all painted wall decorations before the thirteenth century appear to have been executed in the dry manner. True fresco, on the other hand, is not found in Italy before the latter half of the 1200s. This surprising lapse in the use of true fresco has prompted some speculation that the proliferation of *buon fresco* during the thirteenth century was an independent discovery developed from the craft of mosaic; the technique of mosaic is more closely related to *buon fresco* than to *fresco secco*. A number of important mosaic cycles, such as those sponsored by King Roger in Sicily and the doges in Venice, were indeed being executed in the late twelfth century. The quicker, more economical *buon fresco* technique that appeared immediately following a major period of mosaic activity in Italy may be seen as an innovation spurred on by the economic incentive of making the expensive mosaic technique available to a less wealthy clientele wishing to follow the example of the elite.

The rise in popularity of fresco coincided with the great building boom of the thirteenth century, brought about by a tremendous influx of people seeking employment and security in the cities, and the throngs of worshipers attracted to the church by the popular appeal of the mendicant orders. Before this time few comprehensive mural schemes are found in Italy, with the exception of the few lavish mosaic decorations mentioned above, limited to the most exclusive levels of aristocratic patronage. But the construction of basilicas, cathedrals, town halls, hospices, and oratories in every town along the Italian peninsula occasioned a need for economical, quickly executed, yet durable programs of decoration for which the fresco technique was ideally suited. No cheaper or more effective way existed to raise civic pride through a commemoration of great heroes or events, or to communicate sacred narratives on a scale and level of drama that would thoroughly surround and captivate the viewer.

Much of this decoration was sponsored by the coffers of the church or the state, but a very large proportion was also commissioned by the newly rich and powerful merchant and banking classes, which sought to garner their share of fame and splendor by following the practices of the great ruling houses. Hence, in a form suited to their more modest means, they sought to advertise their place in local society through the

commission of privately owned but highly visible chapel or oratory decorations. Entire buildings, such as the Arena Chapel in Padua and the oratory of Or San Michele in Florence, appear to have been designed expressly with mural decoration in mind. The development of large cycles of decoration seems to have received a further boost from a renewed interest, during the late thirteenth century, in the early Christian decorations surviving in many Roman basilicas. In the 1280s and 1290s, for example, the Roman painter Pietro Cavallini was called on to repaint ruined early Christian frescoes in San Paolo Fuori le Mura and old Saint Peter's in Rome; and his own frescoes in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere closely follow early Christian models. Other cycles in the tradition of early Christian models appeared in San Piero a Grado (near Pisa) and the mosaic cycle in the dome of the Baptistery in Florence.

Though *buon fresco* was rapidly executed, economical, and durable, the actual technique involved was one of the most difficult for a medieval artisan to master and required the mobilization of an entire workshop, if not the hiring of additional help. The first step in the execution of a fresco was the preparation of the wall surface to be painted. Scaffolds large enough to support the team of apprentices and the painting equipment were erected before the bare stone or brick masonry of the structure. Often between 20 and 60 feet (6 to 18 meters) from the ground, the wooden platforms were dismantled and rebuilt from section to section until the entire wall space to be covered was completed. A number of artists are known to have died in accidents associated with these scaffolds. Any pronounced surface irregularities in the masonry were smoothed out to provide an even surface for the fresco, and precautions were taken to ensure that the wall to be painted was protected from moisture and salts, because water seepage into a wall will eventually crumble the plaster coating.

A layer of rough, gritty plaster, called the *arriccio*, was next laid directly on the masonry, to further smooth out irregularities in the wall surface such as gaps between the stone or brickwork, and to provide a toothy surface which could support the next layer of plaster. Horizontal and vertical plumb lines were snapped onto this layer of *arriccio* by means of a level and compass. In addition, as was learned from the damage to numerous fresco cycles incurred during World War II and during the flood of the Arno River in Florence in 1966, full-scale

sketches of the compositions to be painted were blocked in on the *arriccio*. Medieval craftsmen may have used small preparatory drawings on paper or parchment to work out a composition, but it seems that most of the designing of frescoes made before the *Quattrocento* took place in situ, directly on the wall to be painted. The master of the shop would first map out the position, size, and relative placement of the objects to be depicted with very rough charcoal drawings. Once the key compositional relationships were established, the charcoal marks were reinforced with a brush dipped in a solution of red ocher in water, yielding a red drawing called a *sinopia*, named after Sinope, a city in Asia Minor renowned for its red earth. The provisional charcoal marks were brushed off after the *sinopia* dried, leaving only the red outline to serve as a compositional guide. *Sinopie* were never meant to be seen by the general public, but they were one of the most essential steps in the preparation of a fresco, for through them the master was able to estimate and gather together the necessary amount of materials (such as the quantities of colors to be used), prevent architectural settings from being drawn out of plumb, work out the sequence for laying in the final layer of plaster, apportion out various sections to the workshop for execution, and have something to show to the patrons for approval before executing the design.

After completion of the *sinopia*, another, smoother, much finer layer of plaster, the *intonaco*, was applied to the *arriccio*. Before the revival of true fresco painting in the thirteenth century, the *intonaco* was laid down in very large patches corresponding to the height and length, which could be covered by the artisans working on the scaffold, or *ponte*; hence these long wide bands of *intonaco* are called *pontate*. Only after the *pontate* were completely dry was the pigment applied with some binder, following the *fresco secco* technique. In *buon fresco*, however, in a manner similar to mosaic technique, the fine layer of *intonaco* is laid in much smaller patches than are used for *fresco secco*. In true fresco, the pigment bonds solely with wet plaster, thus a medieval craftsman would lay down only as much *intonaco* over the *arriccio* as could be painted in a single day's work, before the plaster was dry. Each day's worth of work—called a *giornata* from the Italian *giorno*, "day"—would be quickly brushed with pigment before the eight or so hours it took for the plaster patch to dry. The general procedure

was to work from the top of a wall down to the bottom, so that dripping or running pigment would not ruin finished work below it. The sizes of *giornate* vary. Some patches could be quite large, since a relatively open stretch of the composition with few details such as a simple backdrop or a rocky hillside could easily be plastered and painted in a day. Other, more detailed sections tended to be small; a single head with all its features and variations of color could represent an entire day's painting.

The successful coordination of all the *giornate* into a single coherent image was a difficult task. The pigments available for fresco painting were limited to natural earth colors, such as red and yellow ochre or green terra verde, which would dissolve in lime. Pigments applied to the wet plaster looked different from their final appearance when dry, and the value of color changed depending on how damp the plaster was when the paint was brushed on. Any color that ran across more than one patch had to be applied to the different *giornate* when they were at the same degree of dampness, but this was difficult to gauge because the time it took for the plaster to dry varied with humidity, temperature, ventilation, and other environmental factors that changed from day to day and season to season. The seams of the *giornate* were visible in the final image; to mitigate this effect, the workshop tried to hide the borders along the contours of figures or buildings. Furthermore, the plaster patch covered the *sinopia* of the very section the artist was about to paint, so new drawings, sometimes cut in with a stylus, were made on the *intonaco* as it was laid down. As time was of the essence in the completion of each *giornata*, pigments were generally applied with large brushes, and compositions were deliberately designed to be simple and uncluttered to avoid time-consuming detail. If a mistake was made in *buon fresco*, the area could not be painted over but had to be chipped away and redone. All these considerations demanded an assuredness of hand and a high degree of familiarity with the idiosyncracies of the medium and the pigments used with it. These skills could be gained only from long experience, making the fresco technique one of the most challenging modes of creation ever faced by an artist. It is also a medium which could be realized only by a cooperative, collaborative process of art production, such as that found in the medieval workshops of Italy.

Some evidence indicates that cartoons or full-sized drawings were used during the *Trecento* to transfer a composition to the wall, although this practice is more typically associated with Renaissance fresco painting. The repeated ornamental border design frescoed in the 1360s by Orcagna's workshop on the entrance arch over the main chapel of Santa Maria Novella in Florence shows patterns of colored dots tracing the outlines of the geometric decoration. These dots were made by holding a cartoon of the design with holes punched in it against the *intonaco* while charcoal dust was pounced through the holes of the cartoon. Each of the repetitions of the design was made using the same punched cartoon (called a *spolvero*). Once the cartoon was lifted away, the painter used the pattern of dots as a guide to fill in the colors. Simone Martini's Montefiore Chapel in the lower basilica of San Francesco in Assisi shows a similar utilization of stencils for repeated patterns; and incision marks on certain frescoes such as the *Lamentation of Christ* in the nave of the upper basilica possibly result from an instrument tracing along the lines of a cartoon held against the damp *intonaco*.

Very few murals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were executed solely in *buon fresco*. The limited range of the palette and the inhibition of detail in true fresco led to the addition of much *a secco* work. For example, the blue pigments known to medieval painters, such as azurite and lapis lazuli, are too coarse in grain to be absorbed by fresh plaster, so no true blue pigment was possible in *buon fresco*. The large expanses of sky and the many depictions of Mary's blue mantle in Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel in Padua all had to be painted on with size (glutinous material) after the plaster dried. More than half of Simone Martini's *Investiture of Saint Martin* in the Montefiore Chapel in Assisi was painted in tempera over fresco; as a consequence, much of this highly detailed work has flaked away over the centuries. In truth, some medieval frescoes are a composite of all the painting techniques used in the medieval workshop. For example, the closely studied fresco of the *Madonna del Cucito* (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale) by Vitale da Bologna is a complex combination of *buon fresco* with tempera and oil glazes overlaid by layers of varnish. Simone Martini, in such frescoes as his *Maestà* for the Palazzo Pubblico and his *Guidoriccio da Fogliano*, applied sheets of tin to the *intonaco*, which he then stamped with punch

marks and glazed with transparent veils of color, treating the fresco like a sumptuous panel painting rendered on a monumental scale.

Fresco is unsurpassed in medieval art for its epic sweep of color and form, which graces whole interiors from floor to ceiling; and the technique of fresco painting fostered a boldness of execution and breadth of form that had much to do with the conquest of space and volume in painting by artists in the ensuing Italian Renaissance.

See also **Giotto di Bondone; Painting: Panel**

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Painting: Miniature

In Italy painting in manuscripts has a history that reaches back to antiquity (Weitzmann 1977). During the early Middle Ages this medium, referred to as manuscript illumination or miniature painting, was transformed by the requirements of the Christian liturgy and the shift from the roll to the codex in late antiquity, just as it was transformed by the introduction of the printed book at the end of the Middle Ages. Yet it is certainly valid to speak of "Italian" medieval miniature painting. Despite Italy's religious and political connections to the rest of Europe, the evolution of its manuscript painting follows a distinctive pattern determined in part by its location between northern Europe and the Byzantine empire. Significant, too, from the twelfth century on was the increasing understanding of the human figure and of space, fostered in part by the connections between manuscript illuminators and panel and wall painters (Alexander 1994, 121-122). These and other consistencies crossed political boundaries within a peninsula divided among different rulers, including the Lombards, the Byzantine empire, the papacy, and the Norman kings of Sicily; individual city-states such as Lucca, Pisa, Florence, Siena, Venice, Bologna, and Arezzo; and local rulers and powerful families.

These, in fact, as intersections of economic prowess and individual or group ambition, whether political or religious, were the sites of major manuscript production—for manuscript illumination was an expensive undertaking. Indeed, along with the analysis of palaeography and codicology and the identification and localization of decoration styles, the study of Italian manuscript illumination raises numerous contextual problems. For example, scholars have investigated the motivation behind the production of manuscripts. In the early Middle Ages, the primary producers of manuscripts were monasteries and court ateliers, and while some of the texts were classical and secular, the vast majority were liturgical texts and Bibles. Later, the development of cities, the emergence of the universities, and changes in the liturgy meant that new texts—such as the Missal, the one-volume Bible, and the *Decretals* of Gratian—were produced and new types of patrons emerged. The style of an individual painter or atelier, or even a region, might be affected by the agendas of patrons, and their political, religious, or familial alliances. And there are other questions. Who were the artists (Alexander 1994, 4-34)? Were they also the scribes? Were they monks?

Were they professional artists, working alone or in highly organized ateliers? On which projects did artists copy from valued exemplars? For which did they invent new programs of illustrations based on motifs book and written instructions (Alexander 1994, 52-71, 121-149)? Were court painters and ateliers common or rare? How far did artists travel? Some painters working in Italy appear to have been from England or from Byzantium, and documents in Naples in the thirteenth century refer to Mainardo Teutonico, who might have been German (Daneu Lattanzi 1978, 150; Evans and Wixom 1997, 479-481, 486). What does it mean when Italian artists appear to imitate aspects of the style of manuscripts produced in other political centers, such as Byzantium or Paris (Toubert 1980)? The following episodes from the history of Italian medieval manuscript illumination address these issues and others.

Although it is clear that manuscripts with narrative sequences were produced in Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries, as Backhouse has noted, "comparatively few miniatures of high quality survive from Italy" in the early Middle Ages (1979, 22). Certainly, the likelihood that the Codex Grandior—a huge one volume Bible—was among the books Benedict Biscop purchased in Rome and brought back to England in the seventh century indicates that Italian manuscript production was important during this period (De Hamel 1994, 17-21). A manuscript that does remain to us is the so-called Gospel of Saint Augustine or Cambridge Gospel (Corpus Christi College, MS 286), apparently one of the many codices sent by Gregory the Great to Saint Augustine to aid in bringing Christianity to the English in 596 (De Hamel 1994, 17). And an illustrated medical anthology attributed to Monte Cassino or southern Italy (Florence, Laurentian Library MS Plut. 73,41) survives from the early ninth century (Belting 1968, 122-132; Robb 1973, 163-164).

Despite these indications that Italy played an important role in the emergence of medieval manuscript ornamentation and illustration, it is in the tenth and eleventh centuries that we begin to see impressive and distinctive groups of illuminated manuscripts there. Three of the most prominent groups are the Beneventan school, best-known for the production of *exultet* rolls, the manuscripts of Monte Cassino, and the so-called Atlantic Bibles usually associated with Rome. One characteristic they share is a relationship to northern European

manuscript illumination, especially in their ornamented initials.

Among the earliest Italian illuminated manuscripts are some of the approximately thirty-three remaining *exultet* rolls produced in southern Italy, which date from the tenth century to the fourteenth (Avery 1936; Belting 1968, 144-183, 234-255; Cavallo 1973 and 1994; Evans and Wixom 1997, 469-472; Speciale 1991). These are unique Italian liturgical manuscripts which include the text of the hymn for the Easter vigil, *Exultet iam angelica turba coelorum*. Among the oldest are three that were originally attributed to a *scriptorium* at San Vincenzo al Volturno, but have more recently been attributed (Belting 1968, 154) to Benevento itself, between 985 and 987. Because of the history of the region, these manuscripts include varying degrees of Byzantine content in a figure style that is recognizably southern Italian. Some of these manuscripts are far more Byzantine in figure style and also have more elaborate ornamental repertoires, for example an *exultet* roll (Bari, Cathedral Archives, Exultet 1) and a benedictional (Bari, Cathedral Archives) made in eleventh-century Bari, which was the administrative capital of a Byzantine province in Italy beginning in 969 (Belting 1974, 14-19; Mayo 1987, 386-387).

Shortly after the production of the manuscripts at Bari, another group of southern Italian manuscripts was executed at Monte Cassino, where Abbot Desiderius's new basilica was dedicated in 1071. The *scriptorium* produced manuscripts that combined the now familiar southern Italian or Beneventan palaeographic and ornamental styles with an increasing absorption of iconographic and stylistic elements from Byzantine painting (Cavallo 1989). These Monte Cassino manuscripts include two homiliaries (Monte Cassino 98 and 99), as well as a lectionary (Vat. Lat. 1202) in the Vatican (Adacher and Orofino 1989; Newton 1979). Their southern Italian initial and ornamental style contains foliate trellises and an interlace inhabited by birds and canines. Scholars have noted that this ornamental style must have been affected by the presence of Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts in Italy, sent as gifts by emperors, including the Vatican's Gospel of Henry II (MS Ottob. Lat. 74), which was given to Monte Cassino by Henry c. 1022 (Ayres 1994b, 134; Robb 1973, 171).

Another cluster of important manuscripts was the so-called Atlantic Bibles, generally localized to Rome, which take their name from their

colossal size (Ayres 1994a, b). These manuscripts, which have been associated with wall painting, are especially noted for their full-page *Creation* cycles, perhaps best seen in the twelfth-century *Pantheon Bible* (Vat. Lat. 12958) in the Vatican Library (Garrison 1953, 1.1, 83-89; 1955, 2.1, 21-44; 1961, 4.2, 117-178). The study of these codices involves considering Old Testament iconography, sorting attributions and localizations, and analyzing the relationships between Italian manuscripts and both transalpine and Byzantine painting (Ayres 1982 and 1994a, b). Other Roman manuscripts such as the Saint Cecilia Evangelary (Florence, Laurentian Library, Cod. 17, 27), have been discussed by Garrison (1955, 2.1, 36-38).

A twelfth-century Umbro-Tuscan style that combined some of the elements discussed above has been studied extensively by both Garrison and Berg, who described its initials as "geometrical," a type they traced to eleventh-century Rome (Berg 1968, 19; Garrison 1953, 1.1, 19-32 and 1954, 1.4, 159-175; *La pittura in Italia* 1985, 2:549). Consisting of ornamented shafts derived from northern European painting, the initials combine repeated rosettes and tight foliage in their interstices. They are embellished with gold leaf and, most significantly, with white vine foliage with half leaves, a form of decoration that became a permanent element of Italian manuscript illumination. A superb group produced at Pisa includes the brilliant Calci Bible (Certosa di Calci Cod. 1). In its decoration are figures copied closely from Byzantine manuscripts (Berg 1968, 146—168, 224—227; Garrison 1955, 2.2, 97-111).

In twelfth-century Sicily, a striking group of manuscripts was produced partly in response to the patronage of a powerful churchman whose political interests promoted a combination of Byzantine and Italian painting. Many are now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, but on the basis of their provenance and litanies, these manuscripts are usually attributed to Messina, during the archbishopric of the Englishman Richard Palmer in the second half of the twelfth century (Andaloro 1995, 357—378; Buchthal 1955; Daneu Lattanzi 1968, 15-33; Owens 1977). Among the most spectacular of these codices is a sacramentary, Madrid MS 52 (Evans and Wixom 1997, 479-481; Pace 1977). The ornamental style of twelfth-century Sicilian initials combines the Italian geometrical initial with elements of Byzantine ornamental repertoire and figure style (Buchthal 1955 and 1956).

By the thirteenth century, the expansion of the cities, the population, the economy, and the development of new religious orders—especially the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Servites, and Carmelites—led to vast building programs and calls for new manuscripts (Corrie 1993). Among the centers for manuscript production, one of the most thoroughly studied is that at Arezzo (Lazzi 1990, 22-46; Passalacqua 1980). A distinctive style developed there, based in part on the geometrical style of twelfth-century Tuscany and Umbria, with white vine decoration as well as elements of figure painting that may have come from the powerful and dominant manuscript ateliers at Bologna. Indeed, throughout Umbria, at Perugia, Cortona, Assisi, and elsewhere, a variety of local styles arose, based on this combination, often showing the work and influence of painters of the *maniera greca* who executed local wall and panel painting (Lazzi 1990, 46-52; Marques 1987, 128-179; Morello and Kanter 1999, 140-147; *La pittura in Italia* 1985, 595).

Major issues in manuscript illumination can be articulated through the study of significant manuscripts produced in southern Italy in the thirteenth century. Some of these belong to the first half of the thirteenth century and are associated with Frederick II, but with a few exceptions even those with texts that were composed during Frederick's reign were actually copied and painted after his death (Mütherich 1974). The most important among these is the *Art of Hunting with Birds*, a text written by Frederick of which the earliest copy (Pal. Lat. 1071 in the Vatican Library) was made for his son King Manfred before 1268 (Willemsen 1969). This manuscript typifies an important group of illuminated manuscripts that includes medical anthologies and other scientific manuscripts (Kauffmann 1959; Petrus de Ebulo 1962). These manuscripts clearly belong to the mid-thirteenth century in the south; but in general, scholars are still not certain for whom they were made or where the ateliers were located. Moreover, these codices demonstrate how complex the meanings of such manuscripts can be. While they are secular in subject matter and indicate an interest in science, they are in part a means of elite self-identification and, as with the *Art of Hunting with Birds*, may be based on familiarity with luxurious manuscripts from the Arab world (Mariani and Cassano 1995, 155-159, 492-493). And as in the case of Cod. 93 in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, a medical anthology, they demonstrate an interest in simulating aspects of both

Byzantine and northern European painting (Grape-Albers 1977, 105-130, 151-164). Among the most important codices from Manfred's reign are elaborately decorated one-volume Bibles, a new type recently developed at Paris (Ayres 1994a, 361-374). Of these, the so-called *Manfred Bible* (Vat. Lat. 36) is the most spectacular, with a figure style that combines elements of French and English illumination with some Byzantine figure types, and a distinctive ornamental style based on a combination of English foliage and French details from the first half of the thirteenth century (Andaloro 1995, 393-412; Daneau Lattanzi 1968, 49-58; Toubert 1977 and 1980) *Federico II e' l'Italia* 1996, 258-262. Who were these painters? While many of the clients may have been members of Manfred's court, it seems likely that the painters were lay artists who worked in metropolitan centers such as Naples, which had its own university. The same difficulties can be found in the analysis of the slightly later manuscripts associated with the Conradin Bible, now MS 156 in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Corrie 1993 and 1994; Daneu Lattanzi 1968, 58-64; Toubert 1979). Although there has been some controversy over the localization of these manuscripts, this group too seems to be from southern Italy, possibly Naples (*Federico II e' l'Italia* 1996, 262-267). Other manuscripts seem to have been produced in Naples after the end of the Hohenstaufen rule in 1268 when the Angevin dynasty arrived (Daneu Lattanzi 1978; Degenhart and Schmitt 1977; Leone de Castris 1986, 103-108; Orofino 1994, 375-389). How political upheaval changes the history of manuscript illumination can be seen in Angevin documents, which indicate that there was a shortage of painters in Naples c. 1282 (Coulter 1944). And the Angevin takeover seems to have caused a shift in the types of manuscripts produced in southern Italy; there are more courtly and secular topics among the extant manuscripts. Southern Italy continued to produce manuscripts in numerous languages in addition to Latin, including Greek, French, and Hebrew, throughout the Middle Ages (Andaloro 1995, 349-356; Bologna 1974; Cavallo 1986, 497-612; Martini 1994, 351-59; Ševenko 1984).

While virtually every major city in thirteenth-century Italy produced some manuscripts, often with distinctive styles of illumination, without question the most important center for the production of illuminated manuscripts was Bologna (Conti 1981; *La pittura in Italia* 1985, 2:595,

602, 614, 640). Over a period of two centuries, the styles that developed there altered the evolution of manuscript production throughout Italy (Mariani and Cassano 1993, 132; *La pittura in Italia* 1985, 2:583, 598, 602, 611). Generally scholars have divided painting at Bologna into two styles (Norris 1993, 1-25). The "first style" of the 1260s and 1270s includes ornamentation based on knotted vines and lush half-leaf forms as well as marginal decoration including motifs taken from French illumination (Conti 1981, 21-22; Norris 1993, 1). Here the figures tend to be small and lively, similar to what can be found in the panel painting of the *maniera greca*. The "second" style, originally contemporary with the first, became more common c. 1280 and is associated with the so-called Gerona Bible Master (Luaces 1994, 415-427; Norris 1993, 2-4). These painters extended the ornamental repertoire found in the first style, and they developed a figure style remarkably close to that of the Palaeologan period in Byzantine painting (Jacoff 1979, 165-169).

Because Bologna was a university city, its manuscript illuminators decorated codices with a broad array of subjects (De Hamel 1994, 138-139; De Winter 1983). The Bolognese painters illuminated hundreds of one-volume Bibles, probably for use by university students, but also for the Dominican and Franciscan orders (Norris 1993, 26-98). And major manuscript illuminators, such as the Gerona Bible Master, provided sets of antiphonaries and graduals for the religious orders, including the Franciscans and the Servites (Conti 1981, figs. 86, 92, 93; Luaces 1994, 26-98). Because the university at Bologna was an important center for the study of law, numerous illuminated copies of the *Decretals* of Gratian were produced during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, among other texts (Melnikas 1975).

The ongoing study of Bolognese manuscript painting highlights crucial issues in the history of illumination, including the organization of ateliers, the sorting of hands and ateliers, and a continuing discussion of the identities of Oderisi da Gubbio and Franco Bolognese, mentioned by Dante in Canto 11 of the *Purgatorio* (Conti 1981, 7-8; De Winter 1983, 314-315; Norris 1993). Finally, a major issue is the relationship between painting in the Bologna region and painting outside Italy. A typical discussion has involved the origins of the style of the *Padua Epistolary* written at Padua by Giovanni Gaibana and dated 1259, which has been compared with both Armenian and

Byzantine manuscripts (Bellinati and Bettini 1968; Grape 1973; Hänsel-Hacker 1952). Eventually this atelier had an impact on painting in Austria and in Bohemia, as did subsequent Bolognese illuminators (Corrie 1987; De Hamel 1994, 218, 227).

By the fifteenth century, the shifts in the production of manuscript illumination had transformed the medium. As in earlier centuries, liturgical manuscripts were produced as texts were revised and wealthy patrons emerged (Alexander 1994, 11-20). But the desire of patrons to express their wealth and learning in private collections also directed the efforts of painters to illuminating classical texts, legal tracts, and new literature, such as the writings of Dante (De Hamel 1994, 232-286; Kanter 1994, 198-210). And although thirteenth-century manuscript illuminators can be found working on frescoes and altarpieces, we now find illustrious painters working in several media more often, including Pacino da Bonaguida, Simone Martini, Fra Angelico, Michelino da Besozzo, Perugino, and Pinturicchio (Alexander 1994, 230; De Hamel 1994, 232-286; Kanter et al. 1994, 25-83). Despite the dramatic changes in painting, especially the illusionism in the treatment of figures and landscape, quattrocento luxury manuscripts remain recognizably Italian, with an ornamentation that combines antique motifs with the white vine decoration that had dominated central Italian illumination in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as well as the lush foliage of Bolognese illumination (Alexander 1994, 143, figs. 68, 121; De Hamel 1994, 244—253).

See also **Bookmaking and Book Production**

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Painting: Panel

The art, and technique, of painting on a prepared wood surface is one of the oldest art forms known. The mummy cases of the pharaohs of Egypt are among the earliest surviving examples of using a wooden base covered with cloth and some sort of sealant as the surface for painting. We have testimony that the Greeks practiced this art, although no known examples have survived. Adjoining the Propylea Gate to the Athenian Acropolis was a structure called the *pinakoteka* (picture gallery) that was used at one time for displaying paintings on wood, although it is not certain that the structure was originally made for this purpose. The Romans practiced the art of panel painting along with fresco and other forms. A panel in the Etruscan museum in the Tuscan hill town of Cortona, painted in encaustic (i.e., pigments applied with soft wax) representing the muse Polimnia is claimed to come from the first or second century after Christ, although there is some doubt as to its authenticity. The mummy portraits that have been found in the Faiyum region of Egypt are in encaustic on wood and date to the first centuries of the Christian era. These panel portraits are Egypto-Roman paintings of undoubted authenticity. At least two paintings of the Madonna and Child in Rome—the *Madonna of Santa Maria Nuova*, in the church of Santa Francesca Romana; and the *Salus Populi Romani*, in the Lateran basilica—may date from as early as the fifth century and would be the oldest surviving Christian paintings on panel. From that

date onward, the number of surviving panel paintings gradually increases.

Throughout the Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance, painting on panel was one of the principal art forms practiced in Italy. This medium was not replaced by canvas as the major carrier of painting until the sixteenth century. Titian's *Assumption of the Virgin* in the church of the Frari in Venice in 1515 is one of the last major works on wood. Its tremendous scale, some 16 feet (nearly 5 meters) high, indicates the impracticality of using panel as paintings of monumental size became the vogue. Through the fifteenth century, however, wood was used for all manner of painting, from fine altarpieces to mundane objects of daily use. Related to panel painting for high art are types of decoration executed in similar technique for less lofty purposes such as the decoration of furniture and some forms of domestic ornamentation. The same techniques were applied to temporary works such as theatrical props. Even some types of book covers were a form of panel painting.

The most complete description of the technique of panel painting as it was practiced in medieval Italy is in a text written at the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth by a minor artist named Cennino Cennini, *Il libro d'arte* (literally *The Book of Art*, but the English translation is called *The Craftsman's Handbook*). Cennini tells us that he was a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi, who in turn was the son and pupil of Taddeo Gaddi, who in turn was the godson and principal pupil of the artist considered the father of Renaissance painting, Giotto. Cennini thus establishes his bona fides as an authority on the best methods of painting. The book is a kind of shop manual that spells out everything an artist should do to produce the best kind of art. It is from Cennini that we get much of what we know about the practices of artists in medieval Italy. The fifteenth-century Florentine Leon Battista Alberti wrote a treatise on the art of painting published in both Latin and Italian (*Depictura, Deliapittura*; 1436); it deals more with the theoretical elements of the art and such considerations as the use of color, linear perspective, and composition, based on classical aesthetics. In our own time, the examination of actual paintings in the course of restoration and conservation has contributed significantly to our knowledge of the technique and materials used by artists of the Middle

The Panel

The production of a panel painting began with the carpenter who created the form, on the instructions of the artist or the patron. The most common wood used was poplar—a soft, open-grained, porous material. This is in contrast with the common practice of northern Europe, where various hardwoods were more frequently used. The planks were cut along the length of the log, following the grain of the wood in the same manner as our modern lumber. Except for the smallest paintings, which could be executed on a single width of wood (usually no more than 8 to 10 inches, or 20 to 25 centimeters), several pieces of lumber were needed. The planks were joined together with casein, a glue made from cheese, and size, a sort of gelatin obtained from boiling animal skins. Better-quality carpentry also used dowels, blocks, or butterfly wedges to reinforce the joints and horizontal battens that were attached to the backs for reinforcement. This was necessary because poplar is prone to warping. The planks were ordinarily used vertically except for such parts as a *predella* (the horizontal step or base on which an altarpiece rests), whose low, horizontal profile naturally indicated horizontal planking. The carving of the frame was considered a part of the panel preparation and might be carried out by the same carpenter who produced the panel, although a master carver might be employed if a particularly intricate design was called for. All this carpentry could be very complex, and it is not uncommon to find in surviving documents that the patron paid more for the carpentry than for the painting.

Once the carpentry was completed, the panel would be prepared for painting, usually by the artist (or his workshop assistants). The wood would be sealed with several coats of glue size prepared by boiling animal skins. The best size was made from the trimmings left from shaping sheets of parchment (prepared sheepskin) for manuscripts. Rabbit and other animal skins were used, but the size produced was not considered as fine. Included in the process of building up several layers of size was the attachment of strips of linen or parchment to the flat

surfaces (but not usually to the carved portions). This provided an additional layer of insulation from the potential dampness of the wood and also created a riding or floating layer that separated the layers of paint from the wood, which was susceptible to expansion and contraction with changes of temperature and humidity. The paint layer would thus "float" on the surface. The cracks that can today be seen in many panel paintings, where the joints of the panels have separated and pulled the painted image apart, are evidence of what could happen when this layer of cloth or parchment was omitted.

Gesso was then applied to the entire panel—frame as well as flat surfaces. *Gesso grosso* (coarse gesso) is a mixture of lime or chalk and size. The lime is ground to a fine powder and mixed with the size. Cennini suggests that at least eight layers of this substance should be applied. When each successive layer of the gesso was thoroughly dry, it would be smoothed with a scraper before the next layer was applied. When this process was complete, several layers of *gesso sottile* (fine gesso) were applied. This was a smoother form of gesso made by soaking the lime in water for about a month, stirring it daily and making sure it was kept too wet to set. After that time, the sediment would be kneaded to a fine texture. The gesso could then be allowed to dry like plaster if it was not to be used immediately. When needed, the *gesso sottile* would be mixed with water to a thin consistency and applied to the surface with a brush in very thin layers. After each layer was completely dry, the surface would again be scraped smooth before the next coat was applied. A well-prepared panel would be absolutely smooth, although not all panels received this meticulous attention.

The artist would then begin the process of creating the image. The drawing would be done directly on the panel. Until paper became readily available, in the fifteenth century, preparatory drawings were seldom used, although earlier paintings might be used as models. Pattern books that provided models for various types of images were also commonly used. This practice accounts for the similarity of so many images during this period and helps scholars discern relationships among various paintings and the artists who made them. The artist would draw with charcoal on the panel, "erasing" errors or making alterations with a feather. Once he was satisfied, he would brush off most of the drawing, again using a feather, leaving only a faint outline.

He would then trace out the lines with a fine brush and ink. In a few surviving examples in which the gesso and paint layers have become separated from the underlying panel, this preliminary drawing is visible where it has bled through the gesso onto the wood, giving us a glimpse into the artist's practice. Once the composition was complete, the panel was ready for gilding (the application of gold leaf), which was the common treatment for backgrounds and details such as halos. In a large workshop, the gilding might be done on the premises, but more commonly it would be sent out to a specialist.

The gold leaf was prepared by hammering a gold coin between sheets of leather, folding it over and continuing the process, much the way layered pastry dough is prepared. A gold florin, which is about the size of a U.S. dime, would ultimately render 100 sheets of gold leaf, each about 3 inches (7.5 centimeters) square. The sheets were so thin, virtually molecular, that they could be handled only with a brush and are translucent when held up to light. The size and number of sheets that could be produced from a given weight of gold were regulated by statute so as to guarantee the quality of the gilding. Since most devotional paintings were commissioned as acts of piety, the patron was frequently concerned that a given amount of precious material be expended in the production, as a sign of respect for the subject. It was therefore important that such quality control be exercised.

The gold leaf would be applied to all areas of the panel that were not to be painted. To start, a layer of bole would be applied. This was a type of red clay thinned with water that, when wet, acted like a glue to bond the thin sheets of gold leaf to the prepared panel. It had the additional property of providing an undercoat that enhanced the richness of the gold. The deep red color would show through the translucent sheets of gold leaf and would enhance the appearance, creating a more metallic-looking surface than a white underlayer could have produced. When the bole-leaf layer was dry, the gold would be burnished, polished to a high finish with a piece of agate or ivory. When burnished, the thin coat of leaf took on the appearance of solid gold.

The panel could then be tooled for additional richness. Gesso remains malleable virtually forever. A stylus could be used to impress an incised design into the surface, providing both pattern and texture. This would usually be done to halos, costumes, borders, and whatever other parts

would be appropriately ornamented. A compass could be used to create circular halos of concentric rings. Early in the fourteenth century, the use of punches became common. A design would be carved into the end of a cylinder of bone or ivory. This would then be pressed against the surface of the panel and struck with a mallet, leaving the impression of the design embossed on the panel surface. This allowed for a more regular and more intricate type of ornament than could be attained freehand. Punched designs and freehand incising were often combined. The incising and punching could be done either before or after the painting was completed, and evidence suggests that both practices were followed.

Because the punches were hand-carved, they generally had slight irregularities that allow their marks to be identified individually, much like fingerprints. This makes it possible to attribute various paintings to the same artist or workshop when it can be demonstrated that the same tool was used. Likewise, it can sometimes be shown that different artists were somehow related when they used the same tool. Such tools must have been considered valuable and were sold or traded among different artists and workshops.

After the gilding process was completed, the painting of the image could begin. Colors were obtained from mineral and organic materials. Naturally occurring minerals such as colored earths and hard stones would be ground to a fine powder to be used as pigments. Even precious and semiprecious stones were used. Lapis lazuli was frequently used for painting the Virgin Mary's mantle, because, like the gold leaf, it was expensive and thus demonstrated the devotion of the patron in his willingness to bear the expense. Flowers, fruits, and other vegetable materials would be boiled to extract the color. The infusion could then be evaporated, leaving only the colored residue. Insects were crushed to acquire clear reds and some other colors. Chemicals not readily available in a natural state would be manufactured. For instance, lead white was obtained by exposing strips of lead to vinegar vapor.

The most common medium for painting was egg tempera. Egg yolk would be mixed with the pigment and diluted with water to achieve the proper consistency. It would be applied with a small brush and tiny strokes. The yolk would dry to a very hard finish, as anyone who has left the breakfast dishes unwashed will know. Many layers of this paint

would be painstakingly applied to build up the form. Cennini specifies that the painter should divide his paint into three portions, leaving one portion pure, darkening one portion with black, and lightening the third with white, to create high, medium, and deep tones. Working from the middle tone, darkening the shadows and lightening the highlights, the painter would then build up the form of his image.

Certain pigments could not be used with egg yolk, so for these, other media would have to be used. For example, certain copper salts that were used for blue pigments would react to the sulfur in egg yolk and turn green. In such cases, the pigment might be mixed with glair, derived from the white of the egg. The egg white would be whipped to a stiff meringue and then allowed to settle. The clear residue that collected at the bottom would act as a suitable and nonreactive carrier. Because egg yolk produces an opaque appearance, glair was useful when transparent effects were desired, as in gems in a crown or on the decorative borders of garments.

Oil was used for some colors, especially when a similar transparent effect was desired. It could be used like glair for pigments that reacted with egg yolk. However, the opaque quality of tempera was generally preferred. The use of oil paint as the principal medium was not common until the sixteenth century and coincides with the introduction of canvas as a carrier, replacing panel. There are some examples of oil painting on panel, such as Botticelli's *Primavera*, but they are the exception.

Occasionally, objects were attached to the panel surface, although this practice is seldom found after the early fourteenth century. Actual gems might be glued to the surface, and holy relics in small containers could be inserted into prepared holes. Relief might be built up on the surface by gluing on small wood carvings and covering them with gesso or by building up gesso and then carving it into the desired form. This latter process would be done at the time of the gesso coating of the panel, before the gilding. This became a popular form of ornamentation in the international style of the fifteenth century and can be seen in such paintings as Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* (Strozzi Altarpiece), in which many details such as the horses' trappings, the spurs of the Magi, and the talons of a hawk were produced in this way.

Uses of Panel Painting

The majority of panel paintings were produced for religious purposes, either public or private. Those meant for public display were most commonly intended for churches, although guildhalls and town halls might also have paintings of either a religious or a secular nature. The most common form was the altarpiece, although just what constituted an altarpiece embraces a broad spectrum of descriptions. The term has been applied to a wide variety of types and forms that were used on or near an altar. Devotional panels might also be found apart from an altar, such as the panels that decorated the piers in the cathedral of Florence.

Altarpieces took a variety of forms, which seem to have been popular at various times. A single panel, usually rectangular with a triangular pediment or arch at the top, was quite common in the thirteenth century. Later, the polyptych, a joining of several panels into a single unit, became more popular. A piece made up of three panels is called a triptych and was a common type. The central panel of a polyptych is generally larger than the others and honors the central theme of the altarpiece. In some early polyptychs, the panels diminish in size as they move outward, but in later examples the tendency was to make all side panels the same size. By the fifteenth century, the single-panel altarpiece with a horizontal format came into vogue.

Some triptychs had side panels or wings which were hinged so that they could be folded over to cover the central panel. In such cases, the shape of the wings would be that of the central panel split in two. Since the exterior of the wings would be visible when they were closed, the back sides would also be painted. In most instances, this painting would be only an ornamental motif, such as faux marbling, but in other cases more elaborate ornament might be used, such as a coat of arms or even additional figures. Such hinged triptychs are often referred to as tabernacles. A tabernacle might contain a sculptural image on the interior rather than a painting with only the wings painted. Alternatively, the wings might cover a receptacle for the eucharist, holy oils, or relics.

Some altarpieces that were placed on freestanding altars that could be seen from both back and front were painted on both sides. In this

case, the two faces were often differentiated in various ways. Duccio's *Maestà* altarpiece for the high altar of the cathedral in Siena has a devotional image on the front, the Virgin enthroned with saints and angels; and a narrative on the back, scenes from the passion of Christ. Giotto's *Stefaneschi Altarpiece* for Saint Peter's basilica in Rome shows Christ enthroned with saints on the front, while the back shows Saint Peter enthroned receiving the altarpiece itself from the hands of the donor, Cardinal Stefaneschi.

Panels were differently shaped for special circumstances. The most common type of shaped panel was the cutout cross. The cross would be formed with terminals at the ends of the arms. The central part of the cross might also be widened with an apron, so as to include the images of Mary and John or for scenes of Christ's passion. Although somewhat rare, there were also panels that were cut to the shape of the image painted on them, so that there was no background. This was, perhaps, a way of making the image seem more realistic or sculptural. In a few surviving panels, additions were attached to the panel surface. Some cutout crosses have the face of Christ painted on a circular panel that served as the halo. The circle of wood, flattened on the bottom, was attached at the neck, and the face was painted on it, so that Christ's head appeared to tilt forward. The same device was used in some images of the Madonna. In a few surviving examples, a carved face was attached so that the Madonna's head was actually three-dimensional.

Panels for private devotion were similar to those for public use but tended to be smaller in scale. The most popular form of private devotional panel was the hinged triptych. It could be closed when not in use so that the holy image would not have to witness the other activities that went on in the home, but it could be opened for devotions. Such tabernacles were also suitable for travel.

While the majority of surviving panel paintings were made for religious purposes, there is a sampling of secular works. The bulk of these are portraits. Portraiture was generally reserved for the wealthiest and most important patrons. The dominant portrait type was the profile, probably in imitation of classical coins and medallions. Portraits on panel were made for private homes and for public venues. Furniture was often painted in the same manner as panel painting, although surviving examples suggest that the preparation was not as elaborate.

Chests known as *cassoni* for the storage of clothing and other household goods were decorated with paintings on the fronts, sides, and lids. Chair backs, bedsteads, and other household furnishings were frequently painted.

Another type of panel painting, which is not well understood, is a circular panel known as a *desco di parto* (plural, *deschi di parto*) or birth salver. Such a panel takes the form of a circular tray, usually painted with a religious subject on the main side—often a subject of birth, such as the birth of Christ, the birth of Mary, or the birth of John the Baptist. The reverse side was generally decorated with coats of arms or emblems. Since *deschi* were often known to be given as wedding gifts, it is thought that they were intended as talismans for the fertility of the marriage and may have been used to bring ceremonial refreshment to a new mother. The *desco di parto* may be the origin of the circular panel called a *tondo* (plural, *tondi*) that became especially popular in the fifteenth century, when we find numerous examples of such circular panels which, owing to their size and weight, could never have been used in such a ritual manner.

Book covers for civic registers were sometimes painted much in the manner of panel paintings. Like furniture, these did not always get the more elaborate preparation accorded to the best altarpieces. Small chests, probably used to keep treasure, were sometimes decorated in the same way.

Condition and Conservation

Because of the fragility of panels, relatively few of them have survived, and even fewer are in good condition. From comparisons between workshop records that indicate how many works were produced and the actual number that have come down to us, it has been estimated that less than 5 percent of fourteenth-century panels survive; the percentage becomes even smaller for earlier works. Panels are subject to a variety of hazards. The wood itself—poplar—is quite frail, unlike the oak and other hardwoods used in northern European panel painting. It is subject to woodworms, dry rot, and other types of natural damage. Changes in temperature and humidity can adversely affect the

condition of the wood. Since so many panel paintings were placed on altars with lighted candles, fire was another hazard that claimed many.

For centuries, the conservation of panels, if done at all, consisted of cleaning the surface with abrasives, which in time removed layers of paint, often down to the preliminary underpaint. This explains the green tint seen in so many faces. *Terra verde* (green earth) was the common pigment used as the base color for flesh, although it would have been hidden beneath the many layers of other pigments. Excessive cleaning over time has removed these upper layers of paint, revealing the underlayer.

In trying to conserve panels today, museum laboratories have to contend with all these conditions. Woodworms can be controlled fairly easily by fumigation. The other problems are less easily treated.

Warping of the wood is generally irreversible, and the concern is prevention of further deformation. This can be achieved to some degree through environmental control, maintaining constant conditions of temperature and humidity. Continual change in the environment is more damaging than a hostile but consistent environment. In severe cases, it may be necessary to cradle the panel. This consists of attaching to the back side an interlocking series of horizontal and vertical struts, the inner side of which is shaped to fit the back of the panel. This reinforcement serves to keep the panel from warping any further.

Deterioration of the wood is another serious problem. Chemical treatment of the wood fiber can stop further deterioration, and if the problem has not advanced too far, injection of material into the wood can stabilize it. If the problem has advanced too far, however, it may be necessary to remount the painting. This is a very delicate operation and is undertaken in only the most severe cases. A sheet of material is glued to the surface of the painting, to stabilize it during the procedure. The painting is laid facedown, and the wood is carefully carved away until nothing but the gesso preparation is left. Then a new piece of wood, usually something like masonite, is glued to the painting. The stabilizing cover can then be removed from the picture surface.

Other problems that afflict panel paintings are chipping, flaking, and splitting of the surface. When the paint layers begin to separate from the panel, usually as a result of environmental conditions, they can be reattached by injecting glue beneath the surface and applying pressure

to fuse them together. Likewise, if the paint has become completely detached, it can be glued back in place if it is found. However, when paint is lost, present-day practice is to stabilize the area as much as possible and then to inpaint only to the point of avoiding any jarring hole in the picture. Modern conservators do not try to return a damaged work to pristine condition, so that the viewer will know what is and what is not genuine. When the wood has split and taken the paint layer with it, there is little that can be done. Cradling can help prevent further damage, but the appearance of the painting can be helped only by filling the crack and, if it is deemed best, inpainting the area.

A related art form is the polychromed sculpture found in medieval and Renaissance Italy. In one sense, polychromed sculpture is three-dimensional panel painting. The sculpture would be carved from wood, often the same poplar that was used for panel painting. The surface would then be prepared with gesso and linen strips and painted with the same egg tempera as a panel. Gilding, the insertion of gems and other objects, and other modes of ornament would be the same as those used by panel painters.

See also **Cassoni**

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Pala d'Oro

The *Pala d'Oro* is a Gothic altarpiece, combining Byzantine enamel work with Venetian decorations, in the basilica of San Marco (Saint Mark) in Venice. The altarpiece was created in the workshop of the Venetian Paolo Bonensegna c. 1349. Set within a heavy gold and silver frame (10 feet 4 inches by 6 feet 10 inches, or about 3 by 2 meters) are more than 250 enamels and thousands of jewels and pearls. Stylistically, the enamels appear to have been made in Constantinople during the tenth and twelfth centuries, and they may have come to Venice among the booty of the Fourth Crusade. Paolo Veneziano's famous cycle, the *Miracle of Saint Mark*, was painted on the feriale (wooden case) built to enclose the altarpiece.

The *Pala d'Oro* has two framed segments. The top, the part that folded down, has a central medallion of the archangel Michael flanked by six large gold enamels, representing six of the twelve important feasts identified by Byzantine iconography. These are surrounded by numerous smaller enamels, placed among decorative motifs and floral mountings for gems and pearls, all on a gold background. The heavy frame of chased gold incorporates more miniature enamels.



Archangel Michael, detail from the *Pala d'Oro*. Enamel, gold, and precious stones. Byzantine, eleventh century. San Marco, Venice. Photo: © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, N.Y.

The larger bottom segment divides into three verticle sections. The middle section focuses on a large medallion of Christ enthroned. Around this are representations of the four writers of the Gospels. In a lower register, images of Empress Irene and Doge Ordelafo Falier and two inscriptions surround an *orans* Virgin. In the upper register, angels and cherubim flank a representation of the second coming—a throne supporting the Bible and cross. The two side sections both have three registers which each contain six figures. On both, the top register contains named archangels, the middle register contains apostles, and the bottom register contains prophets. Between the frame and the enamels on the sides and top are an additional twenty-seven small pictures—made at an unknown date, possibly for a European patron—showing the story of Saint Mark, more scenes from the life of Christ, and six deacons. The frame and regions between enamels are done in the same fashion as the top segment.

See also Venice

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Palatine Chapel

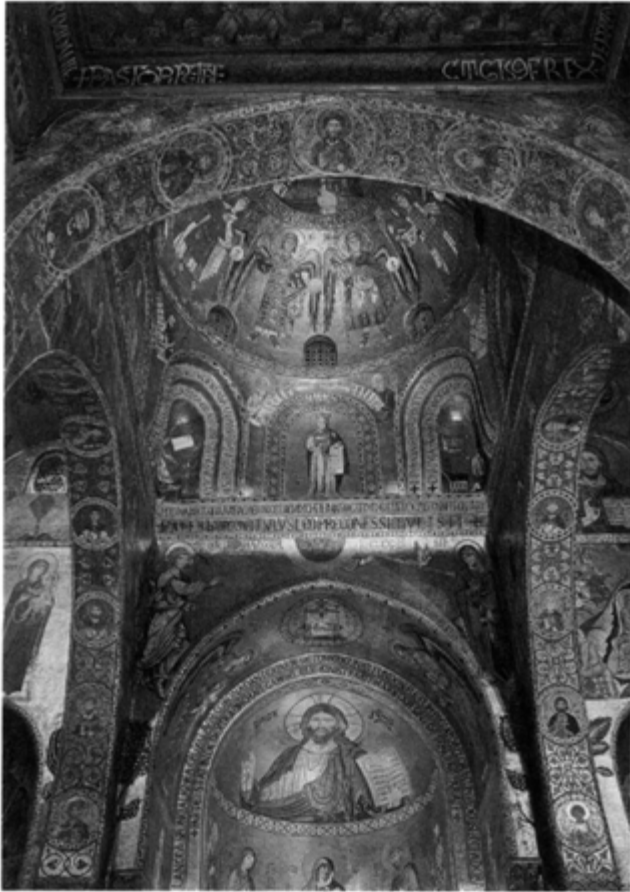
The Palatine Chapel or Cappella Palatina in Palermo was built as the chapel of the royal palace there under the Norman kings of Sicily in the twelfth century. Although there may have been an earlier building on site that served the same purpose, the present edifice was begun under Roger II (r. 1130-1154), the first of the Normans to rule the island as king, who was substantially responsible for its architectural form and decoration. Additions and changes were executed under William I (r. 1154–1166) and William II (r. 1166-1189); however, almost every culture that occupied the island thereafter also left its mark on the chapel in one way or another.

Although it is convenient to think of the Palatine Chapel as an autonomous edifice, it was in fact constructed as an integral part of the palace—as a room or set of rooms. It is in this context that certain aspects of the building, such as the main entry from the south and the royal loge once in the northern transept arm, can be explained. The main interior space of the chapel consists of a nave flanked by aisles to the west and a domed sanctuary with three apses to the east. The chapel is richly outfitted with decorations and furnishings almost all of which date from the twelfth century.

In an interior as narrow as that of the Palatine Chapel, the degree to

which ceilings and vaults are the focus of attention is remarkable. After one enters the chapel from the narthex, one's gaze is almost inevitably drawn to the wooden ceiling of the nave, painted and gilded with figures, ornaments, and inscriptions, and executed in part in the *muqarnas* (stalactite) technique. The nave ceiling finds its closest analogues in the Islamic world (Fustat, Fez), from which the inspiration for it must have come. With its images of drinkers, dancers, and musicians, and its inscriptions in Arabic, it casts a decidedly unecclesiastical spell over the chapel space, especially in contrast to the decoration of the nave and aisle walls with scenes of the Old Testament and the lives of saints Peter and Paul in mosaic. These scenes were not added until later, probably under William I, and may not have been part of the original plan for the decoration of the western portion of the chapel. In fact, in its original version under Roger II, the nave of the Palatine Chapel may convey more of the impression of a secular audience hall, with tapestry-lined walls that framed a place at the west for the king, a throne platform, which was then rebuilt under William II. It was also under William II that the image of Christ flanked by Peter and Paul was added to the west wall above the place where the king presumably stood, recalling a similar arrangement in the great palace of the Byzantine emperors at Constantinople. The pulpit and paschal candelabrum in the south aisle were also added to the chapel during the reign of William II.

The liturgy was staged at the eastern end of the chapel, in a space resembling a Byzantine church. This space is dominated by a high dome into which was inserted, during the reign of Roger II, a great image of the Pantocrator at the summit, and then—in descending stages outward and downward from the summit—angels, prophets, evangelists, and scenes from the life of Christ. This arrangement follows Byzantine convention up to a point. The most interesting departures from Byzantine norms occur in the two transept arms, and these idiosyncracies have been explained in terms of a royal point of view embodied in the king as he stood on a balcony in the northern transept arm. A trace of this balcony is still to be seen in the chapel.



Palatine Chapel, Palermo, mosaics in the apse and dome. Byzantine, twelfth century. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The Palatine Chapel represents twelfth-century art patronage of the highest order; it is an extraordinary ensemble of materials, techniques, and styles. The pavement and wall revetments make extensive use of porphyry, serpentine breccia, and other colored stones in a variety of intricate ornamental patterns. The iconic and narrative mosaics that cover the upper walls of the entire chapel and the vaults of the eastern end are executed on a scintillating gold ground. The painted wooden ceiling of the nave, too, is resplendent with gold, though this has been beclouded with the grime of years and by numerous, often clumsy restorations. In addition, the chapel is outfitted with a set of bronze

doors to the west, and many elements of carved marble (capitals; pulpit and paschal candelabrum). These decorations, embellishments, and furnishings, which were executed by artists and artisans with different cultural roots and affiliations—Byzantine, Islamic, and western—stand as testimony to the power of Norman patronage and the richness of the visual culture of Sicily in the twelfth century.

See also **Mosaic; Normans; Palermo; Roger II; William I; William II**

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Paleography

Thus writing, which is primarily but the humble medium for recording the deeds, thoughts, and interests of an age, by dint of being itself an art, becomes at once an expression and a register of the spirit which informs that age. Herein lies the peculiar interest that writing has for the student of culture in general

(Lowe, 1914).

Paleography, strictly speaking, is the study of old handwriting. A paleographer looks at the script—the handwriting of the volume or leaf before him or her—in order to determine where and when it was

written, and for what purpose. A large, well-spaced capital-letter script, with few abbreviations, is easy to read but would be slow and expensive to produce, since the scribe worked letter by letter. Such scripts are appropriate for liturgical books and works of reference. A small, cursive script, in which letters are linked together so that the scribe writes word by word, can be written more rapidly, but—especially when abbreviations are used—can be more difficult to decipher. It is more likely to be used for documents or for private reading. Both kinds of script existed from antiquity, in forms that developed and changed over time, sometimes slowly and sometimes with startling suddenness. The trained paleographer looks at the forms of individual letters, the ligatures that link one letter to another, the abbreviations that are used, and the *ductus*, or duct, which is the look of the hand on the page. The writing may be upright, or slanted as in italic scripts, or splayed out as in Gothic text hands. Letters may be well-spaced or compressed. Strokes may be evenly weighted, as they are in most modern typefaces, or they may alternate between thick and thin lines of the pen. All these features make up the duct of a script.

Only a few of the surviving manuscripts tell us explicitly where and when they were written. The ancillary study of codicology—the physical aspects of the book or codex—can frequently help to date and locate a volume. Codicology includes factors such as decoration and illumination, binding, the general layout of the page, including prickings and ruling and the relative proportions of margins and written space, the presence of quire signatures or catchwords, and the kind of parchment or paper on which the manuscript is written. Modern manuscript scholars are rarely simply paleographers, but script remains the key element in their research and is the central focus of this article.

Most scholars differentiate between paleography, which concerns the writing found in books or parts of books, and diplomatics, or the writing of documents. But the same scribes frequently wrote both, and book scripts borrow abbreviations and cursive features from documents. Epigraphy, or writing carved in stone, is a third category, which influences and is influenced by the more formal book hands. As both inscriptions and documents are dated more frequently than book manuscripts, they provide useful points of comparison and will

sometimes be mentioned here.

In the classical period, literary texts as well as documents were written on rolls of papyrus, with the writing in columns parallel to the short side of the roll, horizontally across the fibers. The reader would unroll the manuscript from left to right. The few surviving examples are in Roman square or rustic capitals. Square capitals are so called because the letters are of equal size, and as broad as they are high. Straight lines are either upright, as in I and the first stroke of M or N, or at a 45-degree angle, as in the second and third strokes of M. The letter A forms an isocles triangle; O is a perfect circle; C is a semicircle. These classical forms survive in the uppercase letters of most modern typefaces: ABC. This was the standard script for inscriptions in the classical period, and a few surviving manuscripts use it.

By the fifth century, however, a more compressed and irregular display script called rustic capitals was in use for both inscriptions and manuscripts. In this script both N and M are noticeably wider than other letters, whereas L, I, and T are narrower and frequently a little taller as well. The letters O and Q are elliptical rather than round; A is slanted, often losing its crossbar; and V has been replaced by a more rounded U. Materials had also changed by this time. The surviving manuscripts are on vellum. (Etymologically, vellum comes from calves and parchment from sheep; but the better-stripped and finished the skin was before writing, the harder it is to identify the original animal, and in English the two words are usually interchangeable. The Italian term for any animal skin, whether sheep, cow, or goat, is *la membrana*.) Also by the fifth century, the codex, or bound book, was replacing the roll. A codex was heavier but sturdier; and when it was used for luxurious volumes, the illustrations survived better. Two illustrated fifth-century manuscripts of Virgil in rustic capitals—the *Vatican Vergil* (Vatican Library Cod. Lat. 3876) and the *Vergilius Romanus* (Vatican Library Cod. Lat. 3225)—are well reproduced in Weitzmann (1977).

Letter-forms such as widened and heightened M and N come from the more rapidly written hands used in business and military documents, and for note-taking on wax tablets. Cursive inscriptions have been known from the walls at Pompeii and from papyri of Roman Egypt for more than a century. In 1973, a large cache with more than 100 tablets was uncovered at the Roman-British fort of Vindolanda

along Hadrian's Wall. Written either on wax tablets or directly on thin wood, between A.D. 95 and 105, they use the same kind of cursive found in Egypt and Pompeii. Forms that are the antecedents of our lowercase letters include a, b (which resembles a modern d), and p; they mark the appearance of the minuscule cursive script that is frequently called younger cursive, to distinguish it from an older cursive retaining majuscule forms. Majuscule scripts like Roman capitals can be written between two lines; minuscule scripts are four-line scripts, with ascenders on letters like b and descenders on p and q.

These are the scripts that developed into the formal and informal book hands of the Italian Middle Ages. The first distinctive Italian majuscule script is traditionally called uncial, from its inch-high letters. Lowe (1914) pointed out that the most distinctive of these are rounded forms of a; d with a rounded, not upright, back; e like the modern lowercase form; and a rounded m, in which the first and last strokes are not upright but curve inward at the base. Hence, it is known as the "adem" script. The most famous example is the sixth-century *Codex Amiatinus*, now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence. It is a copy of a lost Bible manuscript made for Cassiodorus (479-576) in his *scriptorium* at Vivarium, the earliest Italian monastic *scriptorium*. The *Amiatinus* itself was intended for, and may indeed have been copied at, the Anglo-Saxon monastery at Wearmouth-Jarrow in Northumbria. Other uncial Gospel books survive at Vercelli and at Fulda, the monastery of the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface. From Italy, books in uncial script spread across Europe with the spread of Christianity. Of more than 400 extant uncial manuscripts written between the fourth and the eighth centuries, Ullman has noted that only twenty-four contain classical texts. There are a few legal and technical writers, but the bulk of the uncial manuscripts are those of biblical, liturgical, or Christian writers such as Augustine and Jerome.

"Half-uncial" is the traditional term for a mixed uncial and cursive script that also appeared in the fifth to eighth centuries; the characteristic letter-forms are its single-compartment a, g shaped like the numeral 3, upright d and m, and b in the modern form. The capital form of N was usually retained. Ligature, like the linking of e and t (which survives in the modern ampersand, &), appears, as does a quicker form of the æ ligature, with the a reduced to a cedilla under the

e. Though half-uncial remained more formal than cursive, it was faster to write than uncial and was often used in less luxurious copies.

All the scripts discussed so far show little, if any, local variation. We know that the cathedral library of Verona possessed a rich library of uncial and half-uncial manuscripts because they have remained there, not because we can identify specifically Veronese features of the scripts. But when we come to the cursive hands that preceded the reforms of the Carolingian empire, local characteristics do emerge. The traditional explanation for the Irish small compressed minuscule hands—heavily abbreviated, but with clear word division—is the relative scarcity of sheep and cows, though sheer delight in intricate design has also been suggested. In any case, Irish minuscule entered Italy when the Irish monk Columbanus arrived at Bobbio in the valley of Trebbia in 612. By the tenth century, the monastery of Bobbio had a collection of more than 700 volumes, including twenty-five surviving volumes dating from before the seventh century. Parchment may also have been scarce in northern Italy, for the fourth-century rustic capitals manuscript of Lucan was scraped down and covered with writings of Jerome in minuscule of the eighth century. The resulting palimpsest is now in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples (MS Lat. 2).

At Bobbio, minuscule hands retained a strong Irish influence throughout the eighth century. Manuscripts in localizable minuscule scripts also survive from Lucca, Vercelli, Novara, and Verona. However, by c. 800, Charlemagne's political power brought the new approved script of the empire, Caroline minuscule, to northern Italy.

South of Rome, however, the imperial influence was not present. The pointed letter-forms of the script of Luxeuil were the basis for the style that developed at Benedict's foundation of Monte Cassino. There is a careful alternation of thick and thin strokes of the pen, and the writing slants to the right. Instead of making the standard minim stroke—used in i, u, m, and n—as a single straight line, the scribe pivoted his pen, producing three strokes, the top and bottom ones thick and angled downward and the middle stroke thin and upright. These are known as broken strokes, and they are the dominant characteristic of Beneventan script. Ascenders and descenders are finished off with thick, slanted, horizontal, broken strokes. A long i descending below the level of most letterforms is used in ligature. A broken-backed form of e, developed for

ligatures with other letters, became the normal form for all e's. The letters o and c were no longer rounded but lozenges, with the top and bottom strokes thick and the side strokes thin. Where possible, letters were linked along the top horizontal line of the body of the letterform: m could be linked to the crossbar of t or the top of p, or the tongue of e. Beneventan scribes also used abbreviations wherever possible; flat strokes over vowels indicated a missing m or n, and special marks indicated -us, -or, or other common syllables. The result is a script that is visually arresting but difficult to read. Despite the difficulty, it persisted in the region of the medieval duchy of Benevento, of which Monte Cassino is the center, from the tenth century to the early fourteenth.

In the same area, *exultet* rolls gave the liturgical text of the *exultet* psalm recited in the Easter liturgy. The earliest examples are of the late eighth or early ninth century, and the latest are of the twelfth or thirteenth century. The script is almost always Beneventan. The vellum rolls are written to be unrolled over the pulpit as the priest recited the verses; illustrations are included in most surviving examples, upside down in relation to the text, so the people in church could see them.

North of Rome, however, Charlemagne's reforms of handwriting, favoring legibility over art, prevailed. As Ullman (1932) tartly noted, "The term Carolingian, or Caroline, rests on the belief that the script sprang full-grown from the brain of Charlemagne, with Alcuin standing by as mid-wife." In fact, Alcuin's monastery at Tours was an important center of dissemination of the new script, but it spread rapidly. It is a clear, rounded script, most of whose letter-forms are half-uncial. Ligatures are few, being limited to ct and et, and abbreviations are also infrequent.

Gradually the 3-shaped g gave way to g shaped like an 8, with both upper and lower compartments closed. Early Caroline minuscule borrowed from the Visigothic script of Spain an a shaped rather like an italic u, open at the top and slanted to the right. Both round-backed uncial d and the upright form appear. Ascenders and descenders are finished with a twist of the pen that produces a club or wedge shape at the end of the ascender shaft, and a small curve to the upper right on the descenders of minim strokes in i, m, and n.

Carolingian scribes could write in more than one style, and

Carolingian manuscripts frequently show a clear hierarchy of scripts, with square and rustic capitals used for headings and explicits, and uncial and half-uncial for first lines, prefaces, or bits of text that needed highlighting. The resulting manuscript was impressive to look at and easy to read, and the style persisted, like Romanesque architecture, from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. These carefully designed Caroline codices inspired the scribes of the Renaissance to introduce yet another reform at the close of the fourteenth century.

But between Caroline minuscule and the Renaissance lay another set of developments in script, as in architecture. Elsewhere in Europe, the term "Gothic" applied to a book script implies broken strokes and a pointed, angular appearance, resulting in the sort of script found in books of hours. But in Italy, the normal *scrittura gotica* remained a rounder script, characterized by curves rather than sharp angles, and with fewer decorative hairline strokes at the end of letters. Sometimes, as in Boccaccio's hand, ascenders of b, h, and I had faint hairline finials across the top. This style is often called *gotica rotunda*. The descent of the standard Italian book hand of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from Caroline minuscule is easy to see. The headed form of a, sometimes closing up into a two-compartment form, remained the norm, as did the 8-shaped g. Fourteenth-century Italian book hands were rounded, with short ascenders and descenders and closely linked letters. Round-backed d was often used. Whereas the 7-shaped abbreviation for the word *et* (or *e* in Italian) was usually crossed elsewhere in Europe, in Italy it remained uncrossed. Red ornamental capitals were often flourished (decorated) in purple, rather than the blue favored elsewhere, and the decorative flourishing lines were long and thin. Miniatures were often placed at the bottom of the page, rather than in the text blocks.

This kind of handwriting continued to be used for literary and scientific texts. When well spaced, it remains easy to read. But compression saves space, and space saves parchment or paper. Letters were linked across the top, and joined onto each other, so that letters like *do* would appear to share the middle rounded stroke, a device often called biting.

In the legal manuscripts that emanated from the University of Bologna, a central block of text is flanked by glosses, in a smaller, more

abbreviated version of the same hand. This *scrittura bolognese* makes extensive use of bitings and leaves little space between lines or between words. The scribes who produced it were professionals, working on the *pecia* system—i.e., paid by the piece—and their standard remained reasonably high, but their work is still difficult to read for long stretches.

Along with formal book scripts, cursive handwriting, called *cursiva* or *notula* (*nottula* in Italian), continued to develop, not just for use in documents but for glosses and books produced by individuals who wanted fast, cheap copies of texts. Groups of letters, or even entire words, were clearly faster to write. Letters were linked to the following letter with hairline strokes; d acquired a looped back for the purpose. Following the models set in the papal chancery, such scripts have long ascenders and descenders, including forms of f and long s that descended below the line. When carefully written, such hands remain easy to read. And individual scribes would develop hands that combined some of the rapidity of *notula* with letter-forms from book hands; the result is usually called *bastarda*. Many scribes wrote different styles of hands for different occasions. Petrarch, for instance, wrote a *textura* for fair copies and a *bastarda* and *notula* for less formal use.

The humanist book script that is probably the best-known of all Italian types emerges as a reform, a return to the high standards of Caroline minuscule, just at the end of our period, a little before 1400, in Florence. Both the upright variety and the slanted italic script spread across Europe, and their influence is clear in modern printed typefaces.

See also **Bookmaking and Book Production**

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Palermo

History

Palermo, known in antiquity as Panormus, was originally a major city of the Phoenicians. It came under the increasing influence of the Greeks

following their defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C. In the course of the Punic wars, Palermo came under Roman control and developed as a major port city of the republic and the empire. With the collapse of Roman power, it was seized at various times by the Vandals of Gaiseric and the Ostrogoths of Theodoric. In 535 Justinian's general Belisarius brought it under Byzantine rule, which continued until the Saracens seized it in 831 and made it the capital of the powerful emirate they established in Sicily.

Under the Saracens, Palermo became one of the great cities of the Mediterranean world, the equal of Cordoba and Cairo in commerce and in culture. Not until two centuries later were Palermo's Arab glories superseded by the beginnings of the Norman era. In 1072 Count Roger I of Hauteville, younger brother of Robert Guiscard, seized the city and made it the capital of the new Norman regime. Roger's son, Roger II, expanding power on the mainland at the expense of his cousins, had himself formally crowned with the title of king on Christmas day 1130 in the cathedral in Palermo. The city continued as one of the capitals of Norman southern Italy and the capital of Sicily itself through the ensuing Norman and Hohenstaufen era.

Dazzled by the richly diverse Arab, Greek, and Latin culture flourishing in Sicily, the new Norman masters created and enjoyed a multicultural assimilation, as the monuments of their artistic and intellectual patronage testify. Palermo's vivid cultural life was further expanded by Frederick II, who made his court there a center for poets, philosophers, scientists, and other scholars. The Italian literary tradition began at this court with the lyrics of such poets as Giacomo da Lentini, Piero delle Vigne, and Guido delle Colonne. The defeat of the Hohenstaufen and the introduction of French rule under Charles of Anjou inaugurated a period during which Sicily became a center of international contention. According to tradition, the incident of 31 March 1282 known as the Sicilian Vespers occurred in the church of the Santo Spirito on the outskirts of Palermo, leading to the expulsion of the Angevins and the introduction of Aragonese rule in Sicily. Under Peter III and his successors, Sicily enjoyed general prosperity and peace, even though its Aragonese rulers were intermittently drawn into conflict with the Angevin dynasts on the mainland.

Monuments

Almost nothing survives of Phoenician and Roman Panormus; and except for a few fragments, everything that had been constructed during the two centuries of Arab rule was obliterated, deliberately and all but completely, in the era of intolerant Spanish rule. Something of the splendor of Sicily's Islamic culture was, however, brilliantly assimilated into the city's medieval Christian culture, thanks to the multicultural tastes of the Norman rulers, partially extended under the Hohenstaufen.

The earliest Norman structure in Palermo—indeed, one of the earliest of all surviving Norman churches in Italy—is the church of San Giovanni dei Lebbrosi, built (according to tradition) c. 1070 by Roger I, but possibly refurbished by Roger II, who attached to it an asylum for lepers. It is built on a strict basilican plan, topped by a cupola colored red on the outside in characteristic Norman-Sicilian style. From the time of Roger II himself survive the charming remains of the church of San Giovanni degli Eremiti, built 1132-1148 and incorporating earlier structures, apparently from an Arab mosque. Attached to this church is a romantically ruined cloister, and the whole ensemble is now preserved within a picturesque garden complex.



Church of San Giovanni degli Eremiti, Palermo. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Not far away is the massive Norman palace, built on Saracen foundations, much expanded and modified later in the era of Spanish rule, and now the seat of Sicily's parliament. Much of its Norman core still survives, including parts of the Norman royal apartments. Most interesting of these is called the Sala di Re Ruggero; its walls are sheathed in marble and its ceiling is decorated with twelfth-century mosaic scenes of nature and hunting.



Apse of *duomo*, Palermo. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

The most important feature of the palace, and perhaps the jewel of Norman art in Sicily, is the Palatine Chapel (Cappella Palatina), begun by Roger II in 1142, the foundation charter having been issued in 1140. In its vestibule is an inscription of 1143 celebrating Roger's building of a water clock; the multilingual text (Latin, Greek, Arabic) testifies to the multicultural character of Sicily, which was cherished by the Norman rulers. The church is laid out on a small basilican plan: according to some interpretations it began as two separate rooms—a small chapel in Byzantine style adjoining the royal apartments, and an audience hall in Saracen style—that were then combined into one. The high arcade of the nave is supported by ten reused Roman columns, and the top of both the nave and the side aisles is covered with an elaborate wooden ceiling decorated richly with Arab secular paintings. The lower walls are covered with marble, topped with abstract Arabic designs; the floor is decorated with rich marble geometric patterns. Before the raised choir, on the south side, is an elaborate pulpit and a stone paschal candelabrum, in the finest Norman Romanesque style. Parts of the choir have been heavily altered, but the conch of the central apse preserves the earliest of the great Byzantine-Norman mosaics of Christ as Pantocrator. The walls, vaults, and dome of the church are covered with dazzling mosaics; the initial cycles were executed by Byzantine artists

during the 1140s, following essentially traditional Byzantine iconography and disposition. The medallion of Christ Pantocrator is set in the cupola, surrounded by archangels, above figures from the Old and New Testaments. Scenes from the life of Christ adorn the presbytery walls. The mosaics of the nave date from the period of William II. Along the upper walls of the nave and above the arcades are bands of scenes from the Old Testament, beginning with the creation and ending with the story of Jacob. Along the side aisles other mosaics represent episodes from the Book of Acts, primarily concerning saints Peter and Paul. These two saints also appear in a fifteenth-century mosaic, on either side of the enthroned Christ, symbolically placed over the much-revised royal throne as the chapel's west wall.

Two other examples of Norman palaces survive in Palermo, though much transformed. In royal parks on the fringe of the medieval city, the twelfth-century monarchs built summer palaces in explicitly Arab style. The gardens, with their cooling fountains, are long gone, and the surviving buildings have been dreadfully mutilated over time. One of them, the Cuba (from the Arabic *kubeh*, "dome"), built by William II and mentioned by Boccaccio in the *Decameron*, is dilapidated and inaccessible amid a modern military installation. The other, William I's Zisa (Arabic *el aziz*, "the magnificent"), has, however, been restored after postmedieval remodeling, modern decay, and even partial collapse, and has now been developed as a museum of Arabic culture in Sicily. It is a marvel of Islamic Mediterranean design, with beveled interior arches and hydraulic systems cunningly contrived to circulate air, with a remarkable cooling effect. Its top floor was originally open to the sky, and at its ground-floor facade a water outlet is decorated richly in Norman mosaic.

Close to the Cappella Palatina in date (perhaps slightly earlier) and parallel in its original decoration is the church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio, now popularly known as the Martorana, begun in 1143 by Roger II's powerful admiral George of Antioch. In 1433 the church was given to a convent founded by one Eloisa Martorana, from whom it has taken its popular name. The western part of the church was greatly expanded and rebuilt in 1588, incorporating it into a twelfth-century campanile. Of its revised interior, the original eastern part of the church, in the form of a Greek cross, is richly decorated in

mosaics executed by Byzantine artists. Its dome contains the Pantocrator medallion with conventional accompanying figures; major mosaic panels show scenes from Christ's life, with portraits of saints Anna and Joachim. The pavement of polychrome marble is very fine. Relocated to the sides of the rebuilt atrium are a pair of mosaic panels: the panel on the north side shows George of Antioch prostrate before the Virgin; the panel on the south side shows a famous and politically potent image of Roger II, garbed as a Byzantine emperor, being crowned by Christ.



La Zisa, Palermo. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

Immediately adjacent to the Martorana is another interesting church produced by private Norman patronage. This is the chapel of San Cataldo, built by William I's chancellor, Maione di Bari, whose premature death in 1160 prevented the internal decoration from being carried out. The bareness of the chapel, however, allows close study of the masonry construction, especially that of its three domes on squinches. Rescued from degeneration and restored, it is now the headquarters of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. One other testimonial to twelfth-century private benevolence brings us back to George of Antioch: the Ponte d'Ammiraglio, built in 1113 at the southern end of the city, originally over the Oreto River. The river was

later diverted, and the bridge is now lovingly preserved in a park enclave. This bridge was the scene of an important skirmish between the forces of Garibaldi and Bourbon troops on 27 May 1860, during Garibaldi's seizure of Palermo.

Palermo's massive cathedral is a hodgepodge of styles. Its predecessor was used as an Arab mosque, of which tiny fragments may be traced. The present structure was first begun in 1185 by the powerful archbishop Walter of the Mill (known accordingly by the locals as Gualtiero Offamiglio), and some of its original stonework may still be seen in the exterior decoration of the apses, with typical Norman-Sicilian interlaced arches. Its later Gothic remodeling includes the sumptuous south portico (1453), in Catalan-Aragonese style. The interior was completely transformed in the Baroque style during the eighteenth century. Crammed into a double chapel at the southwest corner are the relocated tombs of the Norman and Hohenstaufen dynasts: the massive sarcophagi contain Roger II (d. 1154); the German emperor Henry VI (d. 1197); Henry's wife (Roger II's daughter), Constance d'Hauteville (d. 1198); Henry and Constance's famous son Frederick II (d. 1250); one of Frederick's wives, Empress Constance of Aragon (d. 1222); and other family members. The treasury of the cathedral contains, among other things, objects taken from Empress Constance's tomb, including her elegant crown. In the crypt are a number of episcopal and other tombs, including that of Walter of the Mill himself.

The formidable Walter's hand may be found again, south of the city's center, in the church of Santo Spirito, built by him in 1173-1178. Though it has no important interior decoration, its exterior stonework is very handsome. As noted above, its site, which was originally on the fringe of the city, is famous for the incident that initiated the Sicilian Vespers. The church is now surrounded by one of Palermo's major cemeteries, itself a fascinating cultural spectacle.

See also Arabs in Italy; Charles I of Anjou; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Giacomo da Lentini; Guido delle Colonne; Normans; Palatine Chapel; Peter III of Aragon; Philagathus of Cerami; Pier delle Vigne; Roger I; Roger II; Sicilian Vespers; Sicily; William I; William II

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Palestrina, the ancient Latin city of Praeneste, is located in Latium. The original colony was attributed to Telegonus, son of Ulysses; but the historic emergence of the city can be dated to the eighth century B.C. In 499 B.C. it became an ally of Rome; but its relationship with Rome was a shifting one, and not until the first century B.C. did it become firmly defined as a Roman municipality. Because of its alliance with Marius during the civil wars, the city was punished by Sulla, who for a while made it a military colony; however, it regained its full municipal status under Tiberius.

In antiquity the city became most celebrated for its sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, which crowned the peak of the hilltop site. The sanctuary had originated during the city's earliest era as a modest shrine but was rebuilt on a grand scale in the years following Sulla's devastation of the city. The spectacular vastness of the temple's complex as it developed in the early imperial period can still be imagined from the remains to be found on the modern site. Although Christianity arrived by the late third century, the city remained essentially pagan for many generations, and the famous shrine was used by Emperor Julian as one of his centers for a pagan revival. The final suppression of Praeneste's pagan cult by Theodosius the Great led to the abandonment of the sanctuary and its rapid decay. The much-reduced medieval city was built into the sanctuary's ruins.

During the early centuries of the medieval period Palestrina was reduced to a fortress guarding the fringes of the papal states under the immediate rule of local feudal lords, the first of whom were the counts of Tusculum. In the early twelfth century the Colonna family made it one of their particular strongholds. In 1297, with the counsel of Guido da Montefeltro, Pope Boniface VIII, during his campaign against the Colonna, besieged and devastated the city, except for the cathedral. He rebuilt the town at the foot of the hill, giving it the name Civitas Papalis, but this city was destroyed by a fire in 1300. In 1307, when the papacy was absent in Avignon, Stefano Colonna reclaimed Palestrina and made it a fortress for his struggle with Cola di Rienzo. In 1436 Cardinal Vitelleschi, legate of Pope Eugenius IV, captured and destroyed Palestrina. In 1448 the Colonna rebuilt the city, which was eventually sold, in 1630, to Carlo Barberini, the brother of Pope Urban VIII.

See also **Boniface VIII, Pope; Colonna Family; Guido da Montefeltro; Rome**

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Pandulf I, Prince of Capua-Benevento

Pandulf I (Pandulph Ironhead, d. 981) became prince of Capua-Benevento in 961, succeeding his father, Landuif II. Pandulf came to the favorable notice of the newly crowned Roman emperor Otto I by giving asylum to Otto's pope, John XIII, when John was driven from Rome by the populace. As a result, Otto I made Pandulf marquis of Spoleto and Camerino (967) and in return Pandulf became Otto's vassal for Capua-Benevento. Pandulf was expected to have an important part in Otto's plans for attaching all of southern Italy to the northern part of the Italian kingdom, but these plans were effectively blocked by the Byzantines' resistance. However, when Gisulf I of Salerno was overthrown by a revolt in 974, Pandulf reinstated him and in return was given the succession in Salerno for himself and his son. The addition of Salerno to Pandulf's other holdings in Capua-Benevento and Spoleto-Camerino meant that for the period 974-981 Pandulf ruled Italy from

Ancona to the edge of Calabria. As much the strongest of the Italian territorial divisions, Pandulf's holdings formed an effective buffer between German and Byzantine interests. For a brief time, Pandulf's prestige was quite dazzling; he played a significant role, after Liudprand of Cremona's failure, in the diplomatic negotiations that brought about marriage between the Byzantine princess Theophano and the future Otto II.

After the death of Pandulf, his territories were split up. Spoleto reverted to northern rulers; Salerno was temporarily occupied by Amalfi; Capua and Benevento were again split apart and divided between Pandulf's sons and a nephew. The south was not to be united to the north.

See also **Benevento; Capua; Salerno; Theophano**

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Pantaleone Family

The name Pantaleo, which recurs often among the males, is applied as a surname to all the members of a large, long-lived, and successful lineage of Amalfitan merchants active from the tenth through the

fourteenth centuries. Since the name Pantaleone seems to have been common in southern Campania during the Middle Ages, scholars are wary of presuming relationships among Pantaleones whose association with the mercantile family is not explicitly stated in the sources. Although the *Life of Saint Elias of Enna* mentions a bishop Pantaleone in North Africa in 862, and although very numerous tenth-century charters record the transactions of other Pantaleones in Amalfi and its environs, the family's most reliably documented period falls in the eleventh century. During that period the dynasty produced two of the earliest cosmopolitan merchant-magnates in western history.

Maurus "the Count" (died c. 1071), who called himself consul and lord in inscriptions, was the most notable member of what he called "an illustrious house of Amalfi." Like others in his family, he made and administered a fortune trading luxury goods (and perhaps agricultural products) among Byzantium, the Islamic states, and Italy. In Constantinople, where he lived, he was the leader of the flourishing Amalfitan community. Describing himself as "black with sin" (a play on the Latin meaning of his name), he chose in old age to found and endow Christian charitable institutions in Antioch and Jerusalem (with the caliph's assent), and to make pious donations elsewhere. He became a monk at Monte Cassino in 1071, after donating Byzantine bronze doors to the abbey.

Of Maurus's six sons, Pantaleo likewise became a prominent merchant in Constantinople and the donor of bronze doors to several churches: the cathedral in Amalfi, Saint Paul's in Rome, and Saint Michael's on the Gargano. Pantaleo's career as a pan-Mediterranean diplomat representing Amalfitan and family interests suggests the wealth and connections of the Pantaleones. He sought first to free Amalfi from the yoke of the prince of Salerno (1052) and then to rid the region of the Normans. In pursuit of this latter objective he dealt with Byzantine and Holy Roman emperors, southern Italian princes, Apulian cities, and popes, coordinating unstable anti-Norman leagues. Pantaleo was a force in city affairs long after the Normans took Amalfi (1073): in 1087 he outfitted the Amalfitan contingent for the Italian expedition against Tunisia. His descendants were active in Levantine trade and, increasingly, Campanian landholding for three centuries thereafter.

The Pantaleones avoided political office but never honorary titles,

concentrating on commerce throughout their documented existence. Their passionate attachment to homeland and family, even when they resided far from Amalfi, was typical of medieval Italian traders.

See also Amain; Monte Cassino, Monastery

PAOLO SQUATRITI

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p. 508 for a family tree.)

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Panuccio del Bagno

The poet Panuccio del Bagno (c. 1230-no later than 1276) was born to a wealthy Ghihelline merchant family of Pisa. His extant works, which survive in only two manuscripts, include a total of twenty-two poems, perhaps the beginning of a small *canzoniere*. He was the most talented of the thirteenth-century Pisan poets and was evidently quite influential among his contemporaries. His literary models were found largely in the poetry of the Provençals and the Sicilian school, and there is no doubt that he was much impressed by Guittone (as is clear in *Amor sa il meo volere miso dt sovra* and *Sovmpiagente mia gioia gioiosa*). Panuccio, like Guittone, is concerned with the emotional struggles of the individual and the power of love, but he consistently underscores the moral as well as the psychological dimensions of his own personal struggle (as in *Raprezentando a chanoscensa vostra*). In this sense he is considered by some scholars to be one of the forerunners of the *stil novo* and essential to the introspective verses of Cavalcanti. Panuccio's style is marked by frequent use of hyperbaton (a figure of speech in which the logical order of words or phrases is inverted) and internal rhyme as well as a preference for difficult, almost scholastic, syntax.

See also Cavalcanti, Guido; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Guittone d'Arezzo

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Paolo da Firenze

The composer Paolo da Firenze (Tenorista, Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia; d. September 1419) was born sometime in the latter half of the fourteenth century and became a Camaldolese monk; he died in the order's monastery of San Viti (Arezzo). He was a member of the final generation of Italian *Trecento* composers and is a connecting figure between Francesco Landini of the earlier generation and Andrea da Firenze of his own, both of whom he seems to have known well. Paolo is supposed to have accompanied one patron, Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli, to Rome c. 1404; and one of his madrigals, *Godi, Firenze* (with a text from Dante's *Commedia: Inferno*, 26), was clearly composed to celebrate Florence's conquest of Pisa in 1406.

Paolo was not only an active and admired composer but a learned and distinguished music theorist. Though the issue is hotly contested, some scholars have argued that he played a crucial role in assembling the famous Squarcialupi Codex. If so, it is ironic that, although his supposed portrait appears in the codex, the place reserved for his own musical works was left as seventeen blank folios; his surviving works are preserved in other Tuscan manuscripts.

These works comprise, beyond two scant Latin liturgical pieces, a

sizable body of Italian vocal music. Attributed with relative certainty are twenty-two *ballate*, variously for two or three voices; and eleven madrigals, all for two voices. There are also two more *ballate* that survive as fragments; and thirteen other *ballate*, variously for two or three voices, which are preserved in one manuscript where the attributions of his name have been erased, leaving us uncertain as to their authenticity.

On the one hand, Paolo impresses for his conservatism. He is unusual in clinging to the madrigal, an older form bypassed by most musicians of his generation. In both of his vocal forms, Paolo generally seems to continue the traditions of his older colleague, Landini. On the other hand, Paolo's writing clearly shows an assimilation not only of more progressive Italian styles but also of some influence from French styles of the late *ars nova*. Though his vocal lines are simple and clearly Italianate in tradition, he attempts to go beyond earlier flexibility and construct compositions with an overall logic of motivic development. His two liturgical works also show him combining Italianate vocal lines with *cantus firmus* material after the French polyphonic manner. He seems to have known something of Johannes Ciconia and Ciconia's work. Paolo belongs to a trend that envisioned a fusion of French and Italian elements at the dawn of the *Quattrocento*.

See also **Andrea da Firenze; Ars Nova; Ciconia, Johannes; Landini, Francesco; Squarcialupi Codex**

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Paolo da Perugia

Paolo da Perugia (d. 1348), a man of letters, was born in Perugia (as his name indicates), came to Naples as an adult, and spent the rest of his life there. By 1324 he had been admitted to the Angevin court, where he

was employed by King Robert as a *secretaries* and notary in the chancery, and as a lay cleric for the royal chapel. Whatever his official titles, it appears that he was also in charge of the richly endowed royal library in the Castel Nuovo ("new castle"). Evidence suggests that he was married, had many children, and died in poverty (of the plague) while working on a commentary on Justinian's codification of Roman law.

Paolo's most important work was a compendium of ancient myths, *Collectiones*, which does not survive. An abbreviated version of this collection suggests that its basic organizing principle was genealogical, and this may have influenced his young acquaintance at Robert's court, Giovanni Boccaccio, in the design for his own work on mythology, *Genealogie deorum gentilium* (*Genealogies of the Pagan Gods*). The short outline version of Paolo's *Collectiones* is preserved in manuscript Magliabechiano 122, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Hortis 1879), perhaps thanks to Boccaccio, who drew on it for his work. Indeed, in *Genealogie* (15.6) Boccaccio speaks of Paolo's wonderful intellectual talents and laments his lost masterpiece, relating the story of how Paolo's less than generous widow, Biella, destroyed not only this major book but many others.

Two of Paolo's works have survived intact: one commentary on Horace's *An poetica* and another on Persius's *Satires*. In the latter work Paolo presents the life of Persius, discusses the genre of satire in general, and then undertakes a systematic and detailed analysis of the text. It is possible to discern certain prehumanistic attitudes and characteristics that were present in the Angevin court in Naples—in particular, the consideration of classical texts on their own merits, largely independent of any reconciliation with Christian doctrine, and a more refined critical and historical sensitivity toward classical material. It was the wide range of important texts (in both Greek and Latin) readily available in the royal library that made these investigations possible. The Neapolitan court was also frequented by the Calabrian monk Barlaam, who no doubt had a decisive impact on Paolo's knowledge of Greek mythological sources and compilations. Moreover, Barlaam met Boccaccio in Naples and later met Petrarch at the papal court in Avignon, and both authors began their study of Greek with Barlaam.

See also Andalò di Negro; Barlaam; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Naples; Petrarca, Francesco; Robert of Anjou

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Papacy

The title pope (Latin *papa*, "father") for the bishop of Rome is found occasionally from the mid-fourth century on. Beginning in the mid-fifth century, it became familiar in the west, having spread there from the east, where it was customarily used for abbots, bishops, and patriarchs. In Roman Catholic doctrine the preeminence or primacy of the pope over the church on earth rests on a particular understanding of several passages in the New Testament. The popes are the direct, legal (Leo I) successors of the apostle Peter, who had obtained primacy among the apostles from Christ himself. The most famous of the Petrine passages is "You are Peter and on this rock (*petram*) I shall build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. And I shall give you the

keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatever you shall bind upon earth will also be bound in heaven, and whatever you shall loose on earth will also be loosed in heaven" (Matthew 16:18-19). However, even this passage was not free of ambiguity, especially in contrast with other New Testament passages that indicate equality among the apostles, or variations in the understanding of the term "rock." For the historical development of the papacy and thus of papal primacy (implied in the western understanding), therefore, tradition precedes doctrine in importance.

At least since the end of the first century, the Christian community in Rome assumed as common knowledge that both Peter and Paul lived and were martyred there. Although the oldest extant lists of Roman bishops from the late second century did not include the name of Peter as first bishop of the city, he was commemorated from about this period at the site of the Vatican. Recent excavations under the Confessio in Saint Peter's basilica seem to indicate that one tomb was especially venerated since the mid-second century. It served as focus for other tombs that surrounded it. The preeminence of the bishop of Rome both as claimed by the papacy and as recognized by the church at large developed ever more rapidly from then on, but by no means in a straight line. Irenaeus, c. 180, takes the church of Rome as an authoritative touchstone of Christian tradition. Pope Calixtus I (r. 217–222) based his legalization of marriages between noblewomen and Christian slaves on the authority of the *cathedra* (teaching chair) of the Roman church which he occupied, thus adumbrating the theory of apostolic succession. Canon 6 from the Council of Nicaea (325) could still speak of Rome as just one of the patriarchal sees, but by the time of Pope Damasus I (r. 366-384) the African bishop Optatus of Mileve in his writings against the Donatists recognized the special dignity of Rome, and Emperor Gratian supported the papal claim to authority over the bishops of Latin Christendom.

Largely because Emperor Constantine I had moved the capital to Constantinople, the patriarch of Constantinople soon asserted rival claims (Council of Constantinople, 381; Council of Chalcedon, 451). The popes, however, began to fill the vacuum that the decline of imperial authority had left in the west. Particularly significant were the reigns of popes Leo I (440-461) and Gelasius I (492-496). Leo, supported by

Emperor Valentinian III, assumed authority over the church of Gaul; took the title *pontifex maximus*, which the emperors had abandoned; and claimed unique authority as heir of the apostle Peter. In 494, Gelasius I wrote a famous letter to Emperor Anastasius describing the division of authority in this world—"There are two things, august emperor, by which this world is chiefly ruled: the sacred authority of bishops and the royal power"—asserting that in matters spiritual (e.g., Christological definitions) kings were subject to the bishops, just as bishops owed obedience to the emperors in temporal affairs. This letter received differing interpretations, last but not least by Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085), who used excerpts from it to document the inferiority of the monarchy to the priesthood. However, Gelasius appears to have asserted merely ecclesiastical independence, outlining the dual theory of authority, so characteristic of the west until the eleventh-century reform. The legislation of Emperor Justinian, the novels (new supplementary constitutions) of his collection later known as *Corpus iuris civilis* (529), includes as novel 6 a text emphasizing the responsibilities of the priesthood for eternal salvation and of the emperors for civil peace, principles clearly recalling Gelasius's statement. However, in contrast to the papacy, the statement implied for Justinian a supreme imperial obligation to preserve the Christian faith and ecclesiastical discipline. Novel 131, for example, decreed the equal rank of the first four ecumenical councils with the four gospels; novel 132 placed the responsibility for the elimination of heresies and heretics squarely on the imperial government. The imperial responsibility for the well-being of the church and the civil duties of the clergy, especially important in the west, meant that nominations to bishoprics were of vital interest to and consequently influenced by the emperors. This applied especially to Rome and to Constantinople.

The barbarian invasions and the establishment of barbarian kingdoms in the western Roman empire diminished Byzantine influence in Italian affairs, although Constantinople continued to control the papacy as far as possible. The late seventh century and the first half of the eighth century are known as the age of the Greek popes. This does not mean, however, that the Latin or Italian popes of the period were less dependent on Constantinople than popes of eastern origin (like Syrians or Palestinians) were. Greek influence predominated

in shaping the papacy of the period as well as the city of Rome. Examples are the liturgy and the organization of the landed property of the church. By the sixth century, the papacy had become at least nominally the largest landowner in Italy. Pope Gregory I the Great (r. 590-604), sometimes described as the first of the medieval popes, is an outstanding example of the role of the papacy; his writings deeply influenced medieval Europe, and, apart from Augustine of Hippo, he is the only Latin church father. Gregory was a descendant of the Roman senatorial aristocracy, and he followed the *cursus honorum* of a Roman administrator, becoming prefect of the city and serving as papal envoy to Constantinople. He withdrew to lead a monastic life on his estates but was elected to the papacy in 590. From then until his death in 604, he once again served Rome, combining in effect both secular and spiritual leadership. Because the Byzantines were unable to defend Italy or Rome against the Lombards, Gregory himself negotiated with the invaders, tried to maintain the defenses of the city, and reorganized the administration of the vast estates of the church so as to provide foodstuffs for the starving population as well as for the church. His decision in 594 to send a group of monastic missionaries under Augustine to Anglo-Saxon England was very influential in establishing close links between England and Rome, or rather between England and Saint Peter. The special reverence for Peter among Englishmen is illustrated as early as the Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (735) and again by Anglo-Saxon missionaries such as Willibrord and in particular Boniface (martyred 754 in Frisia), who had obtained the backing of the papacy for his missions among the eastern Franks, I huringians, and Frisians. The personal and individualized holiness of the Scottish (i.e., Irish-Celtic) missionaries of an earlier period was now overlaid by Roman patterns of episcopal and monastic organization. The influence of Gregory I, therefore, can hardly be exaggerated. Gregory is also responsible for coining the title "servant of the servants of God," which to this day conveys a strong spiritual message: "Its sublime humility made a striking contrast with the proud title of 'ecumenical patriarch' which the bishops of New Rome had adopted" (Kuttner 1981). Gregory was horrified by the use of the terms "ecumenical," "imperial," and "universal," because he looked to a universal church whose only head was Christ, and he emphasized that

no pope had ever taken the headship. Gregory had found a balance between personal humility and the great dignity of his office that was not to last into the high Middle Ages or even into the seventh century, when several popes accepted the title "universal" bestowed on them by the councils or in letters of the emperors. During the eleventh-century reform, Pope Leo IX (r. 1049-1054) would still preserve the heritage of Gregory I, rejecting the title "universal patriarch" for himself and reprimanding the patriarch of Constantinople for using it. Not much later, though, Pope Gregory VII would formulate in his *Dictatus papae* the proposition "The Roman pontiff alone is by right called universal." Whatever the nature of this document in the official register may have been, it does express the thought as well as the practice of the seventh Gregory and heralds the papal monarchy.

The centuries separating Gregory I and Gregory VII brought important changes to the papacy. The consequences of these changes were the problems characteristic of the medieval papacy: its dependence on the Roman nobility, its relationship with Frankish or German rulers, and the creation and defense of the papal states. Increased tension between Constantinople and Rome led gradually to Rome's separation from the Byzantine empire. In the eighth century, two crucial issues divided them: taxation and the cult of images. In 717-718, Emperor Leo III had successfully defeated the Muslims' attack on Constantinople. His reorganization of army and administration in order to reconquer Asia Minor required an increase in taxes, which were to be levied also from ecclesiastical property, including the papal lands in Italy. Pope Gregory II (r. 715-731) refused to go along, and imperial agents sent to arrest him failed in face of resistance in Rome and throughout Byzantine Italy. The question of the veneration of images, finally prohibited by Leo's son Constantine V at the council of Heracleia of 754, caused additional uprisings. The papacy objected to Iconoclasm and as one result lost its jurisdiction over the Byzantine vicariates of Saloniki as well as Sicily and southern Italy. Leo III transferred the areas to the patriarch of Constantinople, in effect largely restricting landownership by the papacy and restricting its corresponding influence to central and northern Italy. Somewhat ironically, this was to lead to a pronounced intensification of the influence of the papacy on Italy, and in fact to the creation of the

"republic of Saint Peter," for a time still nominally under the sovereignty of the emperor but practically controlled by the pope and the Roman nobility. It was, therefore, also the papacy that had to confront the continued expansion of the Lombards in Italy at the expense of Rome. The Lombard king Aistulf had conquered the remnant of the Byzantine exarchate of Ravenna, forced independent Lombard dukes in southern Italy to submit to his rule, and then threatened the city of Rome. Negotiations between Pope Stephen II (r. 752-757) and Aistulf failed. Stephen was the first pope to travel to the Frankish empire in search of aid; in 754, at Ponthion, he concluded a treaty with King Pepin, who promised Saint Peter and his vicar parts of Italy that supplemented the patrimony of Saint Peter and became the foundation of what was called later the Papal States. When Aistulf nevertheless continued his conquests in 756, the Franks undertook a successful military campaign, forcing Aistulf to deliver part of the exarchate with Ravenna into the hands of the representative of Saint Peter, the pope. Pepin's emissary, Abbot Fulrad of Saint-Denis, deposited the keys of the respective cities at the tomb of Saint Peter. Charlemagne (r. 768-814) was forced to undertake another campaign against the Lombards. On its successful completion in 774, he expanded his father's promise in Rome. Both Pepin and Charles I were given the patrician dignity of Rome, *patricius Romanorum*. The title was used by the papacy to justify the Franks' interventions in Italy, although King Pepin referred exclusively to his promise to Saint Peter. The veneration of Saint Peter, however, did not prevent Pepin, Charlemagne, or their later successors—including the Ottonian and Salian rulers of Germany—from maintaining a certain degree of sovereignty over the territories that they had granted to Saint Peter and conquered for him. The coronation of Charlemagne as emperor by Pope Leo III (r. 795-816) tended to reinforce such tendencies, although the papacy very likely saw the coronation of the emperors at their hand in Rome as a means of controlling the western emperor. Some claims made by the papacy are embodied in the Donation of Constantine, a forgery probably dating from the second half of the eighth century and originating presumably in papal circles. The Donation is based on the legend of Sylvester I and his purported baptism of Emperor Constantine I, who in gratitude conveyed the imperial sovereignty and all imperial properties in the western Roman

empire to the papacy. It is unknown whether the document was actually familiar to the popes, let alone used by them before the tenth century; the forgery exerted its chief influence from the Gregorian reform on. Nevertheless, it is a significant indication of perceptions in Rome.

The decline of Carolingian power provided greater independence for the papacy, but at the same time the popes found themselves defenseless in the face of Saracen and Norman invasions. Even Pope Nicholas I (r. 858-867) could not realize the claims to superiority over the western and eastern emperors or assert his authority over some of the powerful archbishops whose policies he opposed. It is in the reign of Nicholas that the first traces of the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals* can be detected. This canonical collection—possibly compiled in the archdiocese of Reims as a mosaic of authentic, forged, and falsified texts, chiefly papal letters—whittled away the power of the archbishops in favor of the bishops who could appeal directly to Rome. After Nicholas, the prestige of the papacy quickly reached a low point. For much of the later ninth century, the tenth century, and the early eleventh century, the papacy was in the hands of various factions of the Roman nobility. In 1012, the predominant Crescentians gave way to the Tusculans. Despite the renewal of the imperial power with the coronation of Otto I (r. 936-973) in February 962 by Pope John XII (r. 955-963), it was not until the intervention of Henry III at the synods of Sutri and Rome in 1046 that the papacy could once again pursue a policy independent of the local interests of the Roman nobility. As Roman patrician, Emperor Henry III also determined the following papal elections up to the pontificate of Victor II (1055-1057).

The most prominent among the "German" reform popes is Leo IX (r. 1049-1054). With his pontificate, the papacy took over the leadership of the eleventh-century church reform. Until that time, this reform had been chiefly represented by reformed monasteries (Cluny, Gorze, Pomposa) and individual bishops, princes, and emperors. With the support of Henry III and of his collaborators—with the important exception of Hildebrand (later Pope Gregory VII) and Peter Damian, they were all from north of the Alps—Leo transformed the papacy once again into an international institution with a universal claim to leadership. He did this personally through his many councils and

travels as well as through legates and initial steps toward the creation of the college of cardinals. Until then, the suburbicarian (a term designating the dioceses around Rome) cardinal bishops and the Roman cardinal priests and cardinal deacons had largely liturgical functions. Beginning with Leo IX, they became the foremost political advisers to the popes. The Lateran synod held by Pope Nicholas II in 1059 passed, in addition to reform legislation, a decree to regulate future papal elections. The elections were in the first instance entrusted to the cardinal bishops, but by the early twelfth century this influential right was shared by all ranks of cardinals, although the clergy and people of Rome were still excluded. The alliance with the Italian Normans under Pope Nicholas II (Leo IX had pursued the earlier anti-Norman policy of the papacy) and fiscal reforms at the incipient *curia* further enabled the popes to push their demands for reforms. When Hildebrand was elected to the papacy as Gregory VII in 1073, the demands for moral reforms among the clergy and laity, expressed through legislation against simony and a married clergy (nicolaitism), were overshadowed by a more radical demand for the "liberty" of the church. This call for ecclesiastical freedom could be found earlier, in the writings of Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida (d. 1062), but it did not become official papal policy until Gregory's pontificate. Gregory's general prohibition of investiture of future bishops and abbots with ring and staff by King Henry IV (c. 1075) initiated a struggle between church and monarchy for the right order in the world that would not end until the agreements of Worms in 1122-1123. The deposition and excommunication of Henry by the pope seriously weakened the German monarchy. Henry's submission at Canossa was a recognition of the papacy's insistence on obedience from all Christians, including the kings of Europe. In the course of the twelfth century, the theory of the two swords was elaborated, and papal claims that the popes held both the spiritual and the temporal sword (i.e., secular government) were affirmed. The temporal sword was to be held at the behest of the papacy for the defense of the church. The papal monarchy as it evolved in the twelfth and thirteenth century would be unthinkable without Gregory VII, a religious genius inspired by his conviction of the exalted rank of the pope as representative and embodiment of Saint Peter.

These ideas on the part of the papacy necessarily influenced the

internal organization of the church as well and are responsible for a pronounced and successful move toward hierarchical organization and toward, for example, the adoption throughout the Latin church of Roman liturgical practices. The new rank of the papacy is evident also in papal leadership in the crusade movement, particularly under Pope Urban II (r. 1088-1099), who could, however, look to earlier precedents. For centuries, the papacy in particular was under the influence of the crusading ideal, eventually transposing the ideal of the liberation of Jerusalem—a concept not to be found in Urban's call for the first crusade at the Council of Clermont in 1095—to a defense against Turkish attacks. The politically more prominent role of the papacy in the High Middle Ages, supported by the new scientific jurisprudence associated with the growing universities and influenced by developments in Roman law, was not without its dangers, however. In his treatise *On Consideration*, Bernard of Clairvaux called on Pope Eugene III (r. 1145 -1153), a Cistercian monk, to retain his monastic focus on contemplation, and not to allow secular and especially judicial concerns to dominate his lifestyle or reign.

The pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216) saw the papacy at the zenith of its influence. Indicative of his standing is his intervention both in England and in the Holy Roman Empire. Innocent had studied theology at Paris until 1187 and had continued his studies at Bologna, the citadel of jurisprudence. Therefore, it has long been assumed that at Bologna, Innocent was a student of Huguccio of Pisa (Uguccione da Pisa), one of the most important canon lawyers of the late twelfth century, and that the great skill which Innocent was to show in deciding cases brought before him was due to this legal training. More recently, this assumption has become doubtful; the legal learning displayed so brilliantly in Innocent's decretals may in part reflect the studies of officials of the curia. It can still be said, however, that Innocent III perfectly adapted current canonistic teaching to his needs. He was the first pope to ask a canonist, Peter of Benevento, to compile texts published by Innocent himself into a decretal collection, *Collectio tertia*, which was officially published in 1210, an excellent means to make papal law the effective law recognized at schools of law and universities, as well as in the courts. In 1226, Honorius III followed in Innocent's footsteps with the publication of *Compilatio quinta*. Both

collections—like other, unofficial private compilations of papal decretal letters—were supplanted by the *Liber extra (vagantium)* of Pope Gregory IX in 1234.

With the defeat of the last Hohenstaufen heirs of Frederick II and the installation of the house of Anjou in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily by 1268, the papacy had secured political success. But the beginning growth of European nationalism was accompanied by increasing criticism of the condition of the church and disapproval of the use of spiritual means—such as excommunication and marriage—for secular, political ends. The election of the hermit Peter of Morrone to the papacy as Celestine V (the "angel pope") in 1294 was partly a response to a longing for a more spiritual church. But Celestine resigned almost immediately and was succeeded by Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303), who was one of the most imperial figures in the history of the papacy and is the first pope to be represented wearing the papal tiara. Boniface, though, was unable to enforce his claims as expressed in the bull *Unam sanctam*. Philip the Fair of France emerged as victor in the struggle. The pontificate of Boniface illustrates the power of the French monarchy during the later Middle Ages. The years 1309-1377 were the period of the "Babylonian captivity," when the papacy resided at Avignon, an independent territory until it was acquired by the papacy in 1348, but nonetheless under strong French influence; France began just beyond the Pont d Avignon. With rising fiscal needs—last but not least caused by the attempt to keep control over the papal states from a distance and the obligation to maintain the numerous cardinals (all of whom by now had their own court and clientele)—the curia developed new financial instruments such as papal provisions, the older annates, and the *servitium commune* (general support fee, amounting to one-third of the first year's income from an office or benefice). The various fees were paid by successful candidates for both bishoprics and abbeys, or clergy-granted benefices. But not only army, cardinalate, and curia had to be maintained. Beginning with Benedict XII (r. 1334-1342), the popes enlarged the former episcopal residence of Avignon into an impressive papal palace, which is still imposing today despite being damaged in the French Revolution.

Increasing fiscal control over the church, however, was accompanied by a growing loss of religious and political influence in the evolving

nation-states of Europe. Pluralism and nepotism were rampant in the church. Fiscal exactions became oppressive. The Great Schism of 1378, with rival popes at Avignon and Rome, created yet another emergency, since it was impossible to decide the question of legitimacy. Conciliarist theories, anchored in the older canon law, provided a way out by suggesting that the general council—as representative of the universal church—stood above the pope, and under specific circumstances could judge and depose a pope as well as initiate the reform of the church in head and members. The councils of Pisa (1409) and Constance (1414-1418) acted accordingly, ending the schism through the election of Martin V (r. 1417–1431). With Nicholas V (r. 1447-1455), who obtained the abdication of the last medieval antipope (Felix V), the papacy began its close connection with the great humanists and artists of the Renaissance—a connection that was to bring the papacy new luster and determine to this day the image of Rome. But neither patronage of the arts nor the reforms that were beginning to change the church and the papacy could prevent the Protestant Reformation. It was to reduce papal influence in northern Europe to a considerable extent.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Byzantine Empire; Celestine V, Pope; Charlemagne; Donation of Constantine; Geiasius, Pope; Gregory I, Pope; Gregory VII, Pope; Gregory IX, Pope; Honorius III, Pope; Iconoclasm; Innocent III, Pope; Justinian I; Leo I, Pope; Leo IX, Pope; Lombards; Nicolaism; Papal States; Pepin; Rome; Urban II, Pope

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Papal States

The term "papal states" normally describes a multifarious collection of economic, juridical, and political rights that the popes held and attempted to enforce in central Italy during much of the Middle Ages. The plural form, peculiar to the English language, reflects the diversity of the states' component parts; it also helps to surmount unease over the

application of the idea of a "state" to a medieval government, especially one whose authority in the field was negligible and often disregarded by its supposed subjects. Originally, the territories in Etruria, the Sabine hills, the Roman Campagna, and the Pontine plain up to the Liri River and Terracina which the popes began ruling in the eighth century were called the lands of Saint Peter; after the twelfth century the name Patrimony of Saint Peter became standard. Scholars consider the major overhaul of papal administration under Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) sufficient justification for the "promotion" of these territories to the rank of statehood, so that "papal states" is the universally accepted term for the area subordinate to papal temporal rule only after the thirteenth century. Yet throughout the medieval period, even after Innocent III's reorganization, the papacy proved incapable of controlling its central Italian domains regardless of what they were called. Indeed, a major theme in the long and diverse history of the medieval papal states is the relentless struggle between the forces of papal centralization and the recalcitrance of many regions unwilling to forgo their autonomy. Only after the Great Schism in the fifteenth century, with Italy clear of the Holy Roman emperor's rival claim for sovereignty, did the popes subdue local centrifugal forces (*comuni*, feudal lords) and solidly establish the papal states, so that they weathered several shocks during the Renaissance (1494, 1527) and lasted until the *bersaglieri* stormed Rome in 1870.

The roots of the papal states lie in the landed property (with attendant administrative responsibilities) the popes accumulated long before they established a sovereign state during the eighth century, and in the pastoral duties of the Roman bishops. Like all episcopal sees, the church of Rome benefited from the generosity of the faithful in the waning years of the Roman empire. By the mid-fifth century, the pope himself, rather than the various churches in Rome, held landed property inferior in quantity only to that of the richest Roman aristocrats. The process of accumulation of landed wealth which made the popes politically important in Italy received a significant boost from the Gothic wars (535-555) and their Byzantine aftermath. Much land was bequeathed to the Holy See, which may also have benefited from the confiscations of Arian estates after 555. Although the Lombards' invasion of Italy (568) deprived Rome of access to many patrimonies (as

the regional subdivisions of papal estates were called) in northern Italy, by the early seventh century the popes owned land enough in Sicily, Campania, and the environs of Rome itself to put them among the peninsula's greatest landlords.

Administration of the patrimonies occupied the popes from an early date. In 481, a synod forbade their alienation and, in deference to canon law, required that revenue accruing from these sources should be destined for the maintenance of the pope and the Roman clergy, church restoration, and charity. This fourfold division of income persisted in the papal history of the early Middle Ages. The famous letters of Pope Gregory I (r. 590-604) provide the earliest substantial description of the patrimonies and their management. Through a system of papally appointed regional supervisors with moral and judicial responsibility (rectors) over scattered farms (*condumae*) and by short term leases designed to forestall hereditability, Gregory cultivated the patrimonies and developed a trained bureaucracy. This land and the administration it generated ultimately kept Rome's buildings repaired and its citizens fed and heated, because as civil administration decayed, bishops had increasingly become their communities' leaders and providers. The popes' pastoral responsibility for the welfare of their diocesan flock thus was an important factor in the creation of a sovereign papal state.

The hostile rule of the Lombards in Italy bottled the Holy See into a situation of political and military dependence on the Byzantine empire throughout the seventh century. During this "Byzantine captivity," the popes acted more or less as loyal subjects of Constantinople, to whose officials in Ravenna they deferred even after the Lombard monarchs became orthodox Christians. Occasional doctrinal differences between Rome and Byzantium could lead to acrimonious disputes with the emperor and his Italian representatives, and even to violence. But the popes did not conceive of a new order deprived of Byzantine authority in the duchy of Rome (the Byzantine province in which they lived), nor did they seek to establish an independent state. Rather, they sought a stronger, more effective Byzantine administration and military presence in central Italy, able to repulse Lombard kings and dukes. Yet they sought this protection just when the Byzantine empire, whose resources were committed along the eastern frontier, was least able to provide it. As the seventh-century popes shouldered ever greater administrative

burdens in their diocese, took over Rome's welfare programs, repaired its aqueducts (after 625), and restored the city walls (after 708), the Byzantines came to terms with the Lombards and recognized their usurpations in a treaty (c. 680) that presumably left the Holy See disillusioned with Byzantium.

After the 680s, theological disputes, at the root of most estrangements of the papacy from Byzantium, proved too thorny to settle. In 692, when Emperor Justinian II attempted to punish Pope Sergius I for rejecting the canons of the imperially sponsored council "in Trullo" (or "Quinisext," a reference to the Trullan Synod), as his predecessors had punished the hapless antimonothelite Pope Martin in 653, he discovered that the central Italian population, even the people of Ravenna, were ready and able to spring to the defense of the pope. Justinian II had to desist. Soon relations between the papacy and the empire returned to placid normality, but the incident showed that the popes commanded the loyalty of the flock for which they provided, and that the inhabitants of Byzantine Italy no longer identified their interests with those of Byzantium.

After barely surviving the great Arab siege of Constantinople (717-738), the Byzantine emperor Leo III ("the Isaurian") resolved to reform Byzantine civil and military administration. His novel taxes, and his removal of icons from churches and public places (where he thought they had offended God and allowed Islam to triumph), were policies applicable to Byzantine Italy, the westernmost limb of the empire. Iconoclasm was pointless and heretical to most Italians, but the new tastes were at least as repugnant. These novelties came in the 720s, just as the Lombard king Liutprand launched a campaign to establish his lordship over all of the Italian peninsula, including the duchy of Rome. His success was considerable in the region of Ravenna, and he subdued the traditionally independent Lombard dukes in central Italy. In doing so, Liutprand became a direct menace to Rome. In 729, the king "donated" Sutri, a strategic papal patrimony in Etruria that he had occupied, to the popes, but this gesture failed to end the papacy's fears. In 732-733, Leo III, angered by the Romans' tax evasion and iconophilia, had removed Sicily, Calabria, and Illyricum from Rome's ecclesiastical jurisdiction and confiscated the patrimonies there, thus making the estates closest to Rome in central Italy the papacy's staff of life (into the

late Middle Ages, popes considered these the "garden of delights of the church"). The Lombards' sieges of Rome (739, 741) pinched the popes further and exposed the utter inadequacy of Rome's defenses and the Byzantines' protection. Pope Gregory III, in desperation, even asked the faraway Franks for help (739), but he was rebuffed.

Against this backdrop of the Lombards' intensified military pressure and the Byzantine's diminished reliability regarding doctrine and military aid, the popes—weighted down with considerable moral and administrative responsibility in central Italy—made their first moves as independent agents on the Italian stage. The founding fathers of the papal states were Gregory II (d. 731), who staved off a Lombard occupation by tireless diplomacy; and Zachary I (d. 752), who opened friendly relations with Francia, while reorganizing papal farms as *domus cultae* to facilitate Rome's supplies. No longer acting only as estate managers, Byzantine ambassadors, or solicitous pastors, these popes considered the former duchy of Rome a sovereign state over whose interests they presided. The government of the new state fell to the Lateran bureaucracy, which had long been administering finances and justice in the patrimonies.

Zachary resolved to come to terms with Liutprand, and in negotiations at Terni (742) he obtained the return of frontier posts on the duchy's northern rim (Amelia, Orte, Bomarzo, and Blera, plus Cesena) to the popes. The pope was an acknowledged head of state; his prestige was such that Liutprand acquiesced to Zachary's demand that recently annexed Ravennan territory be returned to Ravenna. A grateful Byzantine emperor donated lands at Ninfa and Norma (south of Rome) to the pope for his intervention, expanding the territorial base of the Holy See. Yet the situation was far from tranquil: the Lombards were notoriously fickle, and papal sources present them as downright treacherous. Thus, when a coy query reached Rome from the Frankish court about the appropriateness of deposing worthless kings (749), Pope Zachary seized the chance to form an alliance with the potentate who had asked, and to sanction his putsch. The potentate, Pepin III, was duly crowned king of the Franks. When the pope, now Stephen II, came to Francia (753) expressly to seek military aid, Pepin espoused the cause of the Roman church against renewed Lombard incursions. In 755 and 756, he campaigned victoriously in Italy. Before his last return to Francia,

Pepin made a lavish "donation" of twenty-two cities and territories in Byzantine Italy to "Saint Peter." Frankish envoys deposited the keys to these cities on Saint Peter's tomb in Rome. The "Donation of Pepin" is often considered the constitutive act of the papal states and of the temporal power of the papacy.

Actual control of the territories did not, however, follow from the diplomatic settlement. The Lombard king, Desiderius, was a skilled and dangerous antagonist of the papacy who manipulated a strong faction in Rome and prevented the popes from effectively ruling their state. By most estimates, it was in this context that the forgery called the Donation of Constantine was produced in papal circles (c. 760). The Donation, which presumably accorded the papacy sovereignty over the entire western Roman empire, is seldom mentioned in papal documents until the thirteenth century and may be a sign of the unease felt in the Lateran after the alliance between the popes and the Franks had failed to end Lombards' harassment of the papal state. The Donation certainly reflects the ideological underpinnings that men in the Lateran saw for papal Italy's emancipation from Byzantium. Desiderius, like everyone else before the mid-ninth century, ignored it. Taking advantage of the disorderly political situation north of the Alps, and in Rome itself after 767, he occupied many papal areas and, when he thought it safe, even marched on Rome. The embattled Pope Hadrian I asked Charlemagne to rush to the rescue (773). Before capturing the Lombard capital, Pavia, the Frankish king spent Easter 774 in Rome. There, according to official papal records, he promised to hand over (*promissio donationis*) to Saint Peter all of Italy south of an imagined line running between Luni, on the Ligurian coast, and Monselice, near Venice, along with Istria and Venetia. The latter regions never formed part of the papal states and seldom were included in the papacy's claims. Otherwise, the *promissio donationis* became the ambition all popes tried, vainly, to realize. Charlemagne himself, much to Hadrian's chagrin, never lived up to his promise, because he considered it to have been superseded by events later in the year; he did, however, ensure that his father Pepin's concessions to the papacy were honored. During Hadrian's pontificate most of Byzantine central Italy, from Ravenna across the Apennines via Perugia to Rome, together with Lombard Tuscany and some towns south of Rome, entered the papal states.

Relations between the papacy and the Franks were cordial even while Hadrian protested to his good friend Charlemagne against what he initially regarded as the halfhearted fulfillment of the king's promise. In the course of the 780s, the pope and the king worked out an understanding. The borders of the papal states were firmly and, from a Carolingian standpoint, generously defined, although Spoleto and Benevento fell outside these boundaries. The papal states enjoyed the Franks' protection and were part of the Frankish commonwealth according to the often-renewed terms of special treaties between the kings and popes (the earliest surviving treaty, the "Ludovicianum" of 817, is thought to mirror earlier ones). These treaties carefully guarded the sovereignty of the papal states; even the riots of 799, which left Pope Leo III (d. 816) maimed and brought Charlemagne to Rome to investigate, did not alter this "constitutional" arrangement. Charlemagne left the city as emperor, but he continued to respect the independence of the popes' enclave.

The independence and stability of the papal states were undermined by intense competition for status, wealth, and power among Rome's ruling classes. This competition, which first emerged in 767, when Duke Toto attempted a coup in Rome, could degenerate into brawls like that of 799. It focused on control of the papal office, the states, and the lands of the Roman church. Initially the threat of the Franks' might kept the competition within bounds and kept the papal states from anarchy. In 815, for instance, Louis the Pious delegated to King Bernard the duty of repressing a nasty Roman revolt and reestablishing Pope Leo's authority. But with the decline of the Franks' power in the 800s, the Roman aristocracy had more leeway. In a treaty of 824 between the papacy and the Franks, the aristocracy obtained considerable control over papal elections; simultaneously, direct intervention by the Franks in papal government was sanctioned. This meant that, as Frankish authority in Italy collapsed after the death of Louis II in 875, the local aristocracies would exercise power in Rome and in outlying regions of the papal states, although forays by Carolingian rulers or other Italian potentates also affected the evolution of affairs, as did repeated raids by the Muslims before 915 (the papacy's defense against the "Saracens" proved ineffective; only locally organized efforts worked). Thus, as of the later ninth century, papal government in central Italy was

increasingly challenged by local forces. Regional elites grasped for autonomy and originated the dichotomy between the theory, or grand claims, and practice, or weakness, of papal temporal power which persisted to the end of the Middle Ages.

The regional aristocracies sought and obtained grants of land and jurisdiction from the popes. As papal counts and vicars, local potentates pursued their own ends. Valiant efforts by popes such as John VIII (d. 882) could not stem the tide of gifts, usurpations, and titles that dismembered the papal states. In Rome, the descendants of the nobleman Theophylact manipulated the Holy See, procuring major concessions for themselves that included a feudal grant of the strategic county of Terracina. In 1001, Emperor Otto III (d. 1003) complained that irresponsible alienations by weak, nepotistic popes had reduced the papal states to nothing and had left the see impoverished. Even the ring of papal model farms (*dornus cultae*) around Rome had devolved into private hands. Otto III and other German emperors endeavored to correct this situation with ulterior grants (the most important was that of Otto I to John XII in 962), confirmations of previous grants, advantageous treaties (most importantly that of Henry II for Benedict VII in 1020), and armed intervention against the more restive Roman magnates. The emperors did this to tighten their own hold on the Holy See, but their efforts were too episodic to be successful. Without central direction the papal states sprang apart, while local forces took over military and administrative responsibilities, a process prevalent throughout the Italian peninsula before the eleventh century. Only the dynasty from Frascati (Tusculani), which controlled the Roman see between 1012 and 1046, made slight advances in reasserting papal control over formerly held territories.

The eleventh-century reform movement was aimed at setting up a morally righteous, politically and economically independent papacy as a means of improving Christendom. The reformers strove to liberate the papacy and its territories from the influence of the emperors and the control of the central Italian magnates. Before the debacle of 1084, some notable successes were achieved against the region's centrifugal tides. Benevento entered the papal states (1050, confirmed 1052), the hold of powerful families on church land in the Sabine hills and south of Rome was loosened, and a valuable alliance was forged with the rising

Norman rulers of southern Italy. In 1059, Pope Leo IX invested the Normans with tenure of the territories they conquered. This implied that the papacy held a title over those southern regions, which was translated into a series of levies and privileges called the regalia of Saint Peter. Although the Holy See had to tolerate the Normans' raids across its southern borders, and allowed the Norman conquest of the Abruzzi (which was, in any case, cut off from the papal states by the Simbruini mountains and hence was too difficult to manage from Rome), it obtained a strong ally against the empire and the old Roman families. The Holy See appeared to be well placed to turn over a new leaf and end the embarrassing independence of so many of its temporal subjects. But in the end, the reformed popes were scarcely better able than their predecessors to subject the states to their rule. Often they contented themselves with renewing their legal title to a given area and then ceding its tenure to the old local masters. When Countess Matilda left her vast holdings in northern Italy to the popes (1115), the situation did not improve, because the emperors disputed the papacy's claims and hampered the papacy's management of the Matildine lands until 1133. The Matildine inheritance did, however, extend papal claims into the Po valley.

The German emperors were the formal antagonists of the papal states in the High Middle Ages. They resisted the papacy's pretensions to rule portions of central Italy (Emilia, Ravenna, and the Pentapolis) and expected to enforce their feudal rights within the papal states, whose protectors they proclaimed themselves to be on several occasions in the 1100s. Frederick I Barba rossa, despite his momentous defeat at Legnano (1176), managed to elude recognition of the papacy's demands for sovereignty over Italy as they had been formulated in the eighth century. The popes, too, refused offers of cash payments in exchange for renunciation of temporal power; they feared becoming dependent on imperial largesse. If the confrontation with the emperors, rival claimants to sovereignty over much of central Italy, was not enough, schisms within the papacy (1130-1138, 1159-1177) and especially the rise of the city-states (*comuni*) debilitated papal government within the states. Many *comuni* extorted immunities and privileges from the popes in exchange for promises of loyalty. When, in 1143, a senatorial "renovation" created an antipapal *comune* in Rome, the popes had to

buy off the threat (a competing government in their own city). However, under popes Eugenius III (d. 1153) and Hadrian IV (d. 1159), sizable revenues were collected from the papal states by trusty apostolic chamberlains (papal butlers), indicating that in the right conditions temporal rule was a viable system.

A favorable conjuncture, the imperial crisis of 1197-1202 and the youthfulness of Emperor Frederick II, enabled Pope Innocent III to wrest from the beleaguered emperors recognition of the complete independence and sovereignty of the papal states. Innocent, fortified by fresh support from the Roman *comune* and by the consequent submission of many Umbrian cities, gained Spoleto for the papacy (realizing Hadrian's dream) and asserted papal rule in Emilia, the Marches of Ancona, and Tuscany. Throughout, Innocent spoke of ending "imperial oppression," or reestablishing ancient papal rights. Innocent redesigned the administration, too. His structure, a centralized state divided into provinces ruled by a rector sent from Rome, did not come unglued even during the Hohenstaufen wars, and later popes built on it. A teetering emperor-elect, Rudolf of Hapsburg, was compelled to concede that Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara belonged to the papacy (1278). Along with territorial gains, the later thirteenth century witnessed further rationalization of papal administration: more regular taxation (the property tax *census*, the military service impost), part of which the college of cardinals enjoyed; and more stable institutions (mints, appellate courts, quasi-regular provincial parliaments to discuss policy) were imposed. Nevertheless, behind these achievements lurked the old realities. Local forces—communal forces in the north and feudal forces in the rural south of the papal states—counted for much more than papal legates or rectors. The papal states remained an assemblage of regional authorities; each had its own special understanding with the papal administration as to its actual rights ("liberties") and obligations.

After 1266, the Angevin dynasty rooted itself firmly in the southern Italian peninsula. This was the last great achievement of the Guelf association that battled imperial influence in Italy during the first portion of the thirteenth century. The Holy See came to rely heavily on the Angevins' political and military clout, though Pope Nicholas III Orsini (d. 1280) attempted to secure Rome's grasp on the states by

appointing other Orsini to all strategic administrative posts. The Sicilian Vespers (1282) was a severe blow to the prestige and power of the house of Anjou, and it pushed the popes into greater reliance on the Colonna family for control of the heartlands of the papal states (1280s and 1290s) around Rome. Weakened as it was, the Angevin influence in the papal states remained strong enough for the papacy to be criticized by contemporaries for excessive Francophilia. Nevertheless, the new situation of close alliance with the French dynasty did not strengthen papal authority over the pugnacious *comuni* in the Romagnol, Tuscan, Etrurian, and Umbrian regions of the papal states. Nor did the emergence of one man rule (*signoria*) in many *comuni* as the thirteenth century waned contribute to the ability of the papacy to exert its temporal power (some *comuni* may have welcomed papal influence as an antidote to the *signori*, however). Just before the Avignonese exile of the popes, therefore, the papal states remained a fissile, weak collection of territories, though not by any means poor or, when compared with contemporary European monarchies, poorly run. The renowned pontificate of Boniface VIII Caetani (1294-1303) saw no consolidation or pacification of the states; on the contrary, the pope's efforts to aggrandize his own family incensed many of the older Roman dynasties, such as the powerful Colonna, and his antimonarchical fiscal policies shook the long-standing alliance between the papacy and the French. A combined, brutal punitive expedition by the French and the Colonna trapped the pope at Anagni (1303) and easily toppled Boniface from power. The events revealed the fragility of the pope's power base in central Italy and the endurance of autonomy in its outlying regions. Ironically, in Provencal Avignon, far from their central Italian dominions, the popes were to find the tranquillity and independence that the papal states theoretically guaranteed.

With the popes and the curia absent, the papal states were exposed to aggression from outside the borders and to the creation of more extensive autonomy within. Almost immediately after the popes had settled at Avignon, Venice snatched Ferrara and held it in the face of the papacy's fulminations (1308-1313). Viscontian Milan lost no occasion to stir up trouble in far Emilia (Bologna, which finally submitted to papal rule in 1327, was the big prize there). Florence, too, tried to occupy papal territory. Assorted *signori* extorted papal

recognition of their independence in the form of grandiloquent titles (apostolic vicar). Periodic invasions from across the Alps by emperors or kings (1310-1313, 1327-1330) aroused the Ghibelline enthusiasm of Dante but served to destabilize central Italy even more. The Angevins, who should have been the protectors of papal interests, patronized noble clans seeking to carve out autonomous statelets for themselves, and pursued independent diplomatic goals often at odds with those of the Holy See. In this chaotic political climate the messianic leader of the Roman populace, Cola di Rienzo, was actually able to institute a dictatorship in Rome (1347) and wrest the capital of the papal states from the pope's control. While Cola attempted to inspire a new "holy Italy" of allied cities led from Rome (he was eventually murdered in 1354), the authority of the papal government both inside and outside Rome fell to a nadir. From Avignon, the papacy attempted a reaction. The administration of the papal states, which grew increasingly French and clerical (laymen had been common enough in the thirteenth-century bureaucracy) during the Avignonesse decades, was made answerable to specially appointed papal legates. Two of these—Bertrand du Poujet and the former archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Albornoz (d. 1367)—had some success in bringing central Italy back to allegiance to the papacy. Albornoz campaigned relentlessly; built castles; and negotiated with *comuni*, *signori*, and the Italian powers in his effort to render the papal states governable. In 1357, he promulgated the *Constitutions of the Holy Mother Church* (also called *Constitutiones aegidianae*), a public law code that remained in effect in the papal states until the Napoleonic wars. These *Constitutions*, crafted out of provincial law and earlier legates' redactions, regulated relations between the papacy and the commune and fixed the role of the papal courts, which always competed with other jurisdiction within the papal states. They were Albornoz's most statesmanlike achievement.

Despite his tireless labors, Albornoz was not able to reduce the papal states to obedience. Revolts by the peasants, depredations by the mercenaries, and the enmity of the Visconti impoverished the states and inhibited papal government. Only after long campaigns and a treaty with the Visconti did peace return. When it did, Florence promptly organized a widespread insurrection against clerical "rapacity," known as the "war of the eight saints" (1375). Of the papal

states, a small portion around Rome alone had been pacified when Pope Gregory XI (d. 1378) returned to Rome in January 1376. On the verge of the Great Schism (1378-1417), which entailed ulterior dissolution of its temporal power, the Holy See had very tenuous control over its patrimony. This situation had proved chronic since the early eighth century, for the regional, local, and centrifugal forces in the Italian peninsula were at least as vigorous as the popes and the papal administrators who sought to build and govern their central Italian monarchy.

The prolonged struggle of the successors of Saint Peter and their emissaries to bring tracts of central Italy under their temporal control was an important part of medieval papal history. Few popes became so embroiled in central Italian politics and warfare that they lost sight of the governance of the Christian community which the bishop of Rome exercised. The desire to rule the Italian territories collectively called the papal states was born in the 700s of the popes' pastoral mission and the ensuing administrative responsibilities; it developed also because the Lateran grew uneasy about other powers' dominance over Italy. Temporal rule by the successors of Saint Peter, carried out however falteringly in central Italy, was a fact of life after the early 700s. Having virtually lost control of the papal states in the tenth century, the Holy See launched new policies of direct government over its dominions that culminated in the pontificate of Innocent III. In practice, however, the popes were never able to uproot from within their borders aristocratic particularism and the autonomy of the city-states. However, at no time was there sustained criticism in Italy of the idea of papal temporal authority (Arnold of Brescia was an eloquent exception). Many people theorized, on the contrary, that an independent territorial base for the papacy was a prerequisite if vigorous, morally upright leadership was to prevail in the church.

See also Albornoz, Gil Alvarez Cabrillo de; Angevin Dynasty; Avignonese Papacy; Boniface VIII, Pope; Byzantine Empire; Cola di Rienzo; Colonna Family; Desiderius; Donation of Constantine; Eugenius III, Pope; Frankish Kingdom; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gregory I, Pope; Hadrian IV, Pope; Innocent III, Pope; Leo III, Emperor; Leo III, Pope; Leo IX, Pope;

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Parlantino da Firenze

Parlantino (who lived at about the same time as Dante) was the author of a political sonnet on the invasion of Italy by German troops under Henry VII of Luxembourg (1310). The poem, *Com crederete voi che si punisca*, follows the tradition of hurling invectives against a political faction, a city, or a nation by poets such as Guittone d'Arezzo, Dante Alighieri, and several comic poets. Parlatino is himself customarily anthologized as a comic poet because of the popularity of the political theme among Rustico Filippi, Folgore da San Gimignano, Pietro dei Faintinelli, and others. However, there is nothing humorous about his sonnet. In it, he depicts the Germans as merciless punishers of arrogant and proud Lombards and Tuscans, recalling the language of Guittone's political *canzone* *Ahi lasso, or è stagion de doler tanto* and the political *canti* of the *Divine Comedy*.

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Parma

Parma is situated in the Po valley, at the intersection of the Via Emilia and the ancient roads leading inland from the Mediterranean coast and port cities. The crossing of two streams—the Parma, which flows into the Po; and the Bargaña—also explains the location of the city. The site was originally settled in the Bronze Age; it eventually became a Roman military outpost, and the urban center developed in the second century B.C. The Roman city square is still discernible today in Piazza Nuova, and ruins of a Roman theater and amphitheater have also been preserved. Roman citizenship was extended to eligible inhabitants of Parma in A.D. 49. Under the Roman administration, much of the swamp land surrounding the city was reclaimed for agriculture. Rome also maintained rivers and streams for navigation and built roads such as the Via Emilia, which permitted overland travel by administrators and wealthy merchants throughout the Italian peninsula. Like most Roman cities, Parma was essentially an administrative center, supported by the collection of taxes for the benefit of landed aristocrats; but because of its location at the intersection of the Via Emilia and coastal roads, commercial activity flourished there.

Italy is a land of cities, as Hegel noted, and throughout the 500 years that separated the collapse of the Roman empire in late fifth century and the nascent communes, Italian urban life endured. However, compared with Milan, Pavia, Verona, and Ravenna, Parma was a backwater. The city was already in decline by the fourth century, losing arable lands to swamp land and forest. Even the church, a fundamental institution in Italian urban life from the third century on, barely survived, despite the fact that Parma was an episcopal seat.

The Ostrogoth Theodoric established rule in Italy in 489. An able administrator, he endeavored to rebuild the Roman infrastructure. Because Parma had a strategic position on the road leading from the Alpine Cisa Pass to central Italy and Rome, it played a key role in the Theodoric's territorial ambitions. Under the Ostrogoths, a canal was

constructed connecting Parma to the lifeline of the Po River system. The Byzantine emperor Justinian (r. 527-565) enlarged the city. Byzantine rule was contested by the Lombards, whose conquest of most of the Italian peninsula began in 568. During the 200 years when the Lombards were dominant, a decentralization of power precluded large-scale projects like the drainage of the Po valley or the maintenance of navigable waterways, and trade declined. Militarily, Parma was a spearhead of the Lombards' resistance against the Byzantines, and the city's walls may actually have been enlarged during this period, although little archaeological or archival evidence has survived.

Ecclesiastical archival material from the Carolingian era offers a better record of institutional, social, political, and economic development. Charlemagne was invited into Italy by Pope Hadrian I to defend Rome from the Lombards' aggression. Under Carolingian rule, which began in 774, Parma became an essential strategic point in the defense of papal territory in central Italy. Jurisdiction over and protection of the city and surrounding territory, including the vitally important approach to the Cisa Pass, were entrusted to a count, who in turn granted hereditary lands with limited jurisdictional autonomy, known as patrimonial jurisdictions, to lesser nobles, a practice that led to the erosion of the count's authority. The first count of whom we have any record is Adalgis, in 835, who was a member of the powerful Supponide family that had extensive holdings throughout northern Italy. By the eleventh century, the church dominated in Parma both politically and economically. Carloman, the great-grandson of Charlemagne, had granted the city of Parma—the most important patrimonial jurisdiction of the county—to Bishop Wilbode in 879; Emperor Conrad II granted the entire county to the bishop of Parma in 1036, reinforcing the close ties between the imperial party and the church of Parma. The counts and bishops were charged with the responsibility of defending the Cisa Pass for the emperor. The church's agricultural interests, numerous edifices, and market made it an employer and landlord of a significant proportion of the population. It consolidated its power in the city and throughout the county by supporting the younger sons of local nobles with ecclesiastical benefices. Rapid demographic growth in the eleventh century accelerated the subdivision of jurisdictions by the ruling oligarchy of

nobles and clerics, increasing the tax burden on those excluded from power. In 1037, when Emperor Conrad II was in residence at the episcopal palace, a group that apparently included artisans, merchants, and other citizens (referred to in the chronicles as *cives*, *urbani*, and *Parmenses*) staged an unsuccessful revolt against the ecclesiastical and imperial overlords. Parma was burned, and its walls were leveled.

Intramural ecclesiastical reform promised significant economic, political, and social change in the second half of the eleventh century. This reform challenged the legitimacy of churches closely allied with royal or imperial power, including the church in Parma. The objective of the reform was twofold: to extend the power of the papacy over local bishops and to root out corrupt and worldly practices among the clergy, such as simony and cohabitation with concubines. The bishop of Parma, Cadalus, came from a powerful Veronese family, and he spearheaded the resistance to reform in northern Italy. In 1061, Cadalus was elected as the antipope Honorius II by the antireformist bishops of the region; he led an army against Rome in 1062, and then again two years later, but both incursions were repulsed. Popes Alexander II (r. 1061-1073) and Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085), champions of church renewal, succeeded in isolating the church of Parma by strengthening the Roman position in surrounding cities and the pro-reform nobility within the city. Parma finally capitulated to the reformist camp in 1094 when the schismatic Bishop Vido died, and the papal legate Bernard degli Ubertini was invited to become the bishop there. The cathedral, begun in 1059, reflects the political fortune of the city's bishops: its apse, which is the oldest section that survives, reaffirms architectural ideals associated with Cadalus's imperial church, while the sculptured saints' lives that animate the interior of the cathedral and its facade resonate with the spirituality of Cluny and the reformed church. In 1106, Pope Paschal II presided over a ceremony in which the cathedral was consecrated and the reformist Bernard was invested as bishop.

The reform of the church promoted the formation of the commune because it disrupted traditional political authority and allowed local groups to manipulate the powerful adversaries to their own advantage. Cadalus made jurisdictional concessions to the citizenry to bolster support for his schismatic position, and the construction of a new episcopal palace initiated in 1055 outside the city walls signified this

redistribution of power. When Parma joined the Roman camp, Bishop Bernard made the citizens protectors of the church, and then he granted military and juridical authority to the citizenry in 1119-1120, when the city came under attack by its pro-imperial neighbor, Cremona.

The term "commune" first appears in a document dating from 1149; in the same year, "consul" is used in a peace treaty to denote the eight officers entrusted to act in the name of the people and the church of Parma. However, reconciliation or *concordia* between the various factions of citizens, at the heart of the commune ideal, remained elusive in Parma. In Parma, the concept of civic lordship implied a fragile dominion of urban over rustic aristocrats. In fact, the independence of the aristocratic holdings beyond the walls of the city and the inability of the communal or urban government to extend its rule to the surrounding territory presented a perennial and intractable problem. When the aristocratic families were ousted from power, they simply retreated to their holdings outside the city to plot their return. The commune was, for most of its history, controlled by an oligarchy of ancient and emerging aristocratic families, and the church remained a powerful player. The citizens were divided into *civis minores* and *cives maiores*, according to documents: the *minores* were the artisan class that was gradually assuming a civic role alongside the hereditary landholders, the *maiores*. There was also a growing population of urban dwellers who were not citizens, as Parma (like other Italian cities) emancipated serfs under its jurisdiction, motivated by Christian brotherhood and a need for industrial workers. Local statutes favored the production and merchandising of wool, the principal product of the region, which had been noted since antiquity for its high quality. The location of the city fostered commerce, and Parmesan merchants bartered throughout Italy and with transalpine tradesmen in Parma and abroad.



Baptistry, Parma. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

Civic and religious construction continued with edifices such as the elegant octagonal baptistry, begun c. 1197, which is regarded as the masterwork of the architect and sculptor Benedetto Antelami. Very little is known about the life of this innovative artist: he is thought to have been born c. 1150, perhaps in the region of Lombardy known as Antelamo, and he left Parma in 1216, when the baptistry was still unfinished. Although Parma is a city of art, no distinct style emerges until the late fifteenth century and the sixteenth century. In the monuments surviving from the Middle Ages, indigenous Lombard

architectural ideals blend with structural and decorative elements from France and elsewhere.

Throughout the twelfth century, intermittent warfare ravaged the Po valley. Conflicts during the first half of the century between Parma and its powerful neighbor Cremona—which dominated the middle Po valley, with its port and markets—first erupted in 1120. Although Parma was historically a pro-imperial city, relations between it and the Holy Roman Empire became hostile in the twelfth century. Frederick I Barbarossa was crowned emperor in 1152, after a century of decline in imperial authority. In the interim, the communes in northern Italy had proclaimed their independence (*libertas*) and had appropriated judicial, legislative, and financial authority. Frederick Barbarossa tried to reassert imperial sovereignty in Lombardy, but the cities of the region, including Parma, formed a league and thwarted his ambition by achieving a military victory at Legnano in 1176. The existence of an interurban alliance did not prevent warfare among the cities: in the same period Parma joined Pavia, Lodi, and Cremona in the destruction of Milan,

Parma engaged in a series of deadly encounters with the armies of the emperor Frederick II between 1247 and 1250. The imperial party had established jurisdiction in the city and had then lost it in 1247, when the brother-in-law of Pope Innocent IV, Bernard Orlando Rossi, and the papal legate, Gregory of Montelongo, captured the city with a small host of exiles and killed its imperial overlord. Frederick II determined to recapture it. In the autumn of 1247, he established a siege city outside Parma's walls, optimistically called Victoria, where he set up court, complete with his menagerie of exotic animals and his harem. Although Piacenza, Milan, and the Estensi supported Parma, Frederick and his agents, Ezzelino da Romano and Oberto Pallavicino, were able to organize an effective land and water blockade of the city. The starving citizens, led by Gregory of Montelongo, resisted heroically. Whereas Frederick relied on mercenary soldiers, Gregory had at his command citizen-soldiers who were deeply concerned with their independence and, perhaps even more urgently, with the need to protect the city from the well-known savagery of the emperor. On 18 February 1248, the citizens of Parma liberated themselves from the imperial siege and in the process wreaked havoc on the imperial camp. While Frederick was

out hunting, the Parmesans tricked the only military commander left in Victoria into pursuing a small band of soldiers. The citizens then attacked the siege city, killing or putting to flight the defending forces. They razed and burned Victoria and executed Thaddeus of Suessa, one of the emperor's most trusted officials. Prisoners, livestock, and the imperial treasure—including the crown and seal—were taken. Despite this resounding defeat and humiliation, Frederick and his allies rallied and prevailed in the military encounters with Parma that took place over the next three years. Dante observes of the people of Parma: "They may have had their victory over Victoria, but they certainly had many pains for their pains afterwards" (*Epis- tola*, 6.19; Molthenius 1968, 42). In 1253, Parma signed a peace accord that concluded the conflict. It is easy to let the dramatic events of history obscure the day-to-day reality: throughout this entire episode, as the chronicler and Franciscan friar Salimbene de Adam notes, many merchants, artisans, and other nonpartisans quietly went about their business (Jones 1997, 601).

The second half of the thirteenth century in Parma is characterized by economic prosperity, demographic growth, and political turmoil. The aggregate population of the teeming cities of Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Bologna, located at 15-mile (24-kilometer) intervals along the Via Emilia, has been estimated by Hyde (1973, 154) at 100,000—rivaling Milan, Florence, Venice, Genoa, and Paris. Political instability plagued Parma because its institutions were insufficiently robust to control or mediate between the factions that vied for power. Ordinances restricting the participation of powerful families in government were passed in Parma, as elsewhere in Italy, but they never proved to be enforceable. If vestiges of the commune survived longer in Parma than in some other northern Italian cities where *podestà* were invited to establish order, it is because in the thirteenth century, as in the previous century, an oligarchy of families competed for ascendancy, and none was strong enough to permanently subdue the others. The Pailavicino family, which had lost ground in the defeat of its ally Frederick II, continued to be a factor in the region, and it struggled against the Da Correggio, Da Cornazzano, Rossi, Sanvitale, Da Palu, and Lupi clans. The instability of the situation was aggravated by the proximity of the Scaligeri of Verona and the Visconti of Milan; both of these powerful families sought to control the wealthy and strategically located city of

Parma as well as its *contado* (countryside). The aristocratic families of Parma sought alliances with the Scaligeri and the Visconti through marriage: Ghilberto da Correggio's daughter married Cangrande della Scala's brother, and two future lords of Parma—Alberto and Mastino della Scala—were children of that union.

The years between 1253 and 1303 are described as a golden period for the communal ideal in Parma. The support of the *cives minores* and *maiores* was solicited by Ghilberto da Gente, who was elected to lead the commune for a five-year term and was then granted a hereditary position, only to be thrown out of power by a popular uprising several years later. If the despotic Ghilberto da Gente is difficult to reconcile with the ideals of civic lordship, at least he oversaw a period of relative peace and stability in Parma. Like other politicians in Lombardy, Ghilberto enacted statutes that institutionalized the power of the Guelf party and the pro-Angevin Society of the Cross with the support of the industrial, merchant, jurist, and notary guilds.

The Society of the Cross was the major political faction in Parma, and membership in it ensured the political rights of citizens until the Guelf party split into two warring parts when Ghilberto da Correggio became *podestà* in 1303. Ghilberto da Correggio was a Guelf but ruled with the support of the imperialist Ghibellines. Rival aristocratic families, in this case the Rossi and the Sanvitale clans, retreated to the countryside to await a propitious moment to overturn Ghilberto. In 1316, Gianquirico Sanvitale enlisted the support of the guilds and briefly restored the commune. The Rossi, closely allied to the church, seized power in 1322, and Rolando de' Rossi was named *signore* of Parma in 1328. By 1334, at a time of crisis in the financial situation of the city, Rolando was compelled to create a new ruling council of eight "wise men" to assist him. The chronicles cynically record that the eight were chosen from the special friends of the Rossi clan. Sensing the weakness of the Rossi, Ghilberto da Correggio's sons, allied with the Scaligeri, waged war in the territory surrounding the city, aggravating the economic situation in Parma by interrupting commerce and creating a need for new taxes to support the defense of the city. Civil breakdown resulted from the economic chaos, and Rolando finally capitulated to the Scaligeri in exchange for guarantees for the safety of the Rossi family and its holdings within the city.

The new *podestà*—Alberto della Scala, grandson of Ghilberto da Correggio—was greeted as a savior by the desperate citizens of Parma. His arrival on 21 June 1335 essentially marks the end of the commune ideal in Parma. It was celebrated with pomp and ceremony: accompanied by 3,000 cavalry and a large troop of infantry, Alberto received the venerable citizens of the commune and corporations of Parma and was hailed by all the citizens. The episcopal palace served as his residence. Hundreds of carts of food, wine, and other goods were offered for sale in the streets of Parma at affordable prices. Banners floated throughout the city celebrating the arrival of the Scaligeri, their insignia coupled with those of Emperor Lewis IV (Lewis of Bavaria, Louis, Ludwig) and the da Correggio family, which would reinstate itself in Parma within a few months. Alberto's brother, Mastino, arrived in Parma on 12 October 1335, and his arrival was announced with a similar show of abundance and a celebration of unity and well-being. Alberto and Mastino then retired to Verona, leaving the rule of the city to Azzo and Guido da Correggio.

Although the new regime made a conspicuous effort to reinvigorate the institutions of the city, Parma's financial situation continued to deteriorate. The intervention of Alberto and Mastino della Scala had made Parma a de facto colony of Verona, which levied heavy taxes that inhibited the recovery of Parma's commercial activity. Although both the city and the *contado* were refortified during this period, civil order was not restored and much of the population fled. The winter of 1336-1337 brought famine. Eventually the Scaligeri abandoned any pretext of defending the city, and Azzo da Correggio turned to Milan for military support to wrest Parma from them. He succeeded in 1341, but even with the backing of the Milanese Visconti, he proved unable to resolve the crisis in Parma. In 1344, Mastino della Scala took the opportunity to avenge his loss of Parma to Azzo by pawning the city to the Estensi for 70,000 florins—a move supported by the Rossi, Sanvitale, and Lupi clans. Obizzo III d'Este sold the city back to Luchino Visconti in 1346. Parma enjoyed economic growth under the rule of Luchino and his brothers, who were able, to some extent, to contain the dangerous feuding of the aristocratic families. New canals reunited the city with the Po, commercial restrictions were liberalized, and the urban center was renovated. Yet the difficult medieval ideals of communal *concordia*

and *libertas*, the hope that somehow the lions and the lambs of the city would mediate their differences and achieve an independent peaceful society, was sacrificed as Parma passed from the Scaligeri to the Estensi and finally into the domain of the Visconti in the fourteenth century.

See also Antelami, Benedetto; Cremona; Delia Scala Family; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Legnano, Battle of; Lombard Leagues; Milan; Verona; Visconti Family

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Paschal I, Pope

Pope Paschal I (saint; d. 824, r. 24 January 817-11 February 824) was a Roman by birth. He had a long record of service to his predecessors when he was chosen pope. Anxious to renew Rome's good standing with the Carolingian monarchy, Paschal negotiated with Louis the Pious a confirmation of the Franks' protection of the papal patrimonies, but on terms that granted the popes new elements of autonomy. Paschal's cultivation of the Franks was extended when Louis's son and successor as emperor, Lothair (Lothar)I, visited Italy in 823. Paschal arranged for Lothair's formal investiture in Rome on Easter Sunday, thereby consolidating the tradition that imperial coronation should be by the pope and in Rome. However, Lothair's high-handed behavior generated strong resentment and reflected discredit on Paschal. When Paschal's political enemies attempted to exploit the pope's unpopularity, he lashed out savagely against them and was eventually forced to purge himself of guilt before a church synod. Meanwhile, a revival of Iconoclasm by the Byzantine government obliged Paschal to issue new condemnations of that policy and made him a protector of Greek monks driven into exile.

Paschal was devoted to his native city and was unusually active as a builder, contributing such churches as Santa Prassede, Santa Maria della Navicella, and Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, in all three of which he was memorialized in mosaic portraits. Despite such patronage, he was hated for his arrogance and oppressiveness, with the result that when he died, popular riots made it necessary for his burial to be transferred from Saint Peter's to Santa Prassede.

***See also* Frankish Kingdom; Iconoclasm; Leo III, Pope; Lothar I; Louis I the Pious; Rome**

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Paschal II, Pope

Pope Paschal II (Rainerius; d. 1118, r. 13 August 1099—21 January 1118) was born of a noble family at Bieda, south of Faenza in central Italy; his parents were Crescentius and Alfatia. While still a young boy, he was put into a Benedictine monastery. A general belief that he entered the monastery at Cluny was dismissed by Odericus, who confirmed that the monastery was Vallombrosa, between Florence and Arezzo. Rainerius was highly esteemed by his superiors and at age twenty was sent to Rome, where he gained the trust and favor of Pope Gregory VII, who made him cardinal priest of San Clemente. Under Urban II, Rainerius served as legate to Spain. He later became abbot of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura. His intellectual and spiritual qualities made him an excellent candidate for the papacy and helped secure his election to succeed Pope Urban II. He was highly educated, a promoter of learning and culture; he was also pious, merciful, and forgiving. It was reported that during the conclave, when he realized that the consensus was turning toward him, he attempted to avoid being elected by fleeing, deeming himself unworthy of such an important position.

His pontificate as Paschal II was to prove very difficult because of the struggle between church and the state over the right of investiture for major church offices, but it also saw the initial signs of emancipation of the church from the state, which Gregory VII had worked so hard to achieve. Throughout his reign, Paschal had to fight on many fronts: against the antipopes, the German kings, and the Roman nobles. Paschal also strenuously fostered the crusade movement.

During Paschal's reign, settlements were made between Saint Anselm and Henry I of England and with Philip I of France; but there was a constant struggle with the German king Henry IV, who persistently encouraged and supported the elections of antipopes, in order to undermine the authority of the legitimately elected pope. There was a whole succession of antipopes. At the death of the antipope Guibert of Ravenna (Clement III) in 1100, Theoderic became antipope after a mock

election in Saint Peter's (1101-1102); then came the antipopes Albert (1102) and Sylvester IV (1105—1111). Henry IV was excommunicated by Paschal in 1102 but restored himself to the pope's favor by promising to lead a crusade, although he never fulfilled this promise. In 1104, Henry IV's young son, Henry V, spurred on by disappointed princes, rebelled against his father. Weary of the constant struggle with the king, Paschal made an agreement with his rebellious son. The elder Henry resigned his power at Ingelheim on 31 December 1105, and his son was solemnly crowned emperor at Mainz on 1 February 1106. While the dethroned monarch was getting ready to fight back, he fell ill and died in August 1106.

The struggle between papacy and empire found no resolution with Henry V. From the beginning of his reign, the younger Henry proved just as determined as his father not to give up the right of investiture. Paschal II and Henry V met at Sutri in 1110. Initially, Henry showed willingness to renounce the right to investiture, while the pope committed himself to giving back all lands and rights received from the German crown by the church. However, these conditions were rejected by the German bishops, who considered that they were being deprived of all temporal power. Henry V fled Rome and took the pope with him as a prisoner, until Paschal conceded the right of investiture to the king. Despite the strong opposition of the Roman curia, Paschal crowned Henry V emperor in Saint Peter's on 13 April 1111, as part of their agreement. In September 1112, the emperor was excommunicated by the French bishops because of his capture of the pope and his extortion of the concession regarding investiture. Paschal subsequently confirmed the emperor's excommunication.

While struggling to achieve peace with the empire, Paschal had to fend off revolts in Rome itself. The Corsi family supported the third antipope, and Paschal retaliated by destroying their stronghold on the Capitoline hill.

Soon after his election to the papacy, Paschal, following the lead of his predecessors, congratulated the crusaders for their successes in Palestine and then urged bishops and soldiers to hasten to their help.

Although the relationship between papacy and empire was exceedingly tumultuous during his reign, Paschal's diplomatic accomplishments were instrumental in bringing a conclusion to the

investiture controversy; his pontificate opened the way to the concordat that Pope Calixtus II concluded at Worms in 1122.

See also Calixtus II, Pope; Gregory VII, Pope; Henry IV, Emperor; Henry V, Emperor; Investiture Controversy; Urban II, Pope

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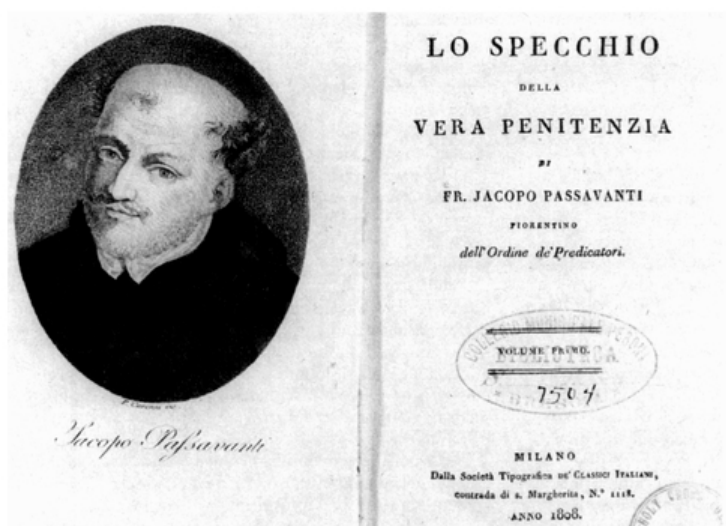
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Passavanti, Jacopo

Jacopo Passavanti (1302-1357) was born in Florence. He had a distinguished career in the Dominican order, which he entered as a novice in 1317. He began his studies at Santa Maria Novella in Florence, continued them during a stay of three years in Paris (1330-1333), and subsequently taught philosophy at Pisa and theology at Siena and Rome. He also held administrative office in his order: after having been in charge of inspecting Dominican houses in Lombardy in the 1330s, he became prior of the community at Pistoia in 1341, and from 1345 until his death he was prior at Santa Maria Novella, where he had returned as preacher in 1340. He was vicar-general of the diocese of Florence

between 1350 and 1352. As prior of Santa Maria Novella, he presided over the completion of the community's imposing buildings and reorganized the extensive holdings of its library; but his chief claim to fame is his activity as a preacher—according to the community's official obituary, he was *praedicator facundus et fervidus*, "an eloquent and fervent preacher." His *Specchio di vera penitenza* (*Mirror of True Penitence*) is a treatise based on a series of sermons he gave at Santa Maria Novella in 1354, during Lent. (Some minor works—*volgarizzamenti* of a sermon by Origen and oratorical exercises taken from Livy—were also attributed to him in the mid-nineteenth century by Polidori, whose edition is still valuable.)



Jacopo Passavanti, *Lo specchio della vera penitenzia*. Milan: Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1808. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

The *Specchio* is divided into five chapters (*distinzioni*), centered, respectively, on pride, humility, vainglory, knowledge, and dreams. Like his Dominican predecessor Cavalca in nearby Pisa, Passavanti brings to his material a masterly narrative technique and a skillful deployment of the contemporary vernacular, especially in the development of moral and spiritual *exempla*. Petrocchi (1965) describes the *Specchio* as *l'opera più ricca e varia della letteratura religiosa del Trecento, anche se non la*

più alta, "the richest and most varied work of religious literature in the *Trecento*, though not the loftiest." A Latin redaction of the *Specchio* was prepared but has not survived.

See also Cavalca, Domenico; Italian Literature: Religious

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Pataria

Pataria was a religious and political movement originating in Milan during the second half of the eleventh century. Later the term

"Patarene" came to mean a rebel against ecclesiastical authority or a heretic.

Milan's Patarenes were organized in 1057, soon after the deacon Arialdo da Varese began to preach against clerical concubinage and simony. Milan was then dominated by its archbishop, Guido da Velate, who maintained a powerful alliance of the higher clergy, feudal nobility, and wealthier citizens by astutely manipulating the sale of the city's ecclesiastical offices. To criticize simony or the unchastity of Milan's clergy was to attack the archbishop's unpopular regime, and so Arialdo soon found himself with many supporters. Chief among them were Landolfo Cotta, a notary of Milan's cathedral; and Landolfo's brother Erlembald, a knight. Arialdo's party, now called Pataria (the derivation of the term is uncertain), bound themselves by an oath similar to that of contemporary communal movements and rejected the legitimacy of the simoniacal clergy. Patarenes boycotted the sermons of unworthy clergy, refused their sacraments, and drove the laity from their services. Later they ejected simoniacs from churches and plundered their houses.

Each side accused the other of heresy, and each eventually appealed to the papacy. Papal legates sent to Milan recognized the legitimacy of Patarene ideals but were disturbed by the violent methods of the group. Pope Nicholas II finally approved the Patarenes' boycotts of unworthy clergy in 1059; meanwhile, he tried to draw Archbishop Guido to the side of the reformers. Guido and his clergy did forswear simony and incontinence before papal legates later in 1059, but by the early 1060s they had resumed their old practices, as well as their persecution of the Pataria. This led the next pope, Alexander II, to support the Pataria openly. In 1066 Alexander excommunicated Guido for recognizing the antipope Cadalus of Parma; Guido's supporters responded with a wave of violence; Arialdo was among their victims. In 1070 Guido was finally forced to resign, but almost immediately the Pataria faced a new challenge. The German emperor Henry IV refused to recognize the bishop whom the Pataria elected to succeed Guido, and Henry attempted to force Milan to accept an imperial appointee. Again the papacy strongly supported the Pataria, but the death of Arialdo's successor Erlembald during rioting in 1075 effectively ended the political power of the Patarenes in Milan.

However the Patarene movement meanwhile spread to other cities in northern Italy, including Piacenza, Lodi, Cremona, and Brescia. In Florence a similar movement led by the Vallombrosan monks of Giovanni Gualberto ejected the city's simoniacal archbishop in 1068 and even sent clergy to assist the struggle in Milan,

The Patarenes' activity declined after the 1090s, when Pope Urban II's conciliatory policies toward the bishops of northern Italy produced many of the reforms the Pataria had sought. In the 1140s the term "Pataria" was used to refer to Milanese laymen in rebellion against clerical authority, but this time the clergy were supported by the papacy. "Patarene" and "Pataria" now came to have a pejorative connotation. The Third Lateran Council in 1179 identified Patarenes as heretics; at about the same time, the name was adopted by Cathars in northern Italy. During the next century "Patarene" was sometimes used as a general term for a heretic.

See also Giovanni Gualberto, Saint; Henry IV, Emperor; Heresy and Religious Dissent; Milan; Nicholas II, Pope; Urban II, Pope

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Pateg, Gerardo

See Gerardo Pateg

Paul the Deacon

Paul the Deacon (Paius Diaconis, c. 720-c. 799) was the son of Warnefrid and was probably born at Cividale in Friuli. Paul was educated by the grammarian Flavianus, joined the royal court at Pavia, and became tutor to Adelperga, a daughter of the last independent Lombard king, Desiderius (r. 756-774). When Adelperga's husband, Arichis, was made duke of Benevento in 758, Paul became a part of the literary circle that developed at Benevento. There, in 763, Paul wrote his

first poetic work (dedicated to Adelperga), followed by a prose continuation (also dedicated to Adelperga) of Eutropius's *Historia Romanum*.

After Charlemagne's defeat of the Lombards and his assumption of the Lombard crown in 774, Paul retired to the Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino, where he remained until 783. He then left to seek the court of Charlemagne, ostensibly to plead on behalf of a brother, Arichis, who had been taken prisoner after participating in an unsuccessful revolt in northern Italy in 776. Paul remained at Charlemagne's court for two or three years before returning to Monte Cassino, where he continued to live and write until his death.

Paul is an important figure both in Italian letters and in the early Carolingian renaissance. He wrote in verse and in prose on secular and religious subjects. While he was at Aachen, in addition to a number of literary efforts that were primarily liturgical and homiletic, he composed in honor of the Carolingians a *History of the Bishops of Metz* (*Historia episcoporum Metensium*); after returning to Monte Cassino he produced a number of other works including his last and most important, *History of the Lombards* (*Historia Langobardorum*). This last work, which was never finished, covers the story of the Lombards from their semilegendary beginnings through the reign of King Liutprand (712-744). Paul's history is a typical eighth-century product, relying heavily on the materials available to him: Pliny; Isidore; Gregory of Tours; a work on the Lombards (now lost) by Secundus of Nun from Trent, who was a member of the court circle of King Agilulf (r. 590–616); Bede; and several much shorter and less reliable Lombard chronicles—an interesting commentary on the literary materials available at Monte Cassino in the late eighth century.



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**See also Arichis; Charlemagne; Chronicles; Desiderius; Lombards;
Monte Cassino, Monastery; Pavia**

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Pavia

The city of Pavia (Roman Ticinum, medieval Papia) was founded by the Romans after 89 B.C., probably on the site of some earlier Ligurian or Gallic settlement. The city was built as an *oppidum*, or garrison town, on the characteristic rectilinear Roman street plan. It is situated on high ground sloping down to the left bank of the Ticino River, approximately 3.6 miles (6 kilometers) from its confluence with the Po River. The streets and an extensive sewer system were laid out with careful attention to the configuration of the land and the requirements of drainage. Both the city plan and the sewers (flushed by a continual flow of groundwater) survived throughout the Middle Ages and continued to be important elements in shaping the city's physical structure.

In the fourth century, when Milan became a frequent imperial residence, Pavia served as a subordinate center for the army and its bureaucracy. Although the city lay off the main lines of communication, which during this period ran between Milan and Aquileia, it was nevertheless close to Milan, and its position on the Po-Ticino river system allowed for easy movement of supplies into and out of the city. Like other river towns in northern Italy, Pavia had an imperial arms manufactory, which specialized in making bows. Although Pavia was a small town, it had urban amenities such as baths and an amphitheater which were prized by the army. The small amount of evidence dealing directly with Pavia in this period suggests that the city was relatively prosperous and secure.

Little is known about the origins of the city's Christian community. It is first mentioned in Sulpicius Severus's *Life of Saint Martin* in a passage referring to the 320s, a reference suggesting that a group of

Christians had already been established. Pavia's first bishop, San Siro, probably lived c. mid-fourth century, although the third bishop, Inventius (fl. 380s and 390s), is the first to be firmly datable.

Pavia's role in regional affairs changed in the early fifth century, when current events in northern Italy, and especially in the western Po valley, became crucial for the security of the empire. The transfer of the imperial residence from Milan to Ravenna increased the importance of communications and travel along the Po River, and hence the importance of Pavia, which was now directly connected to the capital by water. Sidonius Apollinaris's description of his trip from Lyon to Ravenna in 467 suggests that travel by water from Pavia to Ravenna was the normal route. The city's continued importance as a military center is indicated by events in the later part of Stilicho's career as *magister militum*: in 405 he defeated an incursion of the Goths with an army stationed at Pavia, and the mutiny in 408 that led to his downfall was centered in Pavia among soldiers at the military hospital.

Pavia was sacked twice in the later fifth century: in 452 by the Huns under Attila and in 476 by Odovacar (Odoacer) during his revolt against the general Orestes and the young emperor Romulus Augustulus. The deposition of the last western Roman emperor may have passed virtually unnoticed, but the events had immediate implications for Pavia: Orestes chose to defend himself in Pavia, and as a consequence the city was captured and burned.

Odovacar's ten years of rule seem to have been relatively peaceful, but when the Ostrogoths entered Italy under Theodoric in 489 they were welcomed into both Pavia and Milan. Milan was soon reconquered by Odovacar's forces, however, and Theodoric retreated to the smaller and more defensible Pavia. The three-year siege that followed was notable for the reasonably peaceful cohabitation of Goths and Romans, thanks to the mediation of Pavia's bishop, Saint Epiphanius. Our knowledge of this period derives in large part from Epiphanius's life, written by Ennodius, one of his immediate successors as bishop of Pavia. The life emphasizes Epiphanius's efforts to negotiate ways of peaceful cohabitation between the local population and the various Germanic conquerors; he was particularly remembered for a series of successful embassies to the Germanic rulers. Modern scholars have understood Epiphanius's prominent role in regional affairs to

indicate not only his personal abilities but also the relative importance of Pavia among the cities of the province of Liguria.



Covered bridge, Pavia. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Pavia was one of the few cities of northern Italy where public building continued into the fifth century, owing to the Ostrogoths' royal patronage. Although Theodoric chose Ravenna for his capital, he made Pavia, like Verona, a subsidiary capital, building a palace (*palatium*) there as a residence and administrative center and restoring the city's walls, amphitheater, and baths. Pavia's river port was busy in this period and was surrounded by warehouses storing supplies for the army.

Pavia's importance seems to have declined somewhat under the rule of Theodoric's daughter Amalasuntha, who preferred Milan, with its links to the Roman imperial past. After Ravenna fell to the Byzantine army in 540, however, the headquarters of the Gothic army was moved to Pavia, and the last Gothic kings were elected there before the Byzantine reconquest in the 550s.

When the Lombards invaded northern Italy in 569, the Byzantine forces holding Pavia resisted them for three years. The Lombards eventually seized the city, and it remained an important garrison against Byzantine and Frankish attacks from the west, although there is no evidence that Pavia functioned as a capital in the early period of the

Lombard kingdom. Verona was a frequent residence of the early kings, and Agilulf and Theodelinda resided in Milan and Monza. At least in part as a reaction to the Romanizing tendencies of these rulers, however, subsequent kings gave more attention to Pavia. It was in Pavia that Rothari (r. 636-652) issued his code of Lombard law in 643, and there that he chose to be buried. After Rothari eliminated the Byzantine presence in the province of Liguria, Pavia became still more important as a node of communications between the Po valley and Tuscany, on which the Lombard kingdom was increasingly focused. The Ostrogothic palace continued to serve as a center for the administration of the Lombard royal fisc and the chancery.

When the Lombards first arrived in Pavia in the late sixth century, they seem to have settled in the northeastern corner of the city near the palace, where the Arian cathedral was also located. Catholic worship was probably centered in the extramural basilicas of San Gervasio e Protasio (where the relics of the first bishop, San Siro, were located) and Santi Nazario e Celso to the northwest of the city.

The second half of the seventh century saw a wave of new church building in Pavia. Especially after the official conversion of the Lombards from Arianism under Perctarit (661-662, 672-688) and Cunipert (679-700), many of these churches were royal foundations which served as burial sites for the kings. The most famous of Pavia's monasteries, San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, was founded or reendowed by King Luitprand c. 723, when he brought the relics of Saint Augustine from Sardinia to be housed there with the body of Severinus Boethius, who had been executed in Pavia under Theodoric in 525; Luitprand was subsequently buried in the church.

The transfer of the cathedral to its present site near the center of the city may also date from this period: it may have been moved under Bishop Damianus (r. 680-711) in the context of the official conversion of the Lombards, although some scholars have argued that Pavia already had an intramural cathedral on that site in the fifth century. The church of Santa Maria del Popolo, which was later connected to Santo Stefano as half of the "double cathedral," was built or enlarged by a private individual during the reign of Liutprand (712-744).



visconti Castle, Pavia. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Some evidence indicates that in Lombard Pavia, as in other cities during this period, settlement became less dense, as more land within the city was given over to agriculture. In Pavia, however, this ruralization of the urban space was accompanied by an increase in the extent of the built-up area, as streets immediately within the walls were gradually used as building sites. The two trends may have offset each other, and consequently the general picture of a sharp decline in population in the Italian towns in this period may not be applicable to Pavia. Likewise, the survival of the Roman street plan and the sewer system suggests that some maintenance was carried out, and that the idea of public rights-of-way and urban amenities was not lost. Indeed, most of the buildings in Pavia which do cut across public streets are royal foundations, suggesting that the rights over roadways remained in royal control.

The fall of the Lombard kingdom to Charlemagne has been seen as the end of the period of Pavia's greatest importance as a capital city. Recently, however, it has been suggested that Pavia's influence may have been greatest in the later ninth century and the early tenth century. That Charlemagne's reign in Italy was dated from his entry into Pavia in 774 indicates the importance the city had acquired as the capital of the Lombard kingdom. The early Carolingian kings of Italy, however, favored Milan as a residence, as the location of their principal

mint, and as a burial place. Nevertheless, there is no reason to think that Pavia lost the status of a capital. Lothair I (Lothar, 817-855) and Louis II (r. 844-875) enhanced Pavia's prestige, and both kings resided there frequently during certain periods of their reigns. The translation—which may have taken place at this period—of the relics of Pavia's first bishop, San Siro, from the extramural church of Santi Gervasio e Protasio to the cathedral church of Santo Stefano in the center of the city has also been explained as part of a "revalorization" of the city's status as capital. A capitulary issued by Lothair in 825 required students from a large area of northern Italy to attend the school at Pavia: the area included most of modern Lombardy and Piedmont as well as Genoa. The presence of Dungal—an Irish monk and teacher—in Pavia during these years also enhanced the city's reputation for scholarship.

The fifty years after Louis II's death saw intense competition for the kingdom of Italy, and possession of the kingdom turned largely on the occupation of Pavia and especially of the palace. Indeed, some scholars describe the later part of this period as a series of "races for the capital" by weak kings seeking the political legitimacy that Pavia alone could give them.

The disorder of these times reached its height in 924, when the city was burned by the Magyars, who may have begun their siege on the orders of Berengar I. Most of the early medieval descriptions of the city were written to lament its destruction. Liudprand of Cremona, for example, spoke of molten rivers of precious metals running into the sewers. The magnitude of destruction is suggested by the fact that only one of Pavia's monasteries preserves any documents from before the fire. The city seems, however, to have recovered rapidly: Rudolf of Burgundy was able to stay in Pavia in August 924, and the royal mint continued to function. Hugh of Provence (r. 926-947) rebuilt the palace, confirmed the goods and privileges of several monasteries, and attracted to his court men of religion and learning like Odo of Cluny.

For a time after the death of Hugh's son Lothar (d. 950), power alternated between Berengar II and Otto I, who had made his first claim to rule the kingdom of Italy in 951. After 967, Otto consolidated his power in Italy and began to hold imperial assemblies at Ravenna: he divided his time in Italy between Ravenna and Pavia, and the connection between the two cities along the Po once again became of

primary importance. Pavia has been described as the "capital of the queens" in the period following Otto's death in 983, since both Otto I's widow Adelaide and Otto II's wife Theophano often resided in the city and took considerable interest in the financial functions of the palace. Adelaide, in particular, was also active in reforming Pavia's monasteries in conjunction with the abbots of Cluny Maiolus and Odilo.

Politically, Pavia's importance in the ninth and tenth centuries was centered in the palace; it, and not the city, was the true capital of the kingdom of Italy. The palace served as the royal residence, the center of the administration of justice, the seat of the chancery, the center of the financial organization of the kingdom, and the site of warehouses and workshops. Nevertheless, the palace and the city were closely connected as regards economic activity, especially since the number of people associated with the palace must have made Pavia an unusually large center of consumption. For example, *Honorantie civitatis Papie*, a text that describes the financial workings of the palace probably in the later tenth century, gives the size of Pavia's fishing fleet (excluding the king's own fishermen) as sixty ships. From at least the tenth century, there were many water mills. Finally, it has been calculated that the mint would have produced about 23,000 *denarii* a year in the tenth and eleventh centuries; thanks to its consistently high quality, Pavia's money was used throughout the peninsula until the twelfth century.

In addition to being an important local and regional market, Pavia was also a major market for luxury goods. Its river port was extensive and busy, and the city lay on the main road between France and Rome. Traders from Venice, Amalfi, and Salerno brought fine eastern fabrics, spices, cosmetics, worked ivory, and precious stones, while Anglo-Saxons brought northern European products—dogs, lances and swords, skins, slaves, and horses.

Of Pavia's citizenry in this period we know relatively little. The most visible group are the judges and notaries who worked out of the palace and whose culture and wealth seem to have been substantial. Two judges, for example, led a failed revolt against Hugh of Provence c. 927; and in the early eleventh century, Cunibert, also a judge, became the count of the palace. Cunibert's son was later able to combine the office with the comital offices of Pavia and Lomello, and all three offices became hereditary in the family. The influence of this group is also

suggested by the fact that of the many new churches founded in the Ottonian period, at least two were endowed by judges.

The bishops of Pavia were exempt from the control of the archbishop of Milan and enjoyed the right of consecration by the pope, privileges which may date back to the seventh century and the conversion of Pavia's last Arian bishop. Despite these prerogatives, they found it difficult to expand their influence in the city or the diocese because of the frequent presence of the king, the number and power of local exempt monasteries, and the proximity of the archbishopric of Milan. Even Bishop Peter III (r. 966-983), whose service as archchancellor of Italy under Otto II led him eventually to become Pope John XIV, was largely unsuccessful in increasing his influence over the royal monasteries.

Pavia remained a small city (the Roman wall contained only about 20-25 hectares, or 55 acres), although suburbs began to develop during the later tenth century. The city was characterized by a relatively high proportion of ecclesiastical buildings, since many bishoprics and important monasteries maintained properties there, probably for convenience in attending imperial assemblies and to participate in the city's economic life. The early eleventh century saw the first of the private towers that would become characteristic of the later city; also dating from this period is the oldest part of the Torre Civica, which stood beside the cathedral as a symbol of civic identity until its collapse in 1989.

After Otto III's death in 1002, the succession in the kingdom of Italy was again contested, and Pavia saw two coronations in the church of San Michele Maggiore—that of Arduin in 1002 and that of Henry II in 1004. Henry's coronation was followed by a revolt of the Pavians, the causes and aims of which are obscure. In 1024, news of Henry's death reached Pavia: the citizens then systematically destroyed the palace, obliterating it so thoroughly that its exact location remains a matter for scholarly debate. The meaning of the action does not seem to have been anti-imperial; it was perhaps aimed rather at removing or loosening the economic control that the palace officials exercised over the city. Thus, Pavian ambassadors were sent in the usual way to the new king Conrad II, although two years of war followed, before peace could be made between the city and the emperor.

The events of the year 1024 represent a largely symbolic break in the history of Pavia. Although the palace was never rebuilt, little seems to have changed in either the economic life or the local government of the city. By 1024, the counts of the palace had already transferred their center to the nearby town of Lomello, yet they seem to have continued to govern Pavia; they retained a residence (*domus*) in the city until the mid-twelfth century. There is some evidence that the officials of the royal palace continued to exercise their functions, and the continued strength of Pavia's coinage suggests continued royal oversight. Some of the functions of the palace may have been relocated to San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro: *placita* (judicial assemblies) were held there, and the monastery had a school which may have continued the palace school. The emperors may have used the monastery as a residence, although, with the exception of Henry IV, they stayed in Pavia less and less often. The power of Pavia's bishops during this period is difficult to assess: unlike other contemporary bishops, they never controlled the city, but they have been described as an important "reference point" in urban affairs; they may have served, for example, as presidents of the *placita*.

Pavia's greatest importance in this period lay in the legal activity of its judges and teachers. Lanfranc of Bee (later archbishop of Canterbury) probably received his early training in the liberal arts and law in Pavia before his departure for France c. 1030. Especially in the last third of the eleventh century, there is evidence of a flourishing legal culture in Pavia, although whether there was an actual school that specialized in teaching law is debated.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Pavia's generally pro-imperial stance affected its history in important ways. Frederick I Barbarossa received the crown of the Lombard kingdom in the church of San Michele Maggiore in 1155. In a diploma of 1164, he granted Pavia extensive rights of self-government, including the free election of the city's consuls. This diploma sanctioned the city's existing laws and customs, gave the city control over a large territory, and removed the city entirely from the jurisdiction of the count palatine. Thus, Pavia gained through its alliance with the empire a degree of freedom from imperial control which the other Lombard cities would not obtain until the aftermath of the peace of Constance twenty years later.

During this period, Pavia was governed by consuls and by a council

of 150 members. A *podestà* appears first in 1179 and had replaced the consuls by the early thirteenth century. In 1198, the consuls took over the *domus* of the count palatine in the episcopal palace and rebuilt it as the town hall (*broletto*).

The twelfth century also saw a wave of rebuilding of the city's churches. San Michele Maggiore (the church in which Frederick I and many previous kings of the Italian kingdom had been crowned) was rebuilt in Lombard Romanesque style, with a characteristic flat, screenlike facade. San Michele was probably influenced by Sant'Ambrogio in Milan and in turn became a model for other Pavian churches rebuilt during this period, including San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro and the twin cathedral churches of Santo Stefano and Santa Maria del Popolo.

Pavia maintained its pro-imperial stance into the thirteenth century, and in 1219 the commune's privileges were confirmed by Frederick II. Attitudes toward the empire also affected Pavia's internal politics. From the later twelfth century, the *popolo* had played an increasing role in the city's government; by the later thirteenth century, separate organizations of the *popolo*, the nobles, and the notaries had formed, each with its own *podestà*. The *popolo* and the notaries were closely associated, and when the nobles split in the 1260s over Conradin's attempt to claim the imperial succession, the pro-imperial faction associated itself with these two groups. It has been argued, however, that these divisions did not result in the political dominance of the *popolo* and its associated organizations; instead, the commune continued to be ruled by the *podestà*, the council of *credendarii*, and (in the later part of the century) a smaller council of *sapientes*. The powers of the *podestà* of the individual organizations, although potentially extensive, continued to be delegated to them by the communal council.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries also saw some important changes in the economic life of the city. Pavia's coinage declined into a purely communal currency, perhaps reflecting the decline of imperial control over the mint. At the same time, Genoa began to replace Venice as the city's major trading partner; to ensure tighter control of trade, Pavia developed its own road across the Apennines to Genoa in the thirteenth century. Trade between Genoa and Milan also increased, since Milan relied on Genoa for raw materials for its thriving cloth

industry. This economic rivalry between Pavia and Milan may have been one reason for Milan's continued attempts to bring Pavia under its domination in the fourteenth century.

In the later thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century, regional alliances—loosely organized around pro-imperial sentiments on the one hand, and pro-papal, pro-Angevin sentiments on the other—also shaped Pavia's political life. In 1254, Pavia joined a number of other Lombard cities under the signory of Ubertus Pellavicino. In the 1270s, the marquis of Monferrato became "defender" of Pavia, again bringing Pavia into a larger regional grouping of cities over which he exercised various degrees of authority. Both of these experiments kept Pavia in the sphere of pro-imperial alliances. In the early fourteenth century, however, Pavia was ruled by Count Filippone de Langosco, an important figure in the pro-papal politics of the region. This change in Pavia's political orientation was a further cause for enmity with the generally pro-imperial Visconti family of Milan.

In 1315, Pavia was attacked and captured by its own exiles in conjunction with Galeazzo Visconti. Luchino Visconti served as *podestà* for four years; subsequently we know little about the precise relationship between Pavia and the Visconti. Opicino de Canistris, author of a description of Pavia that is a major source for this period, speaks of a "lord" (*dominus generalis*) placed over the older communal institutions. Chroniclers from other cities describe some type of alliance between Pavia and the Visconti or mention Pavia as a tributary, but the information is scarce and contradictory. Pavia seems to have used the descent of Emperor Lewis (Louis, Ludwig) of Bavaria into Italy in 1329 to move away from any direct control by the Visconti, and the city later maintained close connections with the marquis of Monferrato.

In the years between the capture of Pavia in 1315 and its final fall to the Visconti in 1359, Opicino's vivid description of the city shows us that it was prosperous, though small (modern estimates place the population at 20,000 in the mid-thirteenth century). In this work, which Opicino wrote in exile in Avignon during the last years of the commune's independent existence, the city is structured physically by its three concentric rings of walls, and from a distance the private towers form an impressive skyline. The citizens' lives center on the piazza in front of the cathedral, where business is transacted; the city's

small size allows the citizens to meet one another daily.

A war between Milan and Monferrato led the Visconti to besiege Pavia in 1356; following a peace in 1358, the war was renewed, and Pavia fell definitively to Galeazzo II in 1359. Jacopo Bussolaro, an Augustinian friar who was probably a native of Pavia, led the defense of the city. His preaching called for the moral reform of the citizens and for liberty from the tyranny of the Beccaria family that ruled Pavia. Invoking antique models, Bussolaro rallied the Pavians to expel the Beccaria, and then to resist the Visconti; he became, for the Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani, the model of the power of eloquence to overcome the mighty.

The takeover by the Visconti in 1359 brought significant changes in government. Galeazzo Visconti now selected the major officials, including a vicar-general, a *podestà*, a referendary to oversee financial matters, and a magistrate for water rights and roads. At the civic level, a *consiglio di provvisione* with twelve members effectively governed the city, and a *consiglio generale* with 200 members met when summoned by the prince to discuss matters of general concern to the commune. Both councils were composed equally of Guelfs and Ghibellines.

Under the Visconti, Pavia became an important cultural center. Galeazzo obtained imperial authority to establish a university there in 1361 and ordered that it serve as the place of higher learning for all residents of the Visconti domains. He resided frequently at the *castello*, and he invited Petrarch to Pavia in 1363. Petrarch lived in Pavia on and off between 1363 and 1369; he described the city in a letter to Boccaccio in 1365, discussing its history and praising its location and climate.

The Visconti signory also brought about important changes in the physical structure of the city. A large *piazza* was opened up near the center of the city, cutting across the main east-west artery, the ancient Roman *decumanus*, and closed at the south end by the *broletto*. This pulled the city's center away from the cathedral, back toward the central crossing of the two main streets, lessening the importance of the *piazza* in front of the cathedral, which had been for Opicino the main gathering place of the citizens. The north-south street that ran to the river (the Roman *cardo*) was widened and straightened; it joined the covered bridge over the Ticino, which had been rebuilt in 1351-1355, to Galeazzo's magnificent new *castello* on the northern edge of the city. In

contrast to Opicino's early fourteenth-century description of Pavia as a set of concentric circles, a fresco painted in the early sixteenth century depicts a densely inhabited rectangular space: the tall family towers blend into the background; and the image is dominated by the river, the bridge, and the *castello*, joined along a central axis by a sharply delineated roadway, the *strada nuova*, cutting through the city's center.

See also Adelaide; Amalasuntha; Arduin of Ivrea; Berengar II; Boethius; Conrad II; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Henry II, Saint and Emperor; Hugh of Aries; Liutprand; Lombards; Lothar I; Louis II, Emperor; Milan; Opicino de Canistris; Ostrogoths; Otto I; Otto II; Petrarca, Francesco; Ravenna; Rothari; Rudolf II of Burgundy; Theodoric; Visconti Family

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Pazzi Family

There were two unrelated Pazzi lineages in the city and countryside (*contado*) of Florence: the Pazzi of the Arno valley between Florence and Arezzo (Pazzi del Valdarno) and the urban Pazzi. The former were among the most powerful Ghibelline nobles of the Florentine countryside. Emperors Henry VI and Frederick I had both identified them as vassals of the Guidi counts. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Pazzi del Valdarno and the Ubertini resisted Florence's

political and military expansion into the Arno valley. Their castles became refuges for Florentine exiles, and they often allied with the Aretines against Florence. In the Florentine ordinances of justice of 1293, they appeared among the magnates of the *contado* excluded from participation in the highest political offices. In 1296, the Florentines established two new settlements—San Giovanni Valdarno and Castelfranco di Sopra—to protect the city from the Pazzi del Valdarno, the Ubertini, and the Aretines. Like other Ghibelline lineages, the Pazzi were allies of the White Guelfs of Florence.

Like the Cavalcanti, Donati, Tosinghi, Adimari, and Buondelmonti, the Pazzi of the city were originally members of the traditional Guelf aristocracy. In the first half of the thirteenth century, they formed a *consorteria* with another Guelf lineage, the Donati. Along with the Visdomini and Tosinghi, these Pazzi sided with the Donati in their feud with the Adimari and their allies at the end of the thirteenth century. Several Pazzi were inscribed in the money changers' guild (*cambio*) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Pazzino dei Pazzi and his relatives originally sided with Corso Donati and the Blacks against the Cerchi in the opening stages of the conflict between the Blacks and Whites in 1300. However, in 1303 Pazzino, Rosso della Tosa, and Geri Spini eventually broke with Corso over the distribution of offices and favors within the city.

See also Florence; Ghibelline; Guelfs; Ordinances of Justice

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Peasants

In a medieval European context, peasants are the people without history. At best, most texts caricature them as the humble *laboratores*, as in the classic tripartite model of "those who pray, those who fight, and those who work." As a result, little real understanding of peasants'

beliefs and cultural customs can now be had. Sympathy and even recognition are therefore difficult, particularly because Latin writers used an array of other names for peasants: *rusticus*, *paganus*, *illiteratus*, *colonus*, *servus*, and *aldius* could all mean "peasant" in one context and some other social type in another. And since there is no reason to assume that the meanings of words remained at all constant during the medieval period, any attempt to trace peasant history over a millennium is likely to be difficult and unavoidably impressionistic. Take, for example, the word *colonus*, which historians have found tricky: although it could clearly mean peasant in late Roman and medieval documents, it is also equated with *servus* (normally slave or serf) in an edict of Theodoric the Ostrogoth and appears as *coloni liberi* and *coloni servi* in some eighth-century charters. So a study of words alone will not get us very far toward even a simple definition of the medieval Italian peasant. For the purposes of this entry, we can accept Crone's definition of peasants as "rural cultivators whose surplus was forcibly transferred to a dominant group of rulers" (1989). However, even an ostensibly simple statement such as this is problematic, immediately raising issues about the crucial importance of subsistence rather than surplus to peasants, degrees of freedom and unfreedom within the rural population, and the supposed existence of the "free peasant farmer." What follows concentrates on those areas of medieval Italian society where historians have explicitly discovered peasants (*contadini* in Italian): essentially the structures of agricultural production and rural life, the development of communities of peasants, and the forms of oppression suffered by the rural population.

Between c. A.D. 200 and 600, the classic estates of the Roman countryside based on large gangs of slaves for their workforce disappeared as, by some process which is little understood, slaves were "freed" to become serfs or peasants. It may be that the plagues and wars of the sixth and seventh centuries made this change to a different type of rural economy possible. The devastations of the countryside must have encouraged a move to more subsistence production based on smaller estates or even single peasant households. Certainly, as the long-distance trading networks that had supplied the great Roman cities broke down, there was less need for intensive cash-crop production of the sort suited to slave labor. The emergence of the

"peasant household" has preoccupied many historians and requires specific discussion, as it remained the basic unit of rural production throughout the Middle Ages in Italy.

Little is known about the material character of peasant dwellings in Italy, because archaeological investigation into them is just beginning. Most work has concentrated on the ninth and tenth centuries; and, predictably, where there is information, it shows peasant homes as materially impoverished. Galetti (1983) has shown that the typical pattern across the Po valley was a house, courtyard, kitchen garden, and associated land. Sizes varied but tended to be small. Households all over Italy usually had a mean size of four or five persons; i.e., it can be assumed that most consisted of a single nuclear family. Some were larger, as brothers and their families sometimes lived together or widows lived with their children. Here, as elsewhere in Europe, "polyptychs"—inventories of landed properties carried out by great monastic houses in the ninth and tenth centuries—provide the most explicit evidence about peasant family structure. In Italy, the most useful polyptychs are those of San Colombano at Bobbio, Santa Giulia at Brescia, and San Salvatore at Farfa. Ring (1972) has found that at Farfa most peasant families practiced partible inheritance: the family property was passed from father to all children, especially the males. Occasionally brothers and other kinsmen held land jointly. However, even these are at best very partial records covering simply the monastic estates, and we usually have little way of telling if the settlement and social patterns found there had wider currency. These compact households seem to have been well-suited to subsistence production, but in fact their role within the rural economy was rather more complicated than that.

The first complication concerns their occurrence across the rural landscape as a whole: that is, were they gathered into nucleated settlements or more dispersed over the land? In general, nucleated settlement was the norm in the medieval Italian countryside. Peasant households were grouped into hamlets or villages, often focused on a church or castle. In central Italy, many such settlements were on fortified hilltops, particularly after the deliberate transference of settlements from the plains to the hills—a process essentially of the late ninth and tenth centuries known by the shorthand term

incastellamento. Nucleation could result in cooperation among peasants in communal activities, but also in easy domination of the peasant community by the local lord. Dispersed settlement was more common in mountain areas, for straightforward topographical reasons; thus these areas tended to be less amenable to practical lordly domination.

The second complication concerns the relationship between these supposedly self-sufficient peasant households and the networks of estates that we also find in the documents. How did the peasant *casa* fit within the lord's *Curtis*? Here we arrive at the crux of peasant life in the medieval period. There appear to have been very few societies indeed where peasants were truly free of institutionalized obligations to the powerful, such as periodic labor service on estates (*corvées*), the provision of rents in kind or cash, and the return of tithe. The success with which lords dominated their peasants is a key to understanding the Italian Middle Ages, for on this the survival of a complex society rested. In particular, the extraction of surplus from the peasantry formed the basic income of lords and, to an extent, determined the status of slave, serf, and "free" peasant. Most of this surplus went unrecorded, but we can assume that it was common. We do know, from the records of the great monasteries, that wide-ranging demands were made on peasants; these demands were sometimes written down (especially in the later Middle Ages) but often remained simply customary. It is in these obligations that the differing social positions of "peasants" are most visible. Labor service obligations varied widely. In general they were fairly light in Italy, confined to a few days of work for the lord each year, usually at harvest time. Peasants could be involved in cultivation (planting, weeding, pruning), harvesting (especially threshing), or transportation. However, in some parts of the Po valley such obligations were more intense, especially on the great monastic estates of Nonantola and Bobbio. Transport obligations especially could involve travel over considerable distances and were often the subject of *libellus* records (written agricultural contracts) in monastic archives. For example, in a charter of 897, the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio at Milan demanded that one of its tenants living in Bozzolo (in the Modenese) take his annual food render all the way to the village of Cavenago, where the monastery had a *dispentium*, some 60 miles (100 kilometers) away to the west. Therefore, transport

obligations were at times resisted; indeed, they seem to have occasioned complaints that this was the work of slaves (*servi*). In some places, obligations may have been institutionalized on a regular, even weekly basis; for example, Andreolli (1983) has noticed this in the 760s at Pistoia and Monza. The reason, of course, may have had to do not with agriculture as such but rather with ensuring effective political domination.

If the peasant was able to produce a surplus, there was a chance that some would be left over for the peasant himself to dispose of outside of the estate system: i.e., at a local market. Whether peasants made use of local markets is most problematic in the early Middle Ages, when the evidence for markets themselves is hardly common. The vitality of smallholders' initiatives, such as land clearance, has been stressed by Davies (1988) and Dockès (1984) with reference to French examples as early as the mid-ninth century. But Duby (1974) has taken the concept of "peasant gains" as most characteristic of the period after 1000. It seems fairly certain that around the end of the tenth century, many peasants began to escape from the confines of the great manors. In the great leases of that period, we begin to read of vacant plots, labor shortages, and the flight of dependents to the flourishing towns—not everywhere, of course, but mostly in the north and especially near Pavia and Milan. The reason for these developments is unclear. Partly, it was a need to find money rents, which were increasingly demanded by lords instead of rents in kind. Possibly, some peasant families managed to profit from such transactions, move into the city, and thus escape peasant status. But for those left behind, the pressures exerted by lords were greater.

Simple exploitation of peasants by lords was one impetus for change. Another was the conflict between peasant and lord on which Marx placed such weight. This becomes most visible in the later Middle Ages in Italy in the form of the rural communes and rebellions, which were essentially caused by this conflict. To understand this properly, we have to go back to the beginning of the Middle Ages. At that time, most peasants did not live in isolation: as has been seen, they tended to live in communities, where some communal agricultural activities were practiced. In many areas, at some point in the early medieval period there is some reference to communal fields or pasture, fields belonging

to the village. But it is unclear if these were actually owned in common by the villagers. Boggetti (1978) and others believed strongly in the existence of the community of the village, constituted socially and legally as well as agriculturally from before the Roman period, a notion which recent scholars have attacked as anachronistic. Not until the ninth century can we sometimes see the local community in action against outsiders, notably when it was under threat from lordly demands perceived as unreasonable. The classic conflict of lord and peasant is illustrated by two instances of complaints by peasants living on estates owned by the monasteries of San Vincenzo al Volturno and Sant'Ambrogio at Milan. In both cases, labor services were at issue, and it is clear that both monasteries were trying to impose increased demands, which were resisted by the peasants (referred to as *servi*) on the grounds of customary practice. Between 779 and 872, there were a series of court cases between the monastery of San Vincenzo and the inhabitants of the village of Carapelle (Valle Trita in the Abruzzi). Wickham (1981, 1982, 1984, 1989) has concluded that as a result of the prolonged resistance of the locals to monastic aggression, feudal control was imposed over previously free peasants. In the case of Sant'Ambrogio, the peasants of Limonta (an estate near Lake Como) had a long dispute with the monastery which resulted in the production of a written charter recording their precise, increased obligations. After this we never hear of the Limonta peasants in such a context again.

Such events probably paved the way for the emergence of rural communes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, periods for which there is much better evidence. Communes helped to define the collective rights of the peasant community and to run the village in a basically consensual fashion (although the richer peasants took the lead). The result was often fierce conflict with local lords who refused to give up political control over the rural population. The peasant rising near Parma in 1385 was the beginning of numerous rebellions in the fifteenth century, directed against unjust taxation and lordly misgovernment.

In the period before 1000, political power over peasants had been very much the concern of the highest lords of all: kings. Peasants were all too often caught between the demands of the state and their immediate lords. The Carolingian capitularies are preoccupied with the

public obligations of free men, the *arimanni*. The *arimannus* would not have been a typical peasant—only the richest would have been able to afford the armor required in the laws—but the monarchs' concern came about because local lords were in general deemed to be oppressing the poor. With the collapse of royal power c. 1000, there was little to protect the weak from the castle-owning *domini*; as a result, feudal powers (of command) came increasingly to be exercised over the peasantry. Peasants' access to public courts declined, and increasingly they were subject to judicial oppression by local gentry. This marked the start of the decline of the peasantry, which can be observed all over Italy in the later Middle Ages.

For some peasants, the thirteenth century saw the start of a better life: real land ownership, different work (such as dock labor), and of course the consolidation of collective rights. But others lost out, becoming leaseholders or simply traveling wage laborers (as is well evidenced in the south from the twelfth century on). Divisive hierarchies began to develop within peasant society, and the downtrodden became the butt of refined literature. In some ways the "golden age" for the Italian peasants was the period between the end of the Roman empire and the ninth century, when they had few centralized taxes to pay and more surplus to keep and were subjected only to as yet underdeveloped powers of local justice. Afterward, "the normal life of grinding extortion for the peasant classes" (Wickham 1984) returned.

See also Agriculture; Revenues

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Il pecorone (*The Big Sheep, The Big Booby*) was written in the latter half of the fourteenth century by *ser* Giovanni Fiorentino, about whom we know very little. The preface dates the beginning of the work to 1378, but events referred to in the stories occurred as late as 1385; thus the book was probably compiled over a number of years. A poem at the beginning, possibly also by *ser* Giovanni, claims that the author knows nothing about writing books; and indeed the style is plain.

The framing narrative concerns a beautiful, honest nun of Forlì and a young man from a good family who becomes chaplain to the convent in order to be near her. Although these two are in love with each other, they chastely spend their time together telling each other a story apiece for twenty-five days. The monk's name, Aurette, may be an anagram for *auttore*, "author," especially as the author claims at the end to have been present on many of the occasions. As in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, each day ends with a song (*ballata*); the freshness and charm of these twenty-five songs have generally won more praise than the prose.

The tales combine stories of love and fantasy (of which the best-known became a source for *The Merchant of Venice*) with episodes of Roman and Florentine history. More than thirty tales toward the end of the book are taken directly from Giovanni Villani's chronicles of Florence. The final tale is a bawdy parody of the frame story, which is left unresolved.

The collection was recopied during the fifteenth century and was first printed in Milan in 1558. It has been reprinted a few times during every century since then.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Italian Prose; Novella

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Pegolotti, Francesco di Balduccio

Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti (born c. 1280s) was a Florentine factor for the great Bardi banking house in the first half of the fourteenth century, until its failure in 1347. His name appears in 1310 in the firm's payroll for the branch in Florence, at a rate which suggests that he already had considerable experience. His work was rewarded with promotions to positions of greater importance. In 1315, he negotiated trade rights for Florentines in Antwerp. From 1318 to 1321, as director of the firm's English office, he had duties that included financial transactions to help finance the English king, private business, and transferral of the tithes collected in England to the papal curia. Pegolotti next moved to Cyprus, where he remained until 1329; again, his job involved diplomacy, handling papal monies, and handling monies for individual merchants. He returned to Florence in order to hold civic office but then moved back to the east by 1335. In 1340, he returned again to Florence, for the last time. The last known mention of him is in 1347, when he was one of the civic officials overseeing the liquidation of the assets of the bankrupt Bardi firm.

Pegolotti is best known not for his service to the Bardi but for the compilation of his observations on trade now known as *La pratica della mercatura*. The oldest known manuscript, from 1472, is a copy made by Filippo di Niccolao Frescobaldi in the Riccardian Library in

Florence. The manuscript has evident inaccuracies, which can be attributed to the copyist; these include misreadings that arose when the copyist was trying to expand the original abbreviations, and chapters that are out of place. Internal evidence, such as the mention of current kings, helps to show that the material in the *Practica* was collected throughout Pegolotti's career with the Bardi, and also that it was not written down all at one time.

The *Practica* is one of a "genre" of documents called merchant manuals. It is by far the best-known because historians have used Pegolotti's discussion of the route to Cathay as proof that Europeans had knowledge of and easy access to the Silk Road. The data come from Pegolotti's experience and from documents he collected that had something to do with his work—such as a list of brokerage fees charged in Pisa, quoted from the *Breve dell' Ordine del Mare* of 1323. The section on Cathay is almost certainly based on information Pegolotti collected rather than on personal experience. The manual contains information on conversions for weights, measures, and currencies between various places, as well as discussions of other topics such as the steps involved in producing the most important commodities of a particular region and the expenses involved in producing coins. The *Practica* is among the earliest known merchant manuals, but it is possible that Pegolotti borrowed some of his material from still earlier manuals, just as later manuals would borrow from his. This type of book probably functioned as an exemplar to teach apprentices how international trade worked, not as a reference for absolute values or information,

See also **Banks and Banking; Bardi Family**

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Pelagius and Pelagianism

In the late fourth century, Christianity was no longer the religion of a persecuted minority; it was the religion of the empire. One of the main issues that faced the church was to agree on the correct way to believe and practice the Christian faith. A pious reformer, Pelagius (c. 354-after 418), precipitated a theological crisis when he tried to reform Christian behavior.

Pelagius was born in Britain. Around 380, he went to Rome, where he tried to improve the conduct of complacent Christians, urging them to lead more virtuous lives. Pelagius acquired a reputation for asceticism and a large following. In Rome, he became acquainted with two men—Celestius and Rufinus the Syrian—who joined him in his belief that Christians had the capacity, and thus the obligation, to avoid sin.

At the same time, Augustine was arguing that fallen humanity was incapable of virtue without continuing help from God in the form of divine grace. Between 402 and 405, Pelagius disagreed with this view of grace, as expressed in Book 10 of Augustine's *Confessions*, and wrote several tracts (*On the Trinity*, *Extracts*, and *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*) opposing it. Pelagius's works (seven complete tracts and letters survive) established a controversy which was to engage Augustine for the rest of his life and which involved Jerome, two popes, an emperor, and the Roman people.

The core of the debate was how to achieve salvation: Pelagius stressed free will, claiming that people had the absolute freedom to choose good or evil. According to Pelagius, God's grace had been expressed historically: by his creation; by his revelation in the scriptures, which taught people to choose good; and by his promise of redemption—forgiveness of sins—through the crucifixion of Jesus. For Pelagius, God had done as much as was necessary; it remained for humanity to choose salvation. Augustine, on the other hand, believed that Adam's initial free choice had condemned all future generations to sinfulness. Adam's original sin was passed down physically from parent to child, and this inherited sinfulness had robbed humanity of its free choice. People were powerless to be virtuous and so were condemned to sin. Salvation lay only in God's power to grant grace to individuals to keep them from sin. Augustine saw grace as an ongoing gift that was necessary for the salvation of fallen humanity.

This profound difference between Augustine and Pelagius led to other disputes. Pelagians denied original sin, whereas Augustinians considered original sin central to the human experience. They also differed on the efficacy of infant baptism. Augustinians believed that baptism was crucial, to cleanse the infant from the inherited sin of Adam. Pelagius himself was noncommittal on this question, but other Pelagians, such as Celestius, denied the efficacy of infant baptism, since infants were not yet capable of exerting their free will to choose the good.

The debate was conducted by an exchange of treatises during the early fifth century, and ecclesiastical and public opinion wavered between the two positions. In 416, Pelagius and Celestius were condemned by North African councils, and Pope Innocent I upheld

these decisions by threatening to excommunicate the Pelagians unless they renounced their opinions. Innocent's successor Zosimus reversed the decision and remained ambivalent for a while.

In 418, Roman supporters of Pelagianism took matters into their own hands and rioted, attacking a retired official. This unrest brought Emperor Honorius into the conflict. He condemned the Pelagians and ordered Pelagius and Celestius to be banished from Rome. The Council of Carthage followed up with a series of canons against Pelagianism, and Pope Zosimus finally bowed to pressure and excommunicated Pelagius. Pelagius probably went to Egypt and soon afterward died there.

Eighteen Italian bishops, led by Julian of Eclanum, continued the Pelagian cause. They had been deposed for refusing to renounce their support of Pelagianism. Julian engaged in a vehement dialogue with the aging Augustine until Augustine's death in 430. In 431, the Council of Ephesus condemned the Pelagian position once again and confirmed the deposition of Julian and the other dissenting Italian bishops. Julian died in Sicily between 443 and 445.



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The fifth-century councils established the Augustinian position as orthodoxy. However, the Pelagian issue of the relationship between free will and grace continued to engage theologians through the Reformation and into the twentieth century.

See also Augustine, Saint

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Pepin (777-810), son of Charlemagne, was an important figure in the integration of northern Italy into the Frankish kingdom. He was named Carloman at birth but was renamed Pepin on the occasion of his baptism in 781 by Pope Hadrian I. At this same time, at his father's behest, Pepin was anointed and crowned by the pope as king of the Lombards, ruling over an Italian subkingdom.

Pepin's kingship was marked by some signs of autonomy. He presided over his own court; he summoned assemblies of magnates to deliberate on affairs of state; his officials carried out administrative functions, including the administration of justice under Lombard law; and he issued capitularies dealing with problems unique to his kingdom. Perhaps this appearance of autonomy was calculated to assuage the feeling of ethnic identity existing among the recently conquered Lombards. In reality, during Pepin's reign the main course of events in Italy was controlled by Charlemagne in the interests of pacifying his Italian subjects, extending his Italian holdings, and exercising his protectorship over the papacy and the papal state. Charlemagne controlled Italy through a variety of techniques, including especially the assignment of trusted agents to supervise Pepin's court, the appointment of Frankish magnates as counts and bishops in Italy, and the granting of landed benefices in Italy to Franks willing to settle there as royal vassals. To all of this Pepin acceded, apparently anxious to play a part in promoting the interests of the Carolingian dynasty. He figured most prominently in serving his father's cause as the leader of the military forces raised in his kingdom to join in the Frankish wars of expansion. Troops under his command were involved in campaigns against the Bavarians, the Avars, the Beneventans, and the Byzantines.

The existence of Italy as a quasi-independent entity within the larger Frankish empire was clearly recognized in the provisions made by Charlemagne in 806 to provide an inheritance for each of his three sons. This *divisio* provided that Pepin would inherit the kingdom of Italy, to which would be added Bavaria and southern Alemannia. Pepin did not live to enjoy his father's inheritance, but in 813 his own son, Bernard, was installed as king of the Italian subkingdom.

See also Charlemagne; Frankish Kingdom; Lombard Law

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Pepin III the Short

Pepin III (714-768), called "the Short" by later historians, played a key role in establishing the Carolingian family as the predominant force in the west. In 741 Pepin and his brother Carloman succeeded their father, Charles Martel, as joint holders of the office of mayor of the palace, an office that had been successfully exploited by Charles Martel (in 714-741) and his father, Pepin II of Herstal (in 687-714), to the point where they exercised real power at the expense of the Merovingian kings of the Franks whom they supposedly served. From 741 to 747 Pepin III and Carloman acted jointly to withstand threats to their position, especially from the dukes of Bavaria, Aquitaine, and Alemannia who were seeking to escape Frankish overlordship. They strengthened their ties with the church by supporting the missionary and reforming efforts of the Anglo-Saxon monk Boniface, acting in Francia under papal auspices.

In 747 Carloman withdrew from his office to become a monk. Pepin assumed sole power and soon decided to assume the royal office. To legitimize this bold act against the claims of the Merovingian dynasty,

he sought and received the approval of Pope Zacharias I (r. 741-752). In 751 Pepin deposed the last Merovingian king and had himself elected king by the Frankish magnates and anointed by a bishop, an innovation in Frankish history that gave a sacramental character to the royal office.

Pepin's accession to the royal office soon led to his involvement in Italian affairs. By the mid-eighth century a crisis had developed in Italy as a result of the decline of Byzantine power. The papacy, which had established control over the territory around Rome, was challenged by the Lombards, who in 751 seized Byzantine territories around Ravenna (called the Exarchate) and threatened Rome. Pope Stephen II (r. 752-757) turned to Pepin for protection and in late 753 traveled to Francia to negotiate with him. The result was a promise by Pepin to protect the pope and his Roman subjects and to restore to the papacy territories that Stephen claimed the Lombard had illegally seized. In return, Stephen reanointed Pepin and his sons and invested them with the title *patricius Romanorum*, which implied a role as protector of the Romans. Pepin made good his promise by conducting successful military campaigns against the Lombards in 755 and 756. He forced the Lombards to surrender to the papacy considerable territories legally belonging to the Byzantine empire. This "Donation of Pepin," coupled with the territory around Rome that the papacy already controlled, formed the basis of an independent papal state stretching across the Italian peninsula from Rome to Ravenna. During the remainder of his reign Pepin honored his role as protector of the papacy and the "republic of Rome" by using diplomatic means to restrain the Lombards.

As king of the Franks, Pepin was mainly concerned with solidifying and expanding the power and prestige of the royal office. He effectively used force to increase the Franks' control over Bavaria and Aquitaine and to ward off attacks by the pagan Saxons. He took the lead in promoting reform of the church, a role that gave substance to his claim to rule as an agent of God promoting the true faith. The expanding influence of the Franks in Italy and southern Gaul led to diplomatic exchanges with the Byzantine empire and the Abbasid caliphs of the Muslim world. By the end of his reign, the first Carolingian king of the Franks had expanded the position of his people to the status of a major power.

See also Byzantine Empire; Frankish Kingdom; Lombards; Papacy; Papal States; Stephen II, Pope

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Percivalle Doria

The poet Percivalle Doria (d. 1264), called *messer Prezivalle Dore* in Vatican Codex 3793, was descended from the illustrious Doria family of Genoa. Between 1228 and 1243, he held the position of *podestà* in Asti, Aries, Avignon, Parma, and Pavia, and in 1258 he was Manfred's official representative in the dukedom of Spoleto, the March of Ancona, and the Romagna province. Percivalle died during an attempt to cross the Nera River.

Chronologically, Percivalle is the last poet of the Sicilian school, and he is its northernmost exponent. He may also lay claim to being its only bilingual practitioner, as the author of two *canzoni* (*Come to giorno quand'è dal maitino* and *Amor m'à priso*) in the Sicilian medium and a *serventese* in Provençal.

See also Doria Family; Genoa; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Perugia

Perugia is situated on a high hill overlooking the valley of the Tiber River. It was an ancient Umbrian settlement which became, with Cortona and Arezzo, one of the leading Etruscan cities, one of the twelve *lucumoniae*. Perugia became involved with the Romans in the late fourth century B.C., and although it joined forces with other Italian cities against Rome, it was gradually drawn into Roman alliance. In particular, Perugia remained loyal to Rome during the war with Hannibal; and after the defeat of the Roman army by Hannibal at Lake Trasimene (21 July 217 B.C.), Perugia became a *municipium*. The massive ancient walls of the city, large sections of which are still visible, were constructed in the second century B.C. In the conflict between Octavian (the future Emperor Augustus) and Mark Antony, Perugia was destroyed, but it was subsequently rebuilt by its conqueror, Augustus, and renamed Augusta Perusia; thus Perugia entered into a period of prosperity in the Roman imperial age.

During the Ostrogothic wars of Justinian's reconquest, Perugia changed hands several times. According to legend, it was besieged and taken by Totila in 547, after heroic resistance by its bishop, Saint

Ercolano, who encouraged his fellow townspeople to valiant acts. Ercolano was martyred (decapitated) by the Ostrogoths, and his remains are kept in the altar of an eponymous octagonal church constructed on the site of his martyrdom.

With the coming of the Lombards, Perugia was made the seat of a duchy (592), but it was overshadowed by that of Spoleto. Perugia's Lombard identity was challenged by the Byzantine exarchate of Ravenna and the papal states. By the eleventh century, Perugia played a balancing role in the struggles among local cities, while maintaining good relations with both sides during the investiture controversy and even escaping the devastation visited on other cities of the area by the German forces under Frederick I Barbarossa in 1174.

In 1139, the first references to a municipal government under consuls appear, and there are further indications through the twelfth century of the development of Perugia's commune, whose rights were formally recognized in 1186 by Emperor Henry VI. In the last years of the twelfth century, Perugia subjugated numerous surrounding towns, including Città di Castello (1180), Gubbio (1183), and Assisi (1205). In a bull of 1198, Pope Innocent III confirmed the rights granted by the emperor and consolidated Perugia's strong ties to the papacy. On 16 July 1216, Innocent III died in Perugia, where the conclave to elect his successor, Honorius III, was held. Another conclave, with a decidedly different outcome, took place in 1305 after the death of Pope Benedict XI (7 July 1304). On this occasion, Bertrand de Got—the archbishop of Bordeaux from Gascony—was elected Pope Clement V (5 June 1305), and it was he who moved the papacy to Avignon.

In the early years of the thirteenth century, internal politics were torn by family rivalries and divided between loyalty to the papacy and affiliation with the city's guilds. In 1223, the papal legate Giovanni Colonna was sent by Honorius III to suppress internal unrest. With the election of Pope Gregory IX, the political situation in Perugia improved, and the city became a frequent place of refuge for popes (indeed, Gregory stayed there for two years, 1228-1230), even while continuing to cultivate good relations with the Holy Roman emperor.

With regard to civic government, Perugia was ruled by consuls (who were members of the nobility) from 1139 until 1214, when a foreign *podestà* was elected who displaced them. In 1255, the office of *capitano*

delpopolo (captain of the people) was established, and the person who held this office was in effect the financial controller of the commune, sharing power with the *podestà*. The late thirteenth century was characterized by a series of power struggles between magnate families and the *popolani* (common citizens), resulting in new laws that were generally against the magnates, and in the political exile of certain families. These changes in political institutions led to a transformation of the commune into a republic governed by trade guilds. In the late thirteenth century, Perugia was governed by a council of five men, the *consoli delle arti* ("consuls of the arts"), who were members of the trade guilds; this institution lasted from 1266 to 1303. In 1303, there was a serious division in the city between the major merchant guild (*popolo grasso*) and the smaller artisans (*popolo minuto*). Two families emerged as leaders of the two factions: the Baglioni for the *popolo minuto* and the degli Oddi for the *popolo grasso*. The body known as the "consuls of the arts" was replaced in 1303 with a priorate—ten priors, two per district of the city, with the majority coming from the minor guilds. A new office, the *gonfaloniere del popolo e delle arti* ("standard-bearer of the people and the guilds"), was established, and this person was in charge of the city. This form of government endured until the mid-sixteenth century.

By the mid-fourteenth century, Perugia had reached a high point in terms of population (35,000), wealth, and dominance in Umbria, and it continued to wage war with neighboring towns and extend its hegemony. These conflicts came to a climax at the battle of Torrita (1358), when the forces of Perugia defeated those of Siena. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, Perugia found itself caught between the expansionist policies of the Visconti and the efforts of the papacy, which had returned to Rome from Avignon, to reassert regional control. In 1376, the city rebelled against the oppressive policies of the papal vicar, Gerardo Dupuis, abbot of Monmaggiore, thereby participating in a more general series of insurrections in cities and towns throughout central Italy, known as the *guerra degli otto santi* ("war of the eight saints"), which had its origin in Florence. Perugia's reconciliation with the papacy in 1378 ushered in a period of troubled independence under a series of signorial regimes. A brief period of rule by Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1400-1402) was followed by continued periods of internal

factionalism leading to the emergence of the Baglioni family as a recurrently dominating force, in constant conflict with efforts by the papacy to reassert control. Not until the mid-sixteenth century (1540) under Paul III was papal government definitively established.



Church of Sant'Angelo, Perugia. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

There are impressive reminders of Perugia's ancient past in surviving Etruscan and Roman relics, of which the most famous are the massive city walls of travertine marble and the great Etruscan-Roman portal known as the Arch of Augustus. The earliest medieval church is Sant'Angelo, dedicated to Saint Michael Archangel; it was built in the fifth century on a circular plan with sixteen ancient Roman columns supporting the drum of the rotunda. In the latter tenth century (964), the basilica of San Pietro was built on the site of the first cathedral; it was commissioned by a Perugian monk of noble origin, Pietro Vincioli, who became its first abbot (San Pietro Abate). The basilica retains the architectonic features of its original construction, but it has undergone many changes in subsequent eras; indeed, its former convent now houses the faculty of agriculture of the University of Perugia (the original *studium* was founded in 1266 and was located in the present-day Piazza Matteotti). The nearby Romanesque church of San Costanzo is named for the first bishop of the city, who died a martyr and was buried there. The present church was rebuilt in 1205 and has a lovely

portal with sculptures in the architrave depicting a blessing Christ and the four evangelists. The church of San Domenico, begun in the early fourteenth century (1304–1305), contains the impressive Gothic funereal monument of Pope Benedict XI (who died in Perugia); this monument (1324-1325) is attributed to Giovanni Pisano but is more likely the work of a follower of Arnolfo di Cambio. The cathedral, in characteristic Gothic style and dedicated to Saint Lawrence, was begun in the mid-fourteenth century (1345) but was not completed until the fifteenth century.

Among the civic buildings, the most notable is the Palazzo dei Priori (or Palazzo Comunale), a formidable structure in Gothic style by the architects Giacomo di Servadio and Giovannello di Benvenuto. Its earliest elements date from the late thirteenth century (1293), but major additions were made over the next two centuries. In the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century, certain prominent guilds established their offices in a new wing of the Palazzo dei Priori: the Collegio della Mercanzia (merchants' guild, 1390) and the Collegio del Cambio (money changers' guild, 1457). The offices of the money changers' guild were decorated with frescoes by Perugino. In 1317, the commune entrusted Ambrogio Maitani (Lorenzo's brother) with the job of enlarging the Palazzo dei Priori over a period of twenty-nine years, to 1346. Under his direction, the main portal of the *palazzo*, on its longest side, that on Corso Vannucci, was constructed. Indeed, Ambrogio may have carved the figures of the three patron saints of Perugia—Lawrence, Costanzo, and Ercolano—in the lunette over the doorway, which also is richly decorated with allegorical figures and crests: these reliefs were perhaps executed by Gano da Siena (1340) or by Florentine followers of Andrea Pisano. Above the portal on the main facade opposite the cathedral and at the top of the ceremonial staircase are displayed trophies taken following the victory over Siena at Torrita (1358). These trophies—the chains and bars of the city gates of Siena—are mounted between the civic symbols of Perugia: the bronze figures (1274) of the griffin (for the city of Perugia) and the lion (for the Guelf party) that were cast by the *cire-perdue* process. This doorway leads into the magnificent and spacious Saia dei Notari ("room of the notaries"), formerly known as the Sala del Popolo ("room of the people"), which is used for popular assemblies; in this *sala*, the walls

and vaulting (eight massive arches) are decorated with the crests of the various *podestà* (from 1297 to 1424) and with scenes from legends, fables, and the Old and New Testaments. The decoration of the spandrels has been attributed to Pietro Cavallini and his followers.

In the square between the Palazzo dei Priori and the cathedral is Perugia's most famous monument, the Fontana Grande ("great fountain"). The general plan for the fountain was conceived by Fra Bevignate da Perugia, and the technical assistance for the water supply, brought via a new aboveground aqueduct, was provided by the hydraulic engineer Boninsegna from Venice. The specific design of the fountain is credited to Nicola Pisano and his son Giovanni. The fountain has two polygonal marble basins: the lower basin has twenty-five double relief panels; the upper basin, which is twelve-sided, has twenty-four statuettes. An inscription provides the names of the four artisans and the date of completion, 1278. The relief panels on the lower basin represent the "labors of the months" (with the respective signs of the zodiac), the liberal arts, scenes from the Bible, legends of Rome, and fables. The statuettes on the upper basin depict Old Testament figures, personifications of cities, saints, and contemporary historical figures. On a single support rising from the upper basin of the fountain is a small bronze basin containing a group of three female figures (caryatids), also in bronze cast by the *cire-perdue* process.

The rich artistic atmosphere that prevailed in Perugia from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries is not matched in the literary arena, where we find relatively few talented writers. Nevertheless, we do find in the early to mid-fourteenth century a small group of poets generally referred to as the *poeti perugini*—chief among them Marino Ceccoli, Cecco Nuccoli, and Neri Moscoli—who composed a goodly number of sonnets and a few *canzoni*. These compositions, while individually distinct, are related stylistically and thematically and generally belong to the popular comic genre. Most of this poetry treats elements of daily life and presents parodies of the more elevated courtly poetry of the *dolce stil nuovo*, but some of it does take up serious issues: religion, politics, and homosexual love. Thus, although Perugia was not a major center of literary production, it did have several noteworthy poets. One final literary note: in 1293 Bonifacio da Verona was commissioned to compose an epic poem, *Eulisteia* (named for the

legendary founder of the city, Euliste), to celebrate the municipal history and glories of the city of Perugia. This practice was fairly common in medieval Italian cities.

See also Cecco Nuccio; Clement V, Pope; Gregory IX, Pope; Honorius III, Pope; Innocent III, Pope; Lombards; Marino Ceccoli; Moscoli, Neri; Pisano, Giovanni; Pisano, Nicola; Totila

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Peruzzi Family

The Peruzzi lineage, perhaps originally known as the Delia Pera, was one of the most powerful and prominent houses in the Florentine ruling class during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Like the Cerchi, the Alberti del Giudice, and the Gherardini, the Peruzzi were originally rural landlords who had moved into the city before the early thirteenth century. In the twelfth century, Ubaldino di Peruzzo, originally from Ruota in the Arno valley, had apparently been the founder of a *consorteria*. Traditionally Guelfs, the Peruzzi were residents of the *sesto* (one of six administrative divisions of the city of Florence) of San Pier Scheraggio.

Their fortune came primarily from moneylending and from the

international trade in finished cloth, and they used their wealth to acquire extensive landed properties in both city and countryside (*contado*). The earliest surviving administrative documents of the Peruzzi company date from 1292, but the company itself seems to have existed at least from 1274. The first account books date from 1308. In 1302, several Peruzzi opened an exchange bank in Naples, establishing close relations with the Angevin regime. However, there is evidence that a small branch had existed in Naples from the 1270s. Like the Bardi, the Peruzzi extended large loans to the Angevin royal house and financed the importation of grain from Apulia and the Abruzzi to Florence in the early fourteenth century. The most prominent branch of the company was founded in 1310 and led by Tommaso, Arnolfo, and Giotto dei Peruzzi. At its height it included twenty-one partners, ten of whom were members of the lineage. They established financial ties throughout the western Mediterranean basin, creating a financial empire that lasted for two centuries. Enriched by international trade (Florentine finished cloth) and their connections to Naples and England, several of the Peruzzi commissioned the artist Giotto to decorate the walls of their chapel (the Peruzzi Chapel) in the Franciscan church of Santa Croce with scenes from the life of Saint Francis. Giotto probably completed the frescos by 1328.

In October 1343, the Peruzzi bank failed; scholars have long argued that this failure occurred because Edward III defaulted on the loans made to him to finance his wars against the king of France. The Bardi company failed in 1346. More recent scholarship has revealed that the failure of both banks resulted primarily from political and economic factors in Florence rather than from loan defaults in England.

At the end of the thirteenth century, the Peruzzi came to assume major positions of political influence in the Guelf regime, commensurate with their economic power. Like a few Portinari and Strozzi, several Peruzzi seem to have formed Ghibelline allegiances before 1266. After that date, however, the Peruzzi became loyal Guelfs. Three members of the house served as priors between 1282 and 1292. The lineage was heavily represented in the money changers' guild (*Arte del Cambio*), but there were also several members in the guild of the wool finishers (*Calimala*) and that of the physicians and apothecaries (*Medici e Speziali*). Unlike the Bardi, the Peruzzi were not among the

magnate lineages stigmatized by the Florentine Ordinances of justice of 1293. Allied with the Medici and Giugni, most Peruzzi had become strongly aligned with the Black Guelfs by 1302. Along with the Bardi, they supported the failed dictatorship of Walter of Brienne in 1343. Relying primarily on their landed income after 1343, the Peruzzi continued to be a wealthy and influential lineage for the remainder of the fourteenth century.

See also **Bardi Family; Florence; Giotto di Bondone**

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Peter III of Aragon

Peter III of Aragon (Peter II of Catalonia; 1239-1285, r. 1276-1285) was the eldest surviving son of King James I of Aragon and Catalonia, Peter was the figure who brought a Catalan political presence to Italy with the conquest of Sicily in 1282.

In 1262, Peter's father had decided to divide his inheritance among his two legitimate sons, Peter and James; and Peter's reluctance to recognize James's claim to an independent kingdom comprising Majorca, Roussillon, and Montpellier was a sign of his uncompromising position whenever his rights or those of his family were challenged. Within three years of his succession, he had forced James of Majorca to become his vassal (1279). His father assured the papacy that a marriage between Peter and Constance—who was the daughter of its enemy Manfred of Hohenstaufen, king of Sicily—had no implications for Aragonese political interests in the Mediterranean. However, this

assurance was shown to be wishful thinking; Peter was not prepared to accept the claims of the house of Anjou to southern Italy and Sicily, as he made plain at a conference with the French and Majorcan kings in Toulouse in December 1280. The meeting was attended by Charles of Salerno, the heir of Charles I of Anjou, to whom Peter acted in a way that the French and Majorcan kings considered unpardonably rude. On the other hand, Peter and Philip III of France did agree that they were so closely bound by marriage ties that war between them was unthinkable.

Peter may or may not have been intimately involved in planning a rebellion in Sicily, but in any case acted as host to Sicilian and southern Italian exiles such as Giovanni da Procida, who later became his chancellor. In 1282, he announced that he planned to go on a crusade to Collo (Alcoll) in North Africa, but the papacy suspected that he was really hoping to launch an attack on Sicily as soon as its master, Charles of Anjou, who was busily planning a crusade against the Greeks, actually became tied up in the venture. Revolt broke out unexpectedly in Palermo; Peter took advantage of the revolt of the Vespers (in March 1282) to land in Trapani (in August 1282) with a sizable army. With the assent of the nobles and townsmen of Sicily, who had issued an urgent invitation, he laid claim to the entire kingdom of Sicily, both the islands and the mainland territories. Brilliant naval victories by his admiral Roger de Lauria ensured the Catalans' domination of the seas around Sicily, but the invasion of the mainland was slower work than the takeover in Sicily had been. In 1283, Peter had to return home to face a French invasion of Catalonia, in support of his Angevin foes.

Peter never went back to Sicily; he died in Spain in 1285. In his will, he assigned Sicily to his second son, James, aware that the Sicilians sought a king of their own descended from Frederick II.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Charles I of Anjou; Palermo; Sicilian Vespers; Sicily

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Peter Lombard

Peter Lombard (c. 1095 or 1100-1160)—a theologian, biblical exegete, and bishop of Paris—was one of the most influential thinkers of the twelfth century. He was born in the region of Novara in Italy and was drawn to study in the schools of northern France, first in the cathedral school at Reims and then in the schools at Paris. In 1136 he arrived in Paris with a letter of introduction from Bernard of Clairvaux to Gilduin, abbot of the well-known community of regular canons at the abbey of Saint-Victor, which was then one of the leading intellectual centers in France. In his writings, Peter shows great familiarity with the work of Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1141), the abbey's most prominent thinker. Peter became a master in the Parisian schools by 1143 or 1144. In 1145 he was made a canon of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, a rare honor for one not associated with the royal house and not a relative of the local aristocracy or royal officials. At the Council of Reims (1146), Peter joined Bernard of Clairvaux in opposing the Christology of Gilbert of Poitiers. By 1156, perhaps earlier, Peter was archdeacon of Paris; in 1159, the year before he died, he became bishop of the city.

Peter's most enduring contribution to medieval thought was a systematic investigation of a whole range of questions arising under the topic now designated as theology. His *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* (*Four Books of Sentences*) became one of the most famous works of medieval theology. The four books, or divisions, are: (1) the Trinity; (2)

creation, human nature, and sin; (3) Christology, the virtues; (4) the sacraments, last things. The *Sententiae* formed the basis of theological education for almost four centuries. Generations of scholars, including Thomas Aquinas, wrote commentaries on it as part of their theological education and teaching. The *Sententiae* has often been presented in modern scholarship as simply a collection of the opinions of earlier authorities on theological topics, but it is now recognized as a sophisticated work that resolves major (and minor) theological issues with skill and insight. Peter applied new methods of twelfth-century theological inquiry and debate in order to resolve currently disputed questions (such as the essential elements of the sacrament of marriage) and conflicts between authorities. Peter's book appeared in final form in 1155-1157 and incorporated references to the works of John of Damascus, which had first become available in 1154 in a Latin translation from the Greek. Although the *Sententiae* was criticized vehemently for some of its conclusions, it was judged orthodox at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Peter made important clarifications in the theology of the sacraments and was among the first to distinguish seven sacraments. The *Sententiae* is notable for its comprehensiveness, for the skill and clarity with which the topics are arranged and presented, and for objectivity which Peter brings to the resolution of difficult matters such as the definition of marriage, the nature of the sacraments, and issues in Christology.

Peter contributed significantly to biblical interpretation with his commentaries on the Psalms and on the letters of Paul. His commentary on the Psalms, completed before 1138, circulated widely, although Herbert of Bosham (one of Peter's students, who edited a deluxe version of the commentary) reports that it was intended for Peter's private use. The commentary on Paul's letters, *Collectanea in omnes b. Pauli epistolas*, was first composed in 1139-1341 and was revised in 1155-1158. Both commentaries were immensely popular. Peter built on the work of earlier eleventh- and twelfth-century exegetes but presented his own work as a continuous commentary on the text rather than as a collection of comments written in the margin or between the lines of the biblical text, as in the contemporary *Glossa ordinaria*. Peter followed the compilers of the *Glossa* by citing texts from patristic authors in full; he followed the example of Gilbert of

Poitier's commentary on the Psalms by adopting the literary form of the *accessus ad auctores* to introduce the book and individual Psalms, and by using a system of marginal marks and symbols to cross-reference passages, themes, and citations. These commentaries incorporated Peter's analysis of theological questions and themes as well as commentary on the verses of each text.

Twenty-four of Peter's sermons are printed under the name of Hildebert of Lavardin in Jacques-Paul Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, and four more have been discovered, relatively recently, in manuscript.

See also **Glossa Ordinaria: Bible; Thomas Aquinas, Saint**

MAGISTRI
SENTENTIARVM
LIBRI QVATVOR.

PETRO LOMBARDO EPISCOPO

PARISIENSI AVTHORE LABORE

Ioannis Alcaume, Parisiensis Theologie Professoris

a mendis non paucis ex vetustis. Codicum

collatione repurgatorum.

*Adiunximus singulis libris Titulos, quibus capita distinguuntur
ex auctoris Sententia.*

Ad calcem operis subiiciuntur Articuli erronei, Parisiis iam olim dam-
nati, atq; ab eorum assertoribus recantati: Adiectis nonnullis
ipius Magistri, in quibus cōmuniter non approbatur.

Cum Indice copiosissimo.



Venetis, Apud Camillum, & Franciscum, Franceschini Fr. 1566

Peter Lombard, *Sentences. Magistri Sententiarum libri quatuor*. Venice: Camillo and Francesco Franceschini, 1566. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

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Peter of Eboli

Peter of Eboli (Petrus de Ebulo, d. 1219 or 1220) was the author of two Latin poems notable for their content and also for their historically and artistically significant medieval illustrations.

The first poem, in three books consisting now (there has been some loss of text) of 833 elegiac distichs plus an eight-line "insert" in dactylic hexameters, is known both as *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, or *Book in Honor of the Emperor*, and as *De rebus* (or *motibus*) *Siculis carmen*, or *Song on the Affairs* (or *Rebellions*) of Sicily. This poem treats, partly

from the perspective of an eyewitness, political matters in the kingdom of Sicily from the death of William II (November 1189) to shortly before the death of Henry VI (September 1197)—that is, the transition from the Norman to the Swabian monarchy. Unremitting hostility to William's immediate successor Tancred of Lecce and a strong dose of pro-Swabian panegyric diminish its reliability as a historical source but increase its literary interest. The poem is preserved in a single richly illuminated and codicologically complex manuscript (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Codex 120 II), seemingly prepared as a presentation copy for Henry. It is no longer believed that Peter was a scribe of this manuscript or that any of the illustrations is his own.

The second poem, in perhaps 237 elegiac distichs (some thirty-nine sections of mostly twelve lines each; a critical edition is lacking), describes the famous thermal baths in and near the Phlegrean Fields west of Naples. It is variously known as *De balneis Puteolanis* (*On the Baths of Pozzuoli*) or *De balneis Terre Laboris* (*On the Baths of the Terra di Lavoro*), and as *Nomina et virtutes balneorum* (*Names and Virtues of Baths*). This account is of interest for the history of medieval medicine and of the region and its tourist industry. The poem, transmitted anonymously and not assigned to Peter until the nineteenth century, could be addressed either to Henry VI or to Henry's son Frederick II; the preponderance of scholarly opinion favors the second alternative. Some twenty-five manuscripts survive, many of which are copiously illuminated. There are also fourteenth-century verse translations in the Neapolitan dialect of Italian and in French, as well as fourteenth-century prose adaptations in Latin and in Italian.

In the dedicatory section of *De balneis Puteolanis*, Peter mentions a *mira Frederici gesta* ("marvelous deeds of Frederick"); this has been thought to refer to Book 3 of *Liber ad honorem Augusti* but is more likely to have been a separate poem, now lost. In that case the Frederick in question would in all probability have been Frederick I Barbarossa.

We know little of Peter apart from the evidence of these two poems. In a prose subscription to *Liber ad honorem Augusti* he identifies himself as the emperor's servant and *fidelis* (a technical term for someone at least occasionally entrusted with official missions); two of the book's illustrations show him in ecclesiastical tonsure. For Peter's services Henry gave him life tenure of a mill at Eboli. The identification

of Peter with a Petrus Ansolinus of that town, proposed in the early twentieth century, is unconvincing.

See also Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Normans; Sicily

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Petrarca, Francesco

It is a critical commonplace to refer to Dante Alighieri as the "last medieval man" and to Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 20 July 1304-19 July 1374) as the "first modern man," but this tends to obscure the many distinctly "medieval" aspects of Petrarch's works. To be sure, Petrarch does anticipate certain characteristics that are central to our (modern) understanding of the changeover in attitudes in the passage from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance: the emphasis on the individual and on secular matters; the minute investigation of the human psyche; the imitation of classical literary forms, style, and language; the understanding of discrete periods in history; and the interest in travel undertaken to see and experience the world. While all these characteristics suggest Petrarch's desire to escape the narrow frame of the religiously and morally proper medieval world, he repeatedly and simultaneously gives evidence of his longing to embrace that same world and its precepts. This constant state of tension is what defines Petrarch's so-called modern sensitivity and allows us, his readers, to identify with him and his seemingly contradictory aspirations; and this sentiment is aptly presented, over and over, in the *Canzoniere*. We find it in the poems themselves, as in the final verses of *canzone* 264 (*I' vo pensando*): *ché co la morte a lato/cerco del viver mio novo consiglio,/e veggio 'l meglio et al peggior m'appiglio* (verses 136-136), of which the final verse is a direct and sympathetic translation from Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, 7.20-21). Or we note how Petrarch has ordered the poetic universe of the *Canzoniere* by juxtaposing poems that praise,

alternately, his love of earthly things and his profound repentance for such an attitude, as, for example, in the positioning of the two sonnets *Benedetto sia 'l giorno, e 'l mese, e l'anno* (61) and *Padre del ciel, dopo i perduti giorni* (62).

In all of Petrarch's works, we recognize the acute eye of the intellectual who carefully observes himself and the world around him and attempts to make some sense of the fragile human condition and its immediate and ultimate purpose within the great order of the cosmos. It is in this unprecedented focus on his own personal situation that we may observe Petrarch's genius and the human drama played out on a small yet universal stage.

While most of his works are ultimately about himself and are thus full of interesting though stylized and carefully crafted bits of autobiographical information, Petrarch did write, late in his life, a *Letter to Posterity* (the Latin title is *Ad posterios* or *Posteritati*), to future generations who might be curious to learn more about him and his life. This fragmentary epistle was first composed in 1367 and was revised in 1370-1371, yet the latest event recounted is from 1351. In the letter, Petrarch intends to speak about himself, his interests, his outlook—in short, about his personality. What strikes the modern reader is the egotism that pervades the letter, the dramatic departure from the more humble attitude generally adopted by medieval authors who were less likely to put themselves and their accomplishments on display in such a self-centered and self-serving way. Although idealized, conventional portraits are common in works of medieval literature and although the *vidas* of the troubadours and Dante's *Vita nuova* present so-called personal data as historical facts, the authorial "I" and the empirical "I" remain distinctly separate persons. With Petrarch, however, we see a dramatic change in the attitude toward autobiography, such that we know more about this fourteenth-century author than about virtually any other person of his age, precisely because the author himself decided that this would be the case. To make sure that we would know about him, Petrarch compiled large collections of letters, made copious annotations on his manuscripts, and left us other pieces of evidence that allow us see and understand his life as he wanted it to be recorded and remembered. Thus, in the *Letter to Posterity*, Petrarch fashions his own identity, creates his own historical persona, and delineates his role in

the events of his time. From other, independent documents we are able to judge the accuracy of the *Letter to Posterity*, and we may conclude that he was a master of self-promotion, acutely aware of his particular place in history. For this reason, we may view him as a precursor of humanistic attitudes on the individual that would emerge in the next centuries.

In the *Letter to Posterity*, Petrarch describes himself as modest and even tempered, as one who prefers sacred literature to vernacular poetry, who is acutely aware of the greatness of antiquity to the impoverished state of his own age, who yearns for the tranquil life of the country and disparages the hectic pace of urban society. While he notes that in his youth he had been overwhelmed by a powerful love, he declares that this is a thing of the past. Despite his voluminous literary production in both Latin and Italian, Petrarch refers only to his works in Latin—his epic poem *Africa*, his treatise on the solitary life (*De vita solitaria*), and his pastoral poems (*Bucolicum carmen*)—for they are the reason for his coronation as poet laureate in Rome atop the Capitoline Hill. As Petrarch tells the story, on the same day (1 September 1340), he received invitations for coronations from the chancellor of the University of Paris and from the Roman senate; to have chosen Paris would have been to give precedence to scholastic culture, and thus his choice of Rome was intended to help restore the ancient glory of that city.

In the *Letter to Posterity*, Petrarch also speaks about his family and friends, his personal habits, his travels, the cities where he lived, and the benefits—for work and mind—of his "transalpine solitude." The last few sentences of the letter speak of Petrarch's affection for Jacopo da Carrara the Younger, ruler of Padua; and while Petrarch would have liked to reside permanently in Padua, Jacopo's untimely death in December 1350 made that impossible. Petrarch notes: "I could stay no longer [in Padua], and I returned to France, not so much from a desire to see again what I had already seen a thousand times as, like a sick man, to be rid of distress by shifting position." This sentence represents perfectly Petrarch's carefully constructed *persona*: he is the restless traveler, the seeker of old manuscripts, the frequenter of ancient sites in an attempt to recapture something of their past glory. The image of the sick man who tries to assuage his pain by shifting position recalls Saint

Augustine's image of the sick woman, who, in allegorical terms, represents the unquiet human soul that will find its peace only in God (*Confessions*, 6.16); however, here Petrarch's frame of reference is limited to earthly life. In this passage, we also observe the drama of his own internal conflict as one caught between earthly attractions and spiritual aspirations, one who, profoundly discontent with his own age, but powerless to change it, dreams of a past grandeur and of a better future time. His confessional work, the *Secretum*, in which Augustine is one of the interlocutors, is concerned with this same conflict.

Life and Works



Petrarch's house, Arquà. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Petrarch was born in Arezzo to Pietro di Parenzo and Eletta Canigiani. His father, usually called Ser Petracco, was a notary who had migrated to Florence from his hometown of Incisa in the Arno River valley. During the tumultuous early years of the fourteenth century, he made some political enemies in Florence and was exiled on false charges of corruption in public office in October 1302—some nine months after the expulsion of Dante Alighieri on similar grounds. Early in 1305, Petrarch and his mother moved to Incisa, where his brother Gherardo was born in 1307. After six years in Incisa, the family moved to Pisa (1311), where

Francesco may have seen Dante among a group of fellow Florentine exiles. In 1312, Ser Petracco resettled his family in Carpentras in southern France, where he was associated with the papal court of Clement V in Avignon. In Carpentras, Francesco began his study of grammar and rhetoric with Convevole da Prato and became friends with Guido Sette, a boy his own age whose family had moved to France from Genoa. In 1316, Ser Petracco decided that Petrarch should become a lawyer and sent him to the University of Montpellier. During this period his mother died, and to commemorate the sorrowful occasion Petrarch composed his earliest surviving work, an elegiac poem in thirty-eight Latin hexameters. In 1320, Francesco went, together with his brother and Guido Sette, to Bologna to continue his legal studies, and although he excelled academically, he came to realize that the legal profession was not for him. Nevertheless, the years in Bologna were important in his literary and cultural development, for he befriended a number of other students and became familiar with the Italian lyric tradition. On the death of his father in April 1326, he returned to Avignon.

On Good Friday, 6 April 1327, in the Church of Saint Clare in Avignon, Petrarch first saw and immediately fell in love with the woman whom he would call Laura. This passion would provide inspiration for his poetic imagination for his entire life. Many poems contained in the evolving collection known as the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* or *Canzoniere* celebrate his love for her, as well as her symbolic meaning. Her name, Laura—like that of Dante's Beatrice ("one who gives blessedness or salvation")—was significant in that it suggested the evergreen laurel tree, sacred to Apollo, and thus the laurel crown of poetic glory. Throughout the *Canzoniere*, Petrarch engages in elaborate wordplay based on "Laura," using such puns as *l'aura* ("the breeze") and *aureo/a* ("golden") to reiterate her importance.

In 1330, Petrarch and his brother Gherardo had almost dissipated their inheritance. Refusing to follow law or medicine as a profession, Petrarch had to find other employment. Fortunately, he had befriended the bishop of Lombez, Giacomo Colonna, who recommended Petrarch to his brother Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, who in turn offered Petrarch a position as personal chaplain in his household. At Giacomo Colonna's residence in the summer of 1330, Petrarch met and became friends with

two other young men: Lello di Pietro Stefano dei Tosetti from Rome (whom Petrarch nicknamed "Lelius") and Ludwig van Kempen ("Socrates") from Flanders, who served as chanter in Cardinal Colonna's chapel. These and other close friends would be very important to Petrarch throughout the course of his life.



Tomb of Petrarch, Arquà. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

As a member of the cardinal's staff, Petrarch was able to travel and meet many people. In 1333, he traveled to Paris and, from there, to Ghent, Liege, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, and Lyon. During these travels he began his lifelong pursuit of manuscripts containing works by classical authors, discovering at Liege, for example, some of Cicero's orations (*Pro Archia*). Also in 1333, in Avignon, Petrarch met the Augustinian monk Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, who introduced him to the works of early Christian writers, especially Saint Augustine, and who gave Petrarch his copy of the *Confessions*. In a letter to Dionigi (*Familiars*, 4.1, dated 26 April 1336), Petrarch gives an account of his and his brother Gherardo's ascent of Mont Ventoux. In it he relates, in thinly veiled allegorical language, how rapidly Gherardo arrives at the summit (signifying the benefits of his monastic vocation) but how difficult his own climb is (signifying the attraction of earthly things). Finally, arriving at the summit and overwhelmed by the majesty of the view, Petrarch opens his copy of Augustine's *Confessions* and reads the

following morally oriented monitory sentence: "And men go about wondering at mountain heights and the mighty waves of the sea and broad flowing streams and the circuit of the sea and the wheeling of the stars: and to themselves they give no heed" (10.8.15). The relevance of these words to Petrarch's own situation and their call to introspection are obvious: it is always more difficult to ascend the steep path to the good than it is to wander around in the valleys looking for an easy route to happiness. This intensely Augustinian moment demonstrates the great influence that the saint had on Petrarch, not only in literature but also in life.

FRANCISCI PETRARCHÆ FLO-

RENTINI, PHILOSOPHI, ORATORIS, ET
POETÆ CLARISSIMI, REFLORESCENTIS LITERATURÆ,
LATINÆQUE LINGVÆ, ALIQVOT SECVLIS HORRENDA BARBARIE IN-
quinatæ, ac penè sepultæ, assertoris & instauratoris, OPERA quæ extant o-
mnia. In quibus præter Theologica, Naturalis, Moralisq̃ Philosophiæ præ-
cepta, liberalium quoq̃ artium Encyclopediam, Historiarum thesau-
rum, & Poësis diuinam quamquam uim, pari cum ser-
monis maiestate, coniuncta
inuenies.

ADIECIMVS EIVSDEM AVTHORIS, QVÆ
METRVSCO SERMONE SCRIPSIT CARMINA SIVE
Rhythmos, in quibus Græcorum gloriam, Latinorum copiam, uiris hac ætate doctissimis æ-
quasse, imò suauitate & elegancia superasse multum, uisus est. Hæc quidem omnia nunc ite-
rum summa diligentia à uariis mendis, quibus scatebant, repurgata, atque innumerabilibus
in locis, generisq̃ integritati restituta, & in Tomos quatuor distincta.
Quæ uerò uno quoque Tomo continentur, uersa
pagina Lectori exhibebit.

INSIGNIORVM ATQVE DOCTISSIMORVM IN
RE LITERARIA VIKOKVN, DE HOC AVTHO.
testimonium in præfatione habes.



B A S I L E Æ,
PER SEBASTIANVM HENRICPETRÛ

Petrarch, *Opera*. Basilea: Sebastiano Henricpetri. 1581. Reproduced from original held by the Department of Special Collections of University Libraries of Notre Dame.

In January 1335, thanks to a recommendation by Cardinal Colonna, Petrarch was named by Pope Benedict XII to a canonry in the cathedral of Lombez, an appointment that supported him financially but did not require his residence. Sometime before this appointment, Petrarch had written a long letter in Latin verse to Pope Benedict XII encouraging

Benedict to return to Rome. This is the first indication we have of Petrarch's firm belief in the preeminence of Rome as the rightful seat of both the papacy and the empire. Petrarch first journeyed to Rome, as a guest of the Colonna family, late in 1336, and that visit determined his attitude toward the classical past. In a letter to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, dated 15 March 1337 (*Familiare*s, 2.14), he recounts his first impressions of Rome: "No doubt I have accumulated a lot of matter to write about later, but at present I am so overwhelmed and stunned by the abundant marvels that I shouldn't dare to begin. . . . Rome was greater than I thought, and so are its remains. Now I wonder not that the world was ruled by this city but that the rule came so late." Petrarch's enthusiasm for Rome is complemented by his patriotism for Italy in general; for example, in *canzone* 128 of the *Canzoniere*, *Italia mia, benché 'l parlar sia indarno*, he laments Italy's abject, strife-torn condition; issues a call to arms (verses 93-96); and concludes with an urgent plea for peace, *i' vo gridando: Pace, pace, pace* (verse 122).

Shortly after his return to Avignon in 1337, Petrarch purchased property and a house in Vaucluse along the Sorgue River, and this became his resort of peace and solitude: *transalpina solitudo mea jocundissima* ("My most delightful transalpine solitary refuge"). In this *locus amoenus* he found the time to read, meditate, write, and entertain close friends. Vaucluse represented for Petrarch the Ciceronian ideal of *otium*, the leisure to pursue one's interests without having to attend to the concerns of everyday life. A new acquaintance of his in Vaucluse was Philippe de Cabassoles, bishop of Cavillon, to whom Petrarch would later dedicate his Latin treatise *De vita solitaria* (*On the Solitary Life*).

During this period of medicative leisure, Petrarch began several of his works, some of classical inspiration: the treatise on the lives of famous men, *De viris illustribus*; his epic poem on the deeds of Scipio Africanus, *Africa*; his collection of Italian poems, the *Canzoniere* or *Rerum vulgarium fragments*, and the *Triumph of Love*, the first of the *Trionfi*—six allegorical poems in *terza rima*, based on the descriptions of ancient triumphal pageants. Petrarch would continue to revise most of these works for the rest of his life. The evolution of the *Canzoniere* can be traced through extant manuscripts, some in Petrarch's own hand, that disclose the successive forms of the collection; this would

culminate in the version in the Vatican Library, Codex Lat. 3195. Although he divided his time at Vacluse between Latin and Italian works, Petrarch clearly indicated his preference for the former. On 1 September 1340 he received two invitations to be crowned poet laureate: one letter came from the chancellor of the University of Paris and the other from the Roman senate. Because we know that Petrarch carefully planned the sequence of events leading to these invitations, we can appreciate the coyness with which he reports his careful weighing of these offers, his asking advice from Cardinal Colonna, and his eventual (but foregone) decision to accept the invitation from Rome. Petrarch was familiar with the coronation of poets in antiquity and with a recent revival of that tradition (the coronation of Albertino Mussato in Padua in 1315). This signal honor would, he thought, ensure his fame for posterity and, just as important, reestablish Rome as the locus for culture in the world. To ascertain his worthiness for this honor, he voluntarily underwent a rigorous examination by his sponsor, King Robert of Anjou of Naples. On 8 April 1341, in the palace of the senate on the Capitoline, Petrarch was crowned poet laureate and delivered an oration, in which he spoke of the poet's responsibility and rewards as well as the nature of the poet's profession. The *Coronation Oration* is a wonderful combination of medieval homily and classical rhetoric; in it Petrarch begins with a citation from Virgil's *Georgics* (3.291-292), interrupts it with a recitation of the *Ave Maria*, and then immediately returns to the Virgilian passage. The remainder of the oration contains numerous citations from Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, Horace, and other classical authors. The fame that Petrarch achieved in this single event was immeasurable; indeed, he was now a celebrity, one who was in demand as an honored guest in cities throughout Europe and was cheered wherever he went. This was, in many ways, the beginning of what we might call the cult of personality that Petrarch cultivated and shaped for himself. After leaving Rome, Petrarch spent time in Parma as a guest of the Correggio family and finished a draft of his *Africa*. When he returned to Provence, he began to study Greek with the Calabrian monk Barlaam, but without mastering much beyond a very elementary level.

The year 1343 was important for Petrarch. At the papal court in Avignon, he met Cola di Rienzo, who would later become the Roman

"tribune of the people." In February, Robert of Anjou died. In April, Petrarch's brother Gherardo became a Carthusian monk, and this led Petrarch to reexamine his own life and goals. In 1343, his illegitimate daughter, Francesca, was born. From these troubling events emerged his soul-searching imaginary dialogue with (Saint) Augustine—the *Secretum*—as well as his *Seven Penitential Psalms* and his treatise on the cardinal virtues, the *Rerum memorandarum Libri*. In form and content, the *Secretum* is based on classical and early Christian models, especially Augustine's *Confessions*. Whereas in his work the saint achieves a relative peace, Petrarch is constantly tormented by the unresolved conflict between spiritual aspirations and worldly concerns. Despite the sound Christian advice imparted by the character Augustinus to Franciscus and the insistent call to meditate on death in order to prepare one's soul for the afterlife, Franciscus cannot easily abandon his earthly pursuits, nor does he really wish to. The lack of resolution at the end of the three-day dialogue suggests not so much Petrarch's lack of faith as his very human reluctance to abandon immediate worldly pursuits in favor of distant eternal rewards.



The Triumph of Love. Li Sonetti Canzone e Trivmphi del Petrarca. . . . Venice: Bernardino Stagnino, 1513. Reproduced by courtesy of Department of Special Collections, General Library System, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

During the next few years, Petrarch traveled frequently: to Naples (in 1343), Parma (1344-1345), and Verona (1345). In the Capitular Library in Verona, he found and transcribed the manuscript of Cicero's letters to Atticus, a discovery that encouraged him to begin his own series of letters addressed to classical authors. After returning to Vaucluse in 1346, Petrarch began work on his treatise on the solitary life, *De vita solitaria*, which he subsequently dedicated to Philippe de Cabassoles. In

1347, Petrarch was happy to receive news of a revolution in Rome and the nomination of Cola di Rienzo to the position of tribune (essentially, dictator), for in these events he saw some signs of the old Roman grandeur. In letters to Cola and the Roman people, Petrarch encouraged them in their battle for liberty. However, Cola's excesses and megalomania would gradually undermine his position and destroy Petrarch's faith in him. After imprisonment in Avignon on charges of heresy, Cola returned to Rome as a senator, only to meet his death at the hands of the Roman people in 1354.

In 1347-1348, the time of the black death, Petrarch was in Verona and in Parma, where news of Laura's death (6 April 1348) came to him in a letter from his old friend "Socrates." The date of Laura's death and that of his first meeting with her, exactly twenty-one years before in 1327, would provide the basic chronological structure for a series of "anniversary" poems in the *Canzoniere*. The disastrous effects of the plague, which resulted in the deaths of several friends (e.g., Cardinal Colonna and Franceschino degli Albizzi), led Petrarch to write the *Triumph of Death* (*Triumphus mortis*).

His discovery of Cicero's letters in Verona in 1345 gave Petrarch the idea of collecting his own letters, and by 1350 he was actively engaged in this project, which would lead to the formation of the *Familiares* (twenty-four books), *Seniles* (seventeen books), *Sine nomine* (nineteen letters), and *Epistolae metricae* (three books). For the jubilee year of 1350, Petrarch traveled to Rome, stopping on the way in Florence, where he met Giovanni Boccaccio for the first time. Among Petrarch's many admirers in Florence were Boccaccio, Zanobi da Strada, Francesco Nelli, and Lapo da Castiglionchio. Always searching for manuscripts, Petrarch found in Lapo's library a copy of Quintilian's *Institutes* and some of Cicero's orations. After his Roman pilgrimage, Petrarch spent time in Parma and Padua. The Florentine republic offered him a teaching post at the university there, and the pope summoned him to return to Avignon. In 1351-1352, Petrarch was once again working in Vacluse on *De viris illustribus* and the *Canzoniere*. In 1353, during his last months in Vacluse, Petrarch was involved in an extended and intense debate with one of the pope's doctors over the relative merits of medicine and poetry, and this discussion resulted in the *Invective contra medicum*, in which Petrarch defends the supremacy

of the liberal arts over the lower mechanical arts and praises poetry as the highest form of wisdom.

During 1353-1361, Petrarch lived for the most part in Milan, as a guest of the Visconti family and with the special support of Archbishop Giovanni Visconti. Despite the criticism he received from his friends for living under a despot, Petrarch was pleased with his circumstances, for he was able to do virtually anything he wanted. One project he began there became his longest work, *De remediis utriusque fortune*, a moral treatise in two books, the first dealing with the perils of good fortune and the second with the dangers of its opposite, adverse fortune. The form of *De remediis* is a series of dialogues between personified qualities; for example, in Book I, Joy and Hope—the children of Prosperity—argue against Reason; and in Book II, Reason's opponents are Sorrow and Fear, the offspring of Adversity. It was in Milan that Petrarch met Emperor Charles IV, whom he encouraged to reestablish the empire with Rome as its capital. These dealings with Charles, undertaken on behalf of the Visconti, allowed Petrarch to travel to Basel and Prague. In 1361, the Visconti sent him to Paris, where he delivered an oration, in Latin, in the presence of King John of France and John's court. Petrarch's eight years in Milan marked the longest nearly continuous residency of his life. Moreover, they were productive years, allowing him to complete *De remediis* and to make great progress in his compilation of the *Canzoniere* and the *Familiars*.

After his move to Padua in the summer of 1361, Petrarch received the sad news of the deaths of his illegitimate son Giovanni (who died in the plague in Milan) and of his old friends "Socrates" and Philippe de Vitry. However, he enjoyed frequent correspondence and encounters with Boccaccio, who often supplied him with copies of rare manuscripts (e.g., Augustine's *Expositions on the Psalms*, Varro's *De lingua latina*, the life of Peter Damian). In May 1362, Petrarch had an opportunity to advise Boccaccio, who had been terrified by a visit from a fanatical monk representing the late Pietro Petroni of Siena. Informed that he did not have long to live and that he should renounce the study of poetry, Boccaccio thought first to dispose of all his books, but Petrarch dissuaded him and encouraged him to continue his studies. However, Petrarch said that he would gladly buy Boccaccio's books if Boccaccio had a change of heart. Petrarch's love of books, and his zeal in

collecting them, enabled him to amass what was at the time perhaps the largest private library in Europe. Recognizing the value of his collection, Petrarch reached a formal agreement with the *maggior consiglio* of Venice whereby he would give his library to Venice in exchange for a suitable house there and the assurance that his books would not be dispersed. Petrarch's collection thus formed the basis for the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. In Venice, Petrarch enjoyed visits from Boccaccio and numerous other friends; he also was gladdened by the birth of his grandchildren (Eletta and Francesco) and saddened by the death of his friends "Laelius" and Francesco Nelli.

Around 1366, Petrarch employed Giovanni Malpaghini as a scribe for the tedious task of copying the *Familiars* and the *Canzoniere*. In 1367, during a journey to Pavia by canal barge, Petrarch was able to respond to accusations lodged against him a year previously by four Aristotelian philosophers (Leonardo Dandolo, Tommaso Talenti, Zaccaria Contarini, and Guido da Bagnolo) who claimed that he was "a good man, but uneducated." In his response, the invective *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia* (*On His Own Ignorance and That of Many Others*), Petrarch gives clear evidence of the changeover from the outmoded ideas of scholastic philosophy to the new humanism; in particular, he argues that the source of knowledge lies not in pseudoscientific syllogistic arguments but rather in a profound intuitive awareness of the self.

In 1368, Petrarch, having been given some land near Arquà (some 10 miles, or about 16 kilometers, southwest of Padua)—initiated the construction of a house, which was finished in 1370. Among his possessions were a lute and a painting of the Madonna by Giotto, both of which have disappeared. Failing health prevented him from undertaking some highly desired trips to Rome and Avignon. His last works include a translation into Latin of Boccaccio's story of Griselda (*Decameron*, 10.10) and the *Invective against the Man Who Maligned Italy* (*Invectiva contra eum qui maledixit Italie*). The motivation for the *Invective* was an anonymous letter written by a Frenchman (Jean de Hesdin) that praised the French and spoke ill of Italy. As for the tale of patient Griselda, Petrarch was so taken by its value as a moral example that he wanted to make it available to readers who did not know Italian, and his translation was Chaucer's model for the Clerk's Tale in the *Canterbury Tales*. In his last years, Petrarch went on several

diplomatic missions for Francesco da Carrara; he wrote letters and continued to work on the definitive versions of the *Canzoniere*, *Trionfi*, and *De viris illustribus* as well as on the compilations of his letters. During the night between 18 and 19 July 1374, Petrarch died. He was buried on 24 July in a marble tomb in the parish church at Arquà.

The Vernacular Works

Although the *Letter to Posterity* says virtually nothing about his Italian works, Petrarch obviously considered them of great importance, for he was continuously revising them up to the very end of his life. If what he says in the *Letter to Posterity* is truly indicative of the way he wanted to be remembered, then it is a great irony, for his fame today rests primarily on his Italian poetry, which proved so influential during the Renaissance, particularly in France, Spain, and England. The composition of the *Canzoniere* was attended to with great care: its 366 poems are divided into two major sections—*In vita di madonna Laura* and *In morte di madonna Laura*—beginning with the secular sonnet *Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono* ("You who hear the sound in scattered rhymes") and ending with the religious ode to the Virgin *Vergina bella, che di sol vestita* ("Beautiful Virgin, clothed with the sun"). A large variety of subjects and themes—amorous, political, artistic, moral, and religious—are treated; nevertheless, the truly remarkable feature of the collection is Petrarch's obsessive attention to the presentation of his own poetic persona. Many poems in the *Canzoniere* are characterized by stylized, conventional attitudes toward love and by the presentation of a pensive, introspective lover, and these features were imitated widely in the Renaissance. This combination of psychological and poetic conceits would come to constitute what we generally refer to today as Petrarchism. Although Petrarch was not the inventor of the sonnet, he brought it to such perfection that this fourteen-line metrical form has become known as the Petrarchan sonnet. The six allegorical *Triumphs* (*Trionfi*), which relate the progress of the soul in relation to love, chastity, death, fame, time, and eternity, had a major impact on Renaissance literature, art, and pageantry.

The Latin Works

Petrarch's literary production in Latin encompasses a number of major themes that highlight his crucial place in the history of western civilization. On the one hand, his treatises on fortune (*De remediis utriusque fortune*) and on the monastic life (*De otio religioso*) are distinctly medieval in flavor and conception. On the other hand, there is a definite, forward-looking "Renaissance" cast to many of the Latin works. Petrarch consciously attempted to revive classical genres and patterns in the epic poem *Africa* and in the series of famous lives (*De viris illustribus*) and events (*Rerum memorandarum libri*). His treatise on the solitary life, *De vita solitaria*, is a well-reasoned defense of the Ciceronian ideal of studious leisure (*otium*), which he tried to follow in his own life. He took the cue from classical examples in his collections of letters, in his invectives, in his pastoral poems (*Bucolicum carmen*), and in his dialogue with Augustine (*Secretum*).

See also Augustine, Saint; Avignonese Papacy; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Cola di Rienzo; Colonna Family; Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Milan; Nelli, Francesco; Padua; Robert of Anjou; Sette, Guido; Visconti Family

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Phaedrus

The *Phaedrus* is generally placed among the dialogues written in Plato's middle period, perhaps toward its later phase c. 370 B.C., when Plato was sixty. It is, in any case, the product of a man at the peak of his philosophic and literary powers. Since Socrates is ordinarily to be found in the busy streets of Athens, the unusual nature of what follows is suggested by the setting: a warm summer day in the countryside outside the city walls. He has met Phaedrus, a younger friend who is infatuated with fashionable rhetoric and is carrying a copy of a new

speech by Lysias. After the two find a pleasant place in the shade, Phaedrus reads aloud Lysias's contention that a youth ought to have an affair with a man who professes *not* to love him, since lovers are notoriously irrational. Socrates, who is not really impressed, under the influence of local spirits, offers a technically improved version of the same theme; then, becoming more inspired, he delivers a second speech defending the opposite view—that erotic madness may be a great blessing. With these three examples of oratory in view, the second part of the dialogue is devoted to a sober analysis of true and false rhetoric.

The two parts, though quite different in mood and subject, are held together by the notion of "persuasion," a familiar goal in rhetoric and here also bearing a narrower erotic meaning of "seduction" embodied in the subject of the speeches as well as in the efforts of Socrates and Lysias to influence Phaedrus. In the second half of the dialogue, Plato modifies his earlier hostility to rhetoric (e.g., *Gorgias*) because of its indifference to truth. He is now prepared to concede that persuasion is useful so long as philosophy provides direction by furnishing genuine knowledge. The foregoing speeches have illustrated in the person of Socrates what an honest philosophic rhetorician can do by way of dealing with the nonrational aspects of human nature, which in fact play an important role in life.

A major part of the philosophic content of the dialogue is in Socrates's second speech. The fact of its inspiration represents limits to what can be achieved by analytic reason alone. The astonishing paradox that irrationality may be a divine blessing is defensible because reason—symbolized in its vulgar form by the trivially clever Lysias—does not exhaust reality. Socrates's spectacularly poetic style of speaking, moreover, highlights the unusually explicit portrayal of pederastic sexual feeling. Plato's aim is to show that even the overly physical aspects of attachments in contemporary Greece can be interpreted as initial stages in the emergence of philosophic passion, much as rhetoric can be put to philosophic uses. Sexual response to physical beauty is (ultimately) a response to beauty itself. Balancing this emphasis on the powerful emotional component of philosophy is a carefully worked-out formal proof of the soul's immortality based on the principle of self-motion. Analytic reason reemerges again in a definition of dialectic synthesis and analysis in the cooler second portion of the dialogue.

The eloquent description in the *Phaedrus* of divinely inspired love and of the soul's winged flight from the body to higher spheres attracted attention from the later Neoplatonists and again during the Renaissance, when Ficino, in particular, elaborated its religious-mystical aspects.

The Jowett translation is often eloquent, though dated. The Loeb edition of Plato conveniently combines Greek text with translations but is uneven. Penguin translations are relatively recent and readily available.

See also **Neoplatonism; Plato**

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Philagathus of Cerami

Greek prose in medieval Italy reaches a high point with the sermons of the twelfth-century Siculo-Calabrian monk Philagathus (d. 1154 or later). He is conventionally called "of Cerami," although it is not clear whether the designation *Keramítes* refers to Cerami in Sicily or to some other place, or is instead a classicizing version of the demotic surname *Kerameús* ("Potter"). Until fairly recently, he was known as Theophanes Cerameus, thanks to a misattribution in one branch of a later Byzantine redaction that converted his sermon collection into a homiliary organized according to the liturgical calendar, and his work was at times presented as that of a ninth- or eleventh-century writer into which more recent material had been inserted. In his Italo-Greek manuscripts he is styled "the philosopher" (and therefore is sometimes so identified in library catalogs) and is also often called Philippus (perhaps his baptismal name) rather than Philagathus. Of his approximately ninety surviving sermons, only thirty-eight have a modern critical edition; the remainder either must be read in texts descended from the very defective *editio princeps* of Francesco Scorso (1644) or are still unpublished. Even so, these cultured and rhetorically accomplished productions have earned a considerable reputation for artistic excellence.

To the extent that they can be localized with certainty, Philagathus's early associations are Calabrian. After entering religion at an unidentified church of Saint Andrew, he trained at the Nea Hodegetria monastery near Rossano, later known as the Patir or the Patirion, for whose founder, Bartholomew of Simeri (d. 1130), he gave a commemorative sermon. Philagathus preached in Rossano proper; in Reggio; and in Sicily, at Messina, Taormina, Troina, and especially

Palermo, where at least one of his sermons was delivered before King Roger II in the predecessor of today's cathedral. His sermon in Roger's Palatine Chapel (seemingly after 1140 but sometimes assigned to the chapel's consecration in 1140) contains the earliest extended description of this renowned monument.

Although Philagathus has been called a court preacher, it might be more accurate to call him a preacher whose distinction led to appearances at court. The venues of most of his sermons are not fully known. He was still active during the reign of William I (1154-1166). An allegorical commentary on *the Aethiopica* of Heliodorus (an ancient Greek novel used by Philagathus in at least one sermon), recently thought to be his, has now been shown to be much older. The attributions to him of the anonymous *Life* of Bartholomew of Simeri, of a grammatical textbook now lost, and of a verse introduction to the fables of Symeon Seth (one form of the Greek "mirror of princes" *Stephamtes and Ichneutes*) are all very dubious.

See also Greek Language and Literature

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Phocas

The Byzantine emperor Phocas (d. 610, r. 602–610), a minor officer of obscure origins, was propelled into the leadership of a mutiny against the unpopular emperor Maurice. As Constantinople dissolved in factional chaos and Maurice fled, Phocas found himself elevated to the throne. The fleeing Maurice and his sons were captured and executed, but Phocas's position remained insecure, and this led him to devote his energies to purging enemies, hunting down conspiracies, and imposing a general reign of terror. Thus preoccupied, and resisted locally throughout the empire, he was unable to deal with perilous conditions on the frontiers, as the Avars and Slavs renewed their devastation of the Balkans while the king of Persia mounted a relentless campaign of conquest against the empire's eastern territories. Eventually, a rebellion launched from Carthage under the son of its exarch, Heraclius, made its way eastward and reached Constantinople in October 610, whereupon Phocas was deposed and executed.

Only in distant Italy was Phocas regarded positively. Pope Gregory I, who had been on bad terms with Maurice, hailed the usurper's accession in fulsome letters of rejoicing. In response, Phocas showered

Gregory and his successors with honors (among them, the award of Rome's Pantheon to the church). In 608, the exarch of Ravenna, Smaragdus, had a column erected in Phocas's honor in the Roman Forum; it was the last public monument to rise in that decaying locale. The column is still to be seen in the Forum, although Phocas's name was subsequently expunged from the dedicatory inscription.

See also **Gregory I, Pope; Maurice, Emperor; Ravenna; Rome**

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Photian Schism

The Photian schism of 863-880 was a controversy between the patriarchs of Constantinople and the popes. In this case, the schism was a split caused by organizational differences, not basic disagreements in belief, but it was the most serious to date between what would become the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches. The papacy's claim to some sort of authority over Constantinople was present in the background, but the immediate causes were a personality conflict and a struggle for religious control of southeastern Europe.

Nicholas I became the pope in Rome and Photius became the patriarch of Constantinople in the same year, 858. Nicholas involved himself in a dispute over irregularities in Photius's appointment by

sending a fact-finding delegation to Constantinople in 861. Although the accounts are contradictory, it is known that the investigators ruled in favor of Photius. Nicholas, however, eventually repudiated their decision. Other matters also entered the conflict. The Byzantines had deprived the papacy of control over the Balkans during the Iconoclastic period. Reviving old claims, Nicholas claimed jurisdiction over Bulgaria, which converted to Christianity at this time.

Before the 1950s, most scholars believed that Photius, backed by the Byzantine government, allied himself with Nicholas's enemies in Italy, including the western emperor Louis II and John, archbishop of Ravenna. Since 1950, many historians—citing newly discovered evidence—have minimized Photius's role in Italy; they believe that Nicholas's problems there were due purely to western politics. In any case, Photius's attempts to undermine Nicholas culminated in a council, held at Constantinople in 867, which deposed the pope. Nicholas died before the news of this deposition reached Rome; and ironically, Photius—having lost political support—was himself deposed that same year.

Tension continued after 867. Photius's replacement proved just as stubborn with regard to Bulgaria. In 877, Photius again became patriarch. Pope John VIII (r. 872-882) was more flexible than the uncompromising Nicholas. At Constantinople in 879-880, papal legates confirmed Photius as patriarch in return for a face-saving agreement on Bulgaria that gave Rome nominal jurisdiction while leaving actual ecclesiastical control to Constantinople. Accounts of a second Photian schism in older histories have now been discredited by scholars.

See also **John VIII, Pope; Louis II, Emperor; Nicholas I, Pope**

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Physiologus

Physiologus was the early medieval foundation for all later bestiaries. Except for the Bible, it was the most often translated and most widespread book in the medieval world, known in Greek, Latin, Syrian, Ethiopian, German, Arabic, Armenian, Anglo-Saxon, and other languages. *Physiologus*, actually a nickname for the unknown Greek author, came to be widely used as the title of the work, which was written sometime between the second century and the fifth century after Christ, probably at Alexandria. The work was first translated into Latin in the period between the fourth and the sixth centuries. A number of modern translations have been made from manuscripts of *Physiologus* found throughout European collections; and the text has been attributed to several figures, including Epiphanius (c. 315-403), bishop of Salamis, who composed a treatise on gems (*De gemmis*).

Like other well-known authors of antiquity, including Aristotle, Aelian, and Solinus, *Physiologus* was a naturalist, and his sources were often these other naturalists. His words in the hands of many copyists during the Middle Ages came to be conflated with numerous variations including infusions from local traditions, some descriptive of actual animals, others utterly fantastic.

The rich imagery of *Physiologus* served as a literary resource for animals and fantastic beasts in literature, sermons, sculpture, and painting throughout the late Middle Ages. More importantly, *Physiologus* became the literary foundation for all later encyclopedic summaries of *naturalia* and (as noted above) for the specialized texts on animals known as bestiaries. In addition to collecting stories about various animals, *Physiologus* attached symbolic significance to all creatures. Following scriptural advice (Job 12:7) and models provided by the ancient literary traditions of Aesop's *Fables* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the author of *Physiologus* found in each animal a moralizing metaphorical image. According to an apocryphal story, Pope Gelasius I was given a copy c. 496, disagreed with its moralizing content, and put it on a list of banned books. Nevertheless, *Physiologus* increasingly became a vehicle not only for teaching moral behavior but sometimes for imparting medical advice. For example, eating certain

fowl or other animals at specific seasons or for a variety of ailments was considered advisable. Sometimes these remedies were based on inappropriate and inaccurate verbal analogies, such as *urica* (canker-worm) whose bite burns (*urit*), causing one to "make water." *Physiologus* provided much information for Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*. As White observed, *Physiologus* was written in a time when "people believed that the Universe was governed by a controlling mind and was capable of a rational explanation. They believed that everything meant something. . . . Every possible article in the world, and its name also, concealed a hidden message for the eye of faith" (*The Bestiary* 1960, 244). Therefore, to know those disguised messages was to master the hidden solutions to the mysteries of spiritual and physical ailments and healing.

Among the versions of *Physiologus* that have a common Roman origin are those of Philippe de Thaun, Pierre le Picard, and Guillaume le Clerc of Normandy; the Millstater and Waldensian *Physiologus*; the Provençal excerpts; and the Spanish *Physiologus*. Although there are few references to or acknowledgments of *Physiologus* in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century bestiaries and books on animals, their core content is based on the passages found in this early text.

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Bestiaries; Isidore of Seville

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Piacenza

Piacenza, an ancient city in the Po River valley in the westernmost part of Emilia, was settled as a Roman colony in 218 B.C. during the second Punic war. It was reorganized in 187 B.C. in connection with the establishment of military units whose name—*placentia*—eventually was transferred to the city itself. As a Roman city, Piacenza grew in prosperity. During the period of Roman decline, it was ruled in turn by the Goths, Byzantines, and Lombards. In the late ninth century and the early tenth it was held by various local lords, such as Berengar of Friuli, Lambert, and Hugh of Aries, with at least two disruptions by the Magyars. In the later tenth century, the city was incorporated into the Ottonian feudal regime of northern Italy. Immediate control of the city

had long been vested in the bishops, but their power was increasingly shared with and challenged by the emergence of a growing secular population.

Early urban leadership was dominated by aristocratic families, one of whose members, Count Bishop Dionysius, held the city in defiance of Pope Gregory VII. The aristocratic elements that dominated the city supported imperial rule and the dissenting movement called the Pataria. Growing support of the papal reform program prompted the lower classes of the city to initiate a period of internal strife, which resulted in the expulsion of the nobility and cooperation with Milan and other northern cities in their struggle against the German emperor Henry IV during the ongoing investiture controversy. In 1095, Pope Urban II acknowledged Piacenza's allegiance by making it the site of an important synod directed at church reform and the supporters of Henry IV; this synod brought the first hints of what would soon become Urban's call for the First Crusade. By 1126, a commune had taken shape under the leadership of elected consuls (five in number); it rejected both feudal and episcopal traditions of power and expanded its control over the neighboring countryside. Despite threats and impositions by Frederick I Barbarossa, Piacenza persisted in loyalty to the Lombard League, and its soldiers participated in the emperor's defeat at the battle of Legnano (1176). By the peace of Constance (1183), Piacenza regained its municipal autonomy, and in the ensuing decades it refined its governmental institutions and continued its program of territorial expansion in conflict with its neighbors. Piacenza participated in the Second Lombard League against Emperor Frederick II and suffered punishment after the emperor's victory at Cortenuova (1237). By 1250, however, Piacenza's communal vigor was renewed, with popular risings that led to the creation of the office of *capitano del popolo* and were followed by further movement toward the creation of a *signoria*.



Palazzo del Comune, Piacenza. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Leadership in the city was exercised for some years by the Pallavicino and Landi families. However, after the defeat of Manfred by Charles of Anjou in 1266, Piacenza submitted to his rule, electing him protector of the city and accepting his designee as *podestà*. After ten years of Angevin rule, Ubertino Landi reestablished his control of the city. In 1290, Alberto Scotti was chosen "captain and lord" of the city, an office that became hereditary in 1303, enabling the Scotti family to consolidate its power. The Scotti were able to repel the Ghibellines' efforts—supported by Henry VII of Luxembourg—until 1313, when Galeazzo Visconti seized power and was proclaimed lord (*signore*) in a Ghibelline coup. This coup was reversed in 1322, when forces loyal to the Landi conquered Piacenza, making it a new center of Guelf sentiment. In 1335, Francesco Scotti, attempting to reestablish control of the city with the assistance of the Visconti of Milano, brought about the ultimate introduction of Visconti rule in the person of Azzone Visconti, who was followed in power by Luchino and Giovanni. The succession in 1378 of Gian Galeazzo Visconti initiated a new period of institutional reform and brought a brief relocation of the University of Pavia at Piacenza (1398-1402). Republican rule in the city was reestablished in 1447, on the death of the last Visconti, Filippo Maria; but this movement was quickly suppressed by Francesco Sforza, who was proclaimed lord in 1448.

Among significant medieval monuments in Piacenza is the cathedral, built between 1122 and 1233, though it was extensively restored in the nineteenth century. Its facade was augmented in 1350 by Pietro Vago's atrium, popularly known as *Paradiso*. Another church of the period is Sant'Antonino, the original cathedral (fourth-eleventh centuries); it was rebuilt in 1014, on a Greek-cross plan, with subsequent additions. The church of Sant'Eufemia, built in the eleventh century, has been restored to something of its medieval character and has an interesting twelfth-century facade. The twelfth-century church of Santa Brigida, though much rebuilt later, preserves Gothic elements, including a fine portal. Here, in 1185, the commune ratified the treaty of Constance. The church of San Francesco, begun in 1278, is a fine Lombard-Gothic building, with a handsome facade portal and a well-preserved Gothic interior, with ambulatory and radiating chapels.

The Palazzo Comunale, begun in 1281, is regarded as a masterpiece of civic architecture in the Lombard-Gothic style. The Visconti fortress (*rocca*) was begun by Galeazzo in 1315 and completed fifty years later, but it was heavily altered in the sixteenth century to incorporate it into the massive new Palazzo Farnese—now the civic museum, whose holdings include a famous Etruscan divination tool, the *Fegato di Bronzo* ("bronze liver").

Although Alessio Tramello's masterpiece, the church of La Madonna di Campagna, dates from 1522-1528, it highlights the Piazzale delle Crociate, the site where, according to tradition, Pope Urban II in 1095 preached a preliminary call for the First Crusade at the end of his council in Piacenza.

See also Berengar I of Friuli; Constance, Peace of; Cortenuova, Battle of; Investiture Controversy; Legnano, Battle of; Lombard Leagues; Urban II, Pope; Visconti Family

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Pier della Vigna

Pier della Vigna (Petrus de Vineia, c. 1190-1249) was born in Capua of obscure parentage and became a senior bureaucrat and officer of state under Emperor Frederick II. Pier had broad and enduring influence as a master of Latin documentary composition and Latin prose stylistics more generally.

Pier's education included the study of law and rhetoric, the former probably at the University of Bologna, and the latter probably at a notarial school in Capua or Bologna, since Bologna and Capua were centers for this sort of instruction. He entered Frederick's court chancery in the early 1220s, became a high-ranking judge, had major financial responsibilities, and wrote private letters for Frederick that did not go through the chancery. It is thought that his superior skill as a stylist and advocate was immediately recognized and that from the beginning of his lifelong employment in this milieu it fell to him to compose the most important and stylistically taxing documents. By 1243, he was protonotary of the imperial court and logothete—a high official with the functions of chancellor—of the kingdom of Sicily. In 1244, he and his colleague (and fellow Campanian) Thaddeus of Sessa were authorized to decide on all petitions presented to the emperor. Pier was a trusted counselor to Frederick, and Frederick's spokesman in many of the emperor's troubled dealings with the papacy and with the communes of northern Italy. Throughout Frederick's long dispute with Pope Gregory IX, Pier represented the emperor at the papal court and at

the courts of foreign princes; shortly before Pope Innocent IV deposed the emperor in 1245, Pier attempted to intervene on his sovereign's behalf.

That Pier used his position to enrich himself and to advance his family is not surprising. But in this regard he does appear to have been excessively grasping and thus to have made many enemies. For reasons that are unclear, Frederick had him arrested in Cremona early in 1249, and blinded a few months later, probably in the fortress of San Miniato near Pisa. Pier's death not long afterward was believed in some quarters to have been a suicide, a view shared by Dante. Pier is one of the most memorable souls in the *Divine Comedy*, though he is identified only as "the man who held the double key to Frederick's heart" (*Inferno*, 13.58-59). It seems likely, as Stephany (1982) has argued, that the portrayal and punishment of Pier in the *Divine Comedy* were provoked by Dante's literal reading of Pier's widely admired *Eulogy* of Frederick, a composition that may have struck Dante as blasphemous and idolatrous.

One of a pair of busts of bearded males from Fredericks monumental gate at Capua (the gate was demolished in 1557 and the bust is now in the Museo Provinciale Campano) is sometimes considered a portrait of Pier. But it seems unlikely that the Hohenstaufen regime would have knowingly permitted this showpiece of imperial iconography to retain, in close proximity to the image of Frederick himself, the likeness of a man stigmatized in official documents of the early 1250s as *Petrus proditor* ("Pier the traitor"). Pier has also been identified as one of the figures in a portrait (now lost) at the emperor's palace at Naples, which supposedly showed him dispensing justice in Frederick's presence; but this too seems dubious.

Pier was famous in his lifetime as a person of high culture and as an artist in Latin prose. His production as a writer falls into several different categories. His early official letters match the style of the Roman curia at the time, a style characterized by elaborate patterns of verbal, phonic, and rhythmic ornaments and laden with biblical citations, all intended to convey honor and respect for the addressee and a solemn celebration of the status quo. The same verbal musicality and allusive citations of well-known biblical and classical texts are evident in letters of consolation, as well as occasional pieces such as the

famous *Eulogy*, in which messianic proclamations about Frederick are amplified with biblical language. After 1225, when the emperor abandoned his posture of gratitude toward the papacy and began to focus on what he perceived as conflicts of interest between papacy and empire, the rhetoric of Pier's letters shifts, in certain cases, from persuasion rooted in praise and affection for the addressee to persuasion based on the points of contention between the parties. The historical circumstances of controversial events become an integral part of the persuasive strategy. For nearly thirty years, Pier would wage a polemical campaign in defense of Frederick II in an attempt to win the support of prelates and princes throughout Latin Europe. Ultimately, his choice of rhetorical approaches would always depend on his perception of the intended public and the subject matter discussed in the letter.

Although the extent of his personal contribution remains controversial, Pier was at least partly responsible for the drafting of *Liber Augustalis* (1231), the Latin version of Frederick's Constitutions of Melfi, a massive law code asserting the absolute authority of the prince in his kingdom. The language of its *Proemiurn* is richly ornamented and cadenced. Just as the *Eulogy* appropriates biblical language to glorify the emperor and his court, the *Proemium* invokes biblical, patristic, and Aristotelian phrases, as well as classical Roman legal phrases, to suggest the universality of imperial rule.

Collections of Pier's documents, to which were added some of his personal letters and various writings of his correspondents and others, began to be made as early as the 1270s and came to be known as the *Epistole* (*Letters*), *Dictamina* (*Formal Communications*), or *Summa* (*Treatise*) of Pier della Vigna. Circulating in several different redactions, they served into the fifteenth century and beyond as models in rhetorical instruction and were used pragmatically in many chanceries. At least 230 manuscripts are known; their quantity and quality attest to the importance that contemporaries and successive generations attached to these writings. The Florentine Guelf Brunetto Latini, writing several decades after Pier's death, commemorates this imperial official as an exemplary orator, and as such, master of Frederick and of the empire.

Pier's other surviving works and possible works include two Latin poems in rhythmical quatrains whose attribution to Pier, though early,

is not certain: one on the months of the year and their properties, the other a satire on the mendicants. Most of Pier's Latin writings and the Latin texts associated with him still lack modern critical editions.

Pier is also a minor figure in early Italian literature. He was one of the court poets of the Sicilian school and is named in the manuscripts as the author of at least eight pieces. Two *canzoni* and a sonnet (the latter is part of a *tenzone* with Jacopo Mostacci and Giacomo da Lentini) are securely attributed to Pier; a third *canzone* (*Poi tanta caunoscenza*) is less certainly his. The modern editor of the Sicilian school corpus, Panvini (1962/1964, 1994), rejects, on a variety of grounds, Pier's authorship of the remainder.

See also *Ars Dictaminis*; *Constitutions of Melfi*; *Dante Alighieri*; *Frederick II Hohenstaufen*; *Scuola Poetica Siciliana*

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Pieraccio Tedaldi

See Tedaldi, Pieraccio

Pierleoni Family

In the course of the twelfth century, as aristocrats in Latium became more conscious of lineage and family names became more common, a Roman family began to be called Pierleoni, after its most powerful representative, Peter of Leo (Petrus Leonis, d. 1128). The family had existed for at least a century before Peter of Leo's time; its earliest recorded member was the Jewish merchant (*laudabilis negotiator*) Baruch, who translated his name as Benedict when he converted to Christianity c. 1040 (he will be referred to here as Baruch-Benedict). The power of the Pierleoni in Rome peaked between 1060 and 1140, but the family received prestigious papal appointments as late as the *Quattrocento*.

Baruch-Benedict married a Roman aristocrat, thanks to the status his riches gave him. The wealth of the Pierleoni was always proverbial, though they were not major landowners like the "old" Roman families. Trade and presumably money-lending (including lending to the popes) created the family fortune. Because of their traditional association with the papacy, the Pierleoni expanded their fortune through lucrative posts and donations from grateful popes. The Pierleoni were also firm allies of the Norman kings of Sicily, from the days of Pope Gregory VII (d. 1085); Roger II paid lavish sums to the family in exchange for a military alliance, further augmenting its wealth.

Baruch-Benedict inaugurated the Pierleoni policy of close cooperation with the papacy, specifically the reform-minded papacy of Leo IX and Leo's successors. Owing to their association with what emerged as the winning party in the Lateran, the Pierleoni rose to preeminence among Roman families. Alongside the Frangipane, with whom they shared the honors and favors bestowed by the reformed popes (some of whom, like Gregory VI, were possibly Pierleoni themselves), the Pierleoni represented the "new" aristocracy of Rome, which replaced the "old" feudal families (the Crescentii, the Tusculani) as the style of papal government changed. The "new" families did not control the popes or dictate their conduct; rather, they adopted Gregorian ideology and loyally executed the will of the reform-minded popes.

Money and military assistance from the Pierleoni enabled several popes to rule Rome despite local hostility. The original Pierleoni strongholds were in Trastevere, the Jewish and commercial neighborhood which remained marginal in Roman history until after 1000. In the second half of the eleventh century, the Pierleoni extended their control over the Tiber island onto the left bank of the river, where they held the theater of Marcellus (and the nearby church of Saint Nicholas). Having secured this crucial southern crossing of the Tiber in Rome, the Pierleoni wielded great influence in the city. Popes who were denied access to Saint Peter's could reach the basilica by crossing the Tiber at the island and proceeding through Trastevere to the "Leonine city" under the protection of the Pierleoni. By the later eleventh century, the family also controlled Castel Sant'Angelo. All popes until Callistus II (d. 1124) relied on this web of castles cast throughout Rome.

The downfall of the Pierleoni began with the death (in November 1128) of Peter of Leo. He had guided the house successfully for half a century, and he died "peerless" for wealth and progeny (as his epitaph in the cloister of Saint Paul's Outside the Walls declares). His children became involved in a debilitating struggle with the Frangipane family, who had imposed their own candidate as pope in late 1124 and had thus offended the Pierleoni. Seeking to recover prestige and influence with the next pontificate, the Pierleoni had one of their own family—a respected, upstanding cardinal—elected as Anacletus II in February 1130, just as the Frangipane elevated another pope, Innocent II. The Pierleoni seem to have stood for the die-hard Gregorian reformers' party, whereas Innocent II received support from northern Europe and the new monastic orders of the period.

This Anacletan schism of 1130-1138 proved the Pierleoni capable of dominating Rome in the face of the enmity of all Europe, but it ended with the victory of Innocent II and his supporters. The antipope Anacletus, eloquently vilified by the best writers of his day, was the last Pierleoni to have great authority in Rome. Thereafter, the Pierleoni rarely played significant roles in Roman affairs. They remained aloof during the Roman revolt of 1143-1155; and they were soon eclipsed by another generation of "new" lineages (the Orsini, the Savelli).

Like most aristocratic Roman families of medieval origin, the Pierleoni claimed to have origins in antiquity (the Anicii were said to

be relatives). Renaissance genealogists also invented a relationship with the Hapsburgs.

See also Anacletus II, Antipope; Frangipane Family; Gregory VI, Pope; Gregory VII, Pope; Papacy; Roger II; Rome

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Piero da Firenze

Piero da Firenze (Maestro Piero, first half of the fourteenth century), despite the surname conventionally given to him, does not seem to have come from Florence; rather, he may be identical with a Magister Petrus Andreutii who originated in Assisi and is documented in 1335 in Perugia as a singing teacher hired by its commune. Although Piero was a major figure in the first generation of *Trecento* musicians of the Italian *an nova*, we know almost nothing of his life. However, it is clear that he died just after 1350; and from allusions in his works, it is understood that he was present at the Visconti court of Milan and the Delia Scala court of Verona during the 1340s and was apparently in contact (if not also in friendly competition) with such contemporary masters as Giovanni da Cascia and Jacopo da Bologna. He must have been their senior, though, and a surviving document of his time seems to illustrate him as an old man with a white beard and a monastic tonsure.

Presumably because Piero was not from Florence, his music was not included in the great Squarcialupi Codex. It survives scantily in contemporary manuscripts and consists of only eight secular Italian works: six madrigals, mostly for two voices; and two *cacce*, for three voices, to which might be added two more *cacce* of doubtful attribution. His two authenticated *cacce*—*Con brachi assai* and *Con dolce brama*—are delicious exploitations of double entendres, based respectively on evocations of hunting and sailing. Piero's few extant works are enough to indicate his importance as a trailblazer. He seems to have been particularly partial to canonic writing, and his madrigals and *cacce* are the earliest examples of these forms in which canonic part-writing is developed. In that sense, he was the pioneer in establishing the main musical point of the *caccia*: its imitative "chasing" of voice parts. It is clear that these techniques strongly influenced Jacopo da Bologna and Giovanni da Cascia, and that they served to create a stylistic

momentum which would be carried forward through the continuing Italian *Trecento* tradition.

See also Ars Nova; Giovanni da Cascia; Jacopo da Bologna; Squarcialupi Codex

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Pietro Abano

Pietro Abano (Pietro d'Abano, d. 1316) was the most important medical teacher in early fourteenth-century Padua. He was a Lombard by birth, but little is known of his life. In spite of his fame, and the fame he brought his university, he seems never to have accumulated the wealth of such successful teachers and practitioners as Taddeo Alderotti. Pietro's most famous book, *Conciliator of the Differences of the Philosophers and Especially the Physicians*, remained in use in universities well into the early modern period.

Pietro received his medical training at the University of Paris, where he would have been indoctrinated into the highest levels of scholarly debate surrounding the natural philosophy of Aristotle and Aristotle's interpreters. He returned to Italy from Paris c. 1306 to teach medicine, philosophy, and astrology at Padua. The *Conciliator*, which was completed sometime after 1310, shows his Parisian training. The book presents more than 200 disputed questions on the subject of medical philosophy and attempts to reconcile conflicts between the physiological teachings of Aristotle and the medical teachings of Galen. Pietro apparently was deeply impressed by similar attempts by Averroës and Avicenna, who adopted the Neoplatonic scheme of the ultimate reconciliation of conflicting philosophical viewpoints.

Pietro also distinguished himself as one of the early translators of Galen's works from the original Greek into Latin. Much of his writing examines the importance of medical astrology. This interest in astrology, as well as his devotion to Averroist teaching, marred his reputation in some circles.

See also Averroës and Averroism; Universities

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Pietro Alfonsi

Pietro Alfonsi (Petrus Alfonsi, twelfth century) was a learned Andalusian Jew, originally named Moses, who converted to Christianity. He was baptized in Huesca, in the kingdom of Aragon, on the feast day of Saint Peter in 1106 with Alfonso I serving as his godfather—hence his new name, Pietro Alfonsi.

Little is known of Alfonsi's life. He may have served in the Aragonese court before his baptism. He had an Arabic education in letters, philosophy, and science, and he demonstrates in his writings a fundamental knowledge of the Talmud and the Bible. Between 1106 and 1116, Alfonsi emigrated to England, where he taught astronomy and served Henry I, perhaps as his physician. During that period, he produced a rather inaccurate Latin translation of Arabic astronomical tables. Through his residence abroad and writings, he passed on an intimate knowledge of Arabic culture and learning to Europeans.

Around 1108 or 1110, Alfonsi composed the *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* the most important anti-Jewish polemic of the Middle Ages. His widely circulated *Disciplina clericalis* (of uncertain date) had an important influence on the development of the European narrative tale; echoes are apparent in Petrarch and Boccaccio.

The remarkable *Disciplina* fused scatological stories with didactic form and context. Its generic models were Oriental books of wisdom

and the European "mirror of princes." Alfonsi recounts thirty-four aphoristic stories in the form of short teacher pupil or father-son interchanges intended as a manual of moral education for the cleric. He used a complex tradition of non-Christian sources, drawn, in part, from philosophy and including Arabic proverbs, animal fables, verses, and *exempla*, to illustrate universal truths. The *Disciplina* is general enough to avoid doctrinal pronouncements: it could as easily have been written by a Muslim or Jew as by a Christian. The more scandalous stories serve to entertain but do not detract from the book's didactic purpose. Major themes include moderation; good counsel; the attributes of kings; and injunctions against alcohol, women's wiles, and the vanity of earthly things. Some stories debunk superstitions and belief in magic.

The text's extensive tradition of seventy-six extant manuscripts demonstrates its popularity and its appeal to medieval readers in different cultural contexts. There were numerous translations into the vernacular, including Italian. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century mendicants mined the *Disciplina* for material to use in sermons, adding Christian morals to the stories. Compilers of later *exempla* collections often included Alfonsi's tales, verbatim or modified. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century redactions diminished the didacticism, emphasizing instead the entertaining aspects of the narratives.

In Italy, the thirteenth-century compiler of *Il novellino* included Alfonsi's Fables 6 and 12a. *Disciplina* is the best-known Arabic source for Boccaccio's *Decameron*, a strain of influence that awaits thorough study. Boccaccio could have learned these tales from the original Latin, from Italian or French translations, or possibly from an *exempla* collection. He transformed them into modern fiction; he enriched Fable 14 with distinctive personalities for the characters and a more sympathetic portrayal of a wife (*Decameron*, 7.4). Menocal (1987, 140) has suggested a possible pattern in the *Decameron*: the ninth story of each day relates to the Arabic world.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Novella; Novellino, II**

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Pietro da Barsegapé

The didactic poet Pietro da Barsegapé (fl. second half of the thirteenth century) was from Lombardy. The name Barsegape derives from *de Basilica Petri*, now Bescapé, a suburb of Milan. Barsegapé wrote a long religious poem referred to in the text as *sermón* or *dito*, *digio* (the last to be pronounced as Spanish *dicho*). *Sermone* is its modern title; its German editor, Keller (1896), called it a *Reimpredigt*. The work has been preserved only in a richly illuminated manuscript from the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth (iMilan, Brera, or Braidense Library, AD XIII 48) and consists of no fewer than 2,440 lines of different meters—mostly alexandrines and approximate novenaries (the Old Italian rendering of Provençal octosyllables), which are rhymed (occasionally only assonated) in pairs.

In the colophon of the last lines (2431-2440), where Barsegapé declares his name and the date when he finished his poem (1 June 1274), he calls himself a *fantón* ("soldier"), thus lending support to scholars inclined to identify him with the Milanese chieftain to whom (i.e., *nobili et probo vivo domino Petro de Bezacape*) Iacopino Randone, at that time the *podestà* of Florence, addressed a Latin letter on military affairs (31 March 1260).

The thematic range of the *Sermone* stretches from the creation of Adam to the resurrection of Christ, with the customary view to doomsday as a supplement. Barsegapé faithfully follows the narrative of Genesis and the Gospels, opening occasional excursuses—predicatory in tone but not totally deprived of colorful remarks—on the corruption of human society and the greediness of his fellow men. A difficult question is raised by several passages that are closely echoed in the works of earlier or contemporary poets of the same region, as in Pateg's *Splanamento* and especially in Uguccione's *Libro*, whose verses 2180-2201 are also to be read in Barsegapé's *Sermone* (verses 1713-1734). Plagiarism on the part of the author or *contaminatio* on the part of the scribe (particularly in the latter case) may be taken into account, without excluding the possibility of a common vernacular source not available to us.

Barsegapé rarely sounds original or dramatic; hence Contini chose not to include him in the Lombard section of his paradigmatic anthology (*Poeti del Duecento*, 1960, Vol. 1). Nevertheless, because of the linguistic interest aroused by such a long and detailed text in Old Lombard, and because it is the work of a layman rather than a cleric or a grammarian, Barsegapé's *Sermone* remains a notable document of the literary culture of his time.

See also Bonvesin da la Riva; Gerardo Pateg; Giacomino da Verona; Uguccione da Lodi

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Pietro dei Faitinelli

Pietro dei Faitinelli (c. 1310 or 1320-1349) was born into a noble Guelf family of Lucca. He married Becchina di Coluccio della Volpe in 1313, and in 1314 he went into exile as a result of political events. After seventeen years of exile he returned to Lucca, where he worked as a notary until his death.

Pietro wrote seventeen sonnets and one *canzone* on political, moral, and comic themes during the first quarter of the fourteenth century. His nine political sonnets are among the most mordant and powerful of his time. Of particular note are those in which he castigates the Guelf army for lacking bravery and conviction on the battlefield: *Poi rotti sète a scoglio presso a riva, Già per minacce guerra non se vénze*, and *Voi gite molto arditi a far la mostra*. Some of his works are of interest for their metrical innovations: a political *tenzone* (*Muggbiando va il leon per la foresta* and *Amico, guarda non sia mal di testa*) in which the proposal sonnet, sixteen lines in length, ends with a rhymed couplet and the response *per le rime* ends with a second *coda*; and a "triple sonnet" of thirty lines (*Io non vo' dir ch'i' non viva turbato*).

See also **Italian Poetry: Comic; Tenzzone**

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Pietro of Morrone, Saint

See Celestine V, Pope

Pisa

The city of Pisa was one of Italy's most important economic, religious,

and artistic centers in the Middle Ages. Situated on the Tyrrhenian coast, Pisa was protected by the sea, about 6 miles (about 10 kilometers) from the city's western edge. To the south were the Livorno hills, to the north the Alpi Apuane, and to the northeast the Monti Pisani. Together with the forests that immediately surrounded the city and its *contado*, these mountain ranges insulated Pisa from its adversarial neighbors, especially Lucca. On its eastern side, however, Pisa was more exposed. The Arno connected it to the Valdarno and to the communes further inland. Florence lay only 50 miles (80 kilometers) across this valley, leaving Pisa open to unwanted aggression. Despite this vulnerability, the sea and forests guarded Pisa well. They also offered the commune's economy unbounded resources throughout the Middle Ages.

We know relatively little of ancient and early medieval Pisa. The city was founded by the Romans as an outpost in the imperial period. As a major port, Pisa took in tribute from Rome's subject territories and sent it on to the capital. The city's connection to Rome was further strengthened by two roads: the Via Aurelia, built c. 241 B.C., linked Pisa to Rome; and the Via Emilia, built later, in 109 B.C., as an extension of Via Aurelia, wound its way through Liguria and even farther north. Situated on Rome's principal route to Gaul, Pisa was thus a significant city during the Roman period, as its archaeological remains indicate. Traces of a Roman bath and an amphitheater, a broad collection of sarcophagi, and the rudiments of a road system, all found north of the Arno, suggest that the colony there was well developed and densely settled.

How long the Romans stayed is uncertain. But when the Lombards arrived in Italy in A.D. 568, and afterward made Pavia their capital, Pisa declined in importance. The Lombards came to and dominated Pisa, inhabiting roughly the same area covered by their predecessors. Like the Romans, however, they left little evidence of the duration of their stay. By the ninth century Pisa was free from Lombard rule and accommodated a Christian population. In 814, a baptismal church, a *pieve*, could be found at some distance from the former Roman city. Also in the early ninth century, the Pisans began to form a fleet for defense and for maritime conquests. This strategy paid off: their first naval success against the Saracens in 823 gave the Pisans control of the African coast. Thus the early Middle Ages saw Pisa emerge as a

Christian center, prepared to flex its muscle in order to expand its territory and bring in much-coveted booty. Yet in spite of these early advances, Pisa and its environs remained relatively uncultivated until c. 1000.

In antiquity and in the early Middle Ages, Pisa had been important for its proximity to the sea, but beginning in the eleventh century, it soared as an economic, commercial, and political power. Easy access to the Mediterranean gave Pisan merchants and military forces a lead in their enterprises in the Tyrrhenian Sea and in the east, stimulating precocious and intense economic growth that lasted until the thirteenth century. This growth gave Pisa primacy in Tuscany and prominence among other port cities on the peninsula. Only Genoa and Venice attempted, and eventually managed, to displace Pisa from this position in the later Middle Ages. In addition, natural resources from the Pisan hinterland furnished its merchants and artists with a variety of agricultural products and raw materials, and thereby helped to promote commercial and creative activities during the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. This period of economic prosperity was also important for Pisa's political and ecclesiastical history. The commune gained autonomy from imperial domination, and the church and diocese grew in both size and prestige. All together, these aspects of the city's institutional and economic expansion changed the shape and appearance of the city, as its infrastructure and artistic traditions testify. In the mid-thirteenth century, however, various factors caused all this growth to slow. Changes in the prevailing political and social order, seen most markedly in the rise of the *popolo*, transformed the city. One result of this transformation was a series of struggles between social and familial groups, which in turn opened the commune and church to meddling outsiders. The contest between the Guelfs and Ghibellines also divided the city. Moreover, the very sources of Pisa's economic success turned out to be at least a partial source of its demise. Challenged by other seafaring communes, as well as by those further inland, Pisa found itself constantly under attack in these later years. War and natural disasters also continually depleted Pisa of its human resources. By the end of the fourteenth century, Pisa had entered a long and irreversible economic and political decline.



Duomo, Pisa. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Political and Economic Life

Pisa's political institutions emerge clearly from the sources beginning in the eleventh century. The government first took the form of a consulate c. 1085, the earliest of any Italian city. The consulate consisted of twelve members of the city's most successful maritime families, and it ruled the city throughout the twelfth century. It is mentioned for the last time in 1217. How the consuls were appointed remains unclear, but we do know that their election was subject to the acclamation of a general assembly of citizens. Once formed, the consulate relied on various subgroups to assist it in administering the commune. An elected group of senators—who were, however, not firmly organized into a senate until the late twelfth century—acted with the consuls to steer the commune through war and to decide on methods of taxation. As early as 1164, these senators worked with six representatives from each of the city's newly named *quartieri* (jurisdictional divisions), totaling twenty-four in all, to form an advisory council to the consuls. To be elected to one of these positions, a citizen had to belong to one of the major guilds in the city. *Viscomites*, acting as judges, and *gastaldi*, who for some time headed the city courts, also filled important roles in the consular government. Together, they presided over the city's legal affairs, which

were dealt with directly by imperial judges and a court system dominated by the *curia legis* and *curia usus*, both of which addressed civil cases.

The responsibilities of the consuls and their aides fluctuated with the commune's diplomatic and economic needs. In almost all matters, and especially in directing war, the consuls had to follow the advice of the senators and their council. The council thus checked the decisions made by the consuls, and it did so by vote. In fact, to establish any rules, whether or not these rules were of immediate concern to the consulate, the council had to have the assent of a quorum. Ad hoc commissions were also formed in times of crisis to buttress the support already provided by the *viscomites* and the senators. It appears that the coordination among these groups was intended to maintain some balance of power within the city; their presence did not, however, obviate the need for a *podestà* (podesta, or city magistrate). Pisa's first *podestà* came c. 1190, and podestas continued to hold an important position within Pisan politics until the mid-thirteenth century, that is, for as long as the consulate was in power.

This gradual crystallization of Pisa's internal government in the eleventh and twelfth centuries occurred as the city achieved autonomy from the Holy Roman Empire, which had long exerted its hold over the commune. In 1081, just four years before we see the consulate acting as an independent power, Pisa received the first of three charters liberating it from imperial power. At this time, Emperor Henry IV granted the commune political freedom by relinquishing his jurisdiction over the city and by promising to name no new marquis in Tuscany without the Pisans' consent. The second charter, issued in 1132 by Emperor Lothair II, confirmed the Pisans' possession of lands in the *contado* (countryside). Thirty years later, Frederick I Barbarossa delimited the territories that the commune controlled, exempted the commune from imperial taxation, and confirmed its right to self-government. Such privileges not only ensured Pisa's political autonomy but also enabled economic growth—for with these, the commune could exact tribute from its suburban territories and could impose both direct and indirect taxes on them as it saw fit.

In the eleventh century, however, it was neither the consuls nor their *viscomites* but the archbishop who enjoyed the fullest fiscal rights.

Frederick I granted financial privileges to the *opera del duomo*, which in turn made numerous loans to the commune for public works. These privileges put the archbishop at the center of Pisan political life. As the city expanded in size, absorbing feudatories from the *contado*, consular and archiepiscopal interests came together. These new possessions not only became part of the commune but also belonged to the Pisan diocese, so that inhabitants of newly acquired lands had to swear fidelity to both the consuls and the archbishop. Surprisingly, these overlapping interests resulted in relatively little conflict. The archbishop and consuls combined their strength against external forces and together acquired a mass of new territories to the northeast and to the south of Pisa. By the twelfth century, though, the archbishop virtually disappeared from these acts of submission, indicating that the lines between commune and diocese had become much more distinct.

Foreign relations naturally constituted another critical part of early Pisan political history. In the same years that the commune acquired greater territory, political freedoms, and economic rights, Pisa established itself as a sea power. Its desire to control Sardinia and Corsica, along with other territories, brought the commune into conflict with Muslim and Italian forces throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In 1063, for example, the Pisans cooperated with Norman forces to send a fleet to western Sicily in order to defeat the Muslims in a raid at Palermo. The raid was a success for the Italian forces, and in Pisa the victory was celebrated with the foundation of the cathedral. However, the momentum of this victory was soon countered by local contests with the Genoese over coastal territories. The Pisans and Genoese temporarily overcame their rivalry to make a truce in the 1080s and to join other Italian forces to attack the Muslims in northern Africa. Again, the Pisans and their allies won this battle and divided the territories among themselves. Such attacks on the Muslims were crucial to the Pisans' expansion.



Baptistry, Pisa. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Interest in the east continued throughout the twelfth century, but not without consequences at home. The absence of so many Pisans in Tuscany left the commune open to attack by their neighbors. Genoa frequently took advantage of the Pisans' dispersal by instigating maritime disputes over trade routes and island territories. Another rival, Lucca, also began a series of attacks on Pisa at the end of the eleventh century, striking most forcefully in 1141. The main items of contention between these neighboring communes were control of the Via Francigena (the coastal road connecting France and Rome) and the port of Viareggio. Though tension abated occasionally, Pisa engaged in

war with both Genoa and Lucca intermittently throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Intracommunal conflict was also generated by the growing conflict between the papacy and the empire. By the mid-twelfth century, Pisa had come to depend on the German emperor's military assistance, and therefore its most vocal inhabitants proclaimed their adherence to the Ghibelline party. This loyalty set Pisa in opposition to nearby Guelf communes, Lucca and Florence foremost among them, involving the Pisans in numerous local wars.

Despite this strife, the eleventh and twelfth centuries were, in general, a time of rapid political and territorial growth for Pisa. This growth, moreover, facilitated a broadening of Pisa's commercial enterprises, for its maritime conquests often led to domination of lucrative trade routes. Throughout the eleventh century and the early twelfth century, Pisans used their military victories to establish colonies in Spain, southern France, Sardinia, and northern Africa. Traders followed suit. By 1177, for instance, the Pisans had a center at Montpellier in France. In addition, the crusades pulled the Pisans eastward, introducing them to trading networks in the Holy Land and along the coasts of Syria, Turkey, and Greece. The Pisans' presence in Egypt came to be especially strong as they set up warehouses in Alexandria and Cairo. They brought to these trading ventures a variety of natural resources, such as timber, iron, leather, wool, and marble; and in return they imported spices, silks, and raw materials. By the mid-twelfth century, then, Pisa had established itself as a major sea power, and through military conquests and commercial exchange had made its presence known throughout the Mediterranean.

During the next century, however, the Pisans shifted the focus of their attention and their resources, and as a result this rapid pace of growth could not be sustained. Indeed, Pisan politics and economic activity underwent a significant shift during the thirteenth century. Whereas the early commune followed an expansionist policy and prospered because of it, the later commune had diplomatic and commercial interests closer to home and concentrated on restructuring the government.



Santa Maria della Spina, Pisa. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

In the thirteenth century, the most significant political development was the rise of the *popolo*. This transformed Pisan social life as well as its political and economic institutions. The *popolo* was a collectivity of geographically based armed companies, much of its membership consisting of Pisa's mercantile families and immigrants from other cities and the countryside. Though members of the *popolo* had asserted themselves in government for some time, it was not until 1254 that they successfully established themselves as a political entity. In that year, they took hold of the *signoria*, elected a captain of the people, and created a governing board called the *anziani*. In 1259, they drafted the *Breve pisani popoli* as their constitution. Although the power of the *popolo* was challenged repeatedly by former consuls, it stabilized and maintained its rule until the mid-fourteenth century, when a series of signorial governments took over. One sign of the dominance of the *popolo* was its financial domination of archiepiscopal jurisdictions and the cathedral chapter. Those jurisdictions had formerly been controlled by Pisa's aristocracy, but by 1276 they were managed by the *popolo*. New guilds were also granted political recognition. In the early 1200s, Pisa had two major guilds (*ordines*) and four minor guilds (*artes*); by the close of the century, the number of major guilds had risen to six. Now headed by guild representatives, *anziani*, and a captain, Pisan government in the late thirteenth century looked very different from its

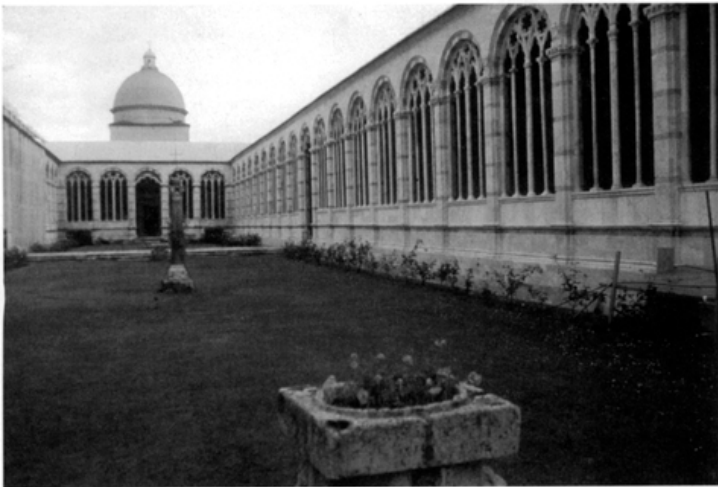
earlier consular counterpart.

The administration of this government relied on an expanded bureaucracy and on a fresh set of law codes. Officials depended on the codes that had been redacted during the consular government in the 1190s but added to them a series of documents drafted in the mid-thirteenth century, including their own constitution. An entirely new set of laws was then compiled in 1287 by the despots Nino Visconti and Ugolino della Gherardesca. The statutes they produced amounted to an up-to-date and comprehensive set of laws that regulated all aspects of life within the commune, from prostitution to public works to rules about citizenship.

Citizenship was indeed among the most important issues included in the code. Requirements for citizenship included paying taxes and making loans to the commune based on a yearly citywide assessment. In addition to financial obligations, there was a residence requirement, although this changed throughout the medieval era. The period of residence was normally twenty-five years but was later reduced to ten, and by 1319 it had fallen to merely three years. Furthermore, during any year one needed to stay in the city for only nine months, as the summer months were considered too humid to require anyone to remain. Once accepted, a citizen enjoyed numerous benefits. Perhaps most significant, one could hold political office; and given the number of civic positions that existed in this period, the chances of obtaining such an office were great. As early as 1162, the "oath of the consuls" specified more than ninety official positions in the commune, ranging from measurers and assayers of currency to chamberlains and custodians of streets and bridges. These kinds of civic employment multiplied as the municipal government grew more complex in the thirteenth century. To be sure, some public offices were more coveted than others. The highest-ranking positions in government, especially those in the *anziani*, were the most desirable. Members of Pisa's leading families from both feudal and mercantile traditions, such as the Lanfranchi, Upezzinghi, Roncioni, Visconti, and Rau, traditionally held these posts. The same families also pushed their members into prestigious positions in the church. In spite of this informal monopoly on public positions, members of lesser families could also contribute to the public life of the commune by assuming one of the numerous civic

roles outlined in the communal laws.

Moreover, the security of many of Pisa's prominent families was often put at risk by their involvement in the ongoing struggle between Guelfs and Ghibellines. Though Pisa was predominantly Ghibelline, its population was split rather evenly over this issue, so that when the Tuscan Guelfs were defeated at the battle of Montaperti in 1260, half of Pisa was invigorated and the other half deflated. Likewise, when Charles of Anjou descended into Italy in 1266 and stabilized the Guelf position in Tuscany, reactions within the city were mixed. And although representatives of both parties inhabited the city, the Ghibellines were nonetheless the most successful in asserting their interests, which kept the commune at odds with the pope. Pisa was put under interdict several times throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1241, for example, Gregory IX excommunicated the Pisans for attacking a team of papal legates en route to a meeting with the emperor. That censure was lifted in 1257, but the Pisans again drew the ire of the papacy by inviting Frederick II's grandson, Conradin, to Italy just as Charles of Anjou was coming there. As a consequence, the Pisans were again excommunicated in 1268, though they were pardoned in 1273.



Camposanto, Pisa. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The effects of this cycle of censure were exacerbated by protracted

personal struggles among Pisa's parties and its *consorterie* (family groups). Dissension and factional violence disrupted communal life continually in the late thirteenth century, ultimately splintering the popular regime and leaving the city vulnerable to intervention by despots. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, signorial governments began to assume control of the city, though usually only for a brief period. Examples of short-lived *signorie* are those of Nino Visconti and Ugolino della Gherardesca (1287-1288), Guy of Montefeltro (1289-1292), and Uguccione della Faggiuola (1314-1316). The year 1316 marked the onset of stronger, longer-lasting *signorie*, as the Donoratico family assumed power and dominated Pisan political life until 1347. Other such governments continued to rule the city, and indeed the *signoria* was the common form of political rule from 1365 to 1402. Pisa lost its independence to Florence in 1406.

In the thirteenth century, we also see a diminution of Pisan sea power. As the popular regime came to political power and stabilized in the mid-thirteenth century, the scope of Pisa's trading narrowed. Pisans were slowly squeezed out of important eastern centers by their stronger rivals, Genoa and Venice, so that by the late thirteenth century the seat of Pisan commercial exchange was directed almost exclusively toward the west. Pisans went regularly to France and Catalonia, attending, for example, the fairs in Champagne. To add to the pressures from other communes that sought to expand their own commercial networks, military losses also forced the Pisans to retreat inland. The battle of Meloria against Genoa in 1284, a battle in which Pisa suffered a devastating defeat, was decisive in this regard. Other, later events were Pisa's loss of Corisca to the Genoese in 1299, and the Aragonese conquest of Sardinia in 1324. This is not to say that Pisa's colonies or commercial ventures at sea were shut down. Because of their proximity to Sardinia and northern Africa, Pisans continued to engage in long-lasting activities with these areas; and until the mid-fourteenth century, Pisa's presence was still felt in Sicily and in the east. But its role was of much less importance, and Pisan merchants had to look elsewhere for sources of capital.

This contraction of Pisa's trading connections over the course of the thirteenth century forced the popular commune to devise new ways of raising revenue. In the late thirteenth century, the government created

new forms of taxation that were based on a rudimentary preexisting system. This earlier system was called into being whenever the city needed financial assistance—that is, essentially in times of war. Fragments of the law code from 1162 indicate that this was essentially a hearth tax. With the exception of the knightly class (whose members were seen as already contributing to the cause) and church lands, all residents were asked for donations, the amount for each household being calculated according to the number of its inhabitants. Though somewhat successful, this *estimo*, or assessment of wealth, had to be expanded in the late twelfth century. The commune and *podestà* continued to rely on citywide support of Pisa's army, but now those with the most wealth were made more responsible for the largest contributions. In spite of this change, the costs of war, urban maintenance, and a more complicated bureaucracy had by the mid-thirteenth century rendered even the expanded system of taxation inadequate. Officials therefore had to invent a more regularized means of direct and indirect taxation. Building on the earlier use of the *estimo*, officials came up with the *libra* to judge who should be subject to the heaviest tax burden. The *libra* taxed urban property according to its estimated value, rather than on the basis of its size or the number of people it supported. This assessment was kept as part of permanent record, so that when the commune needed money, it tallied the amount of money needed and then taxed accordingly.

In addition to the *libra*, the commune also reformed its means of collecting indirect taxes. Up to this point, the commune had permitted its feudal families to oversee such transactions. The Upezzinghi and Donoratico families, for instance, collected tolls over roads and bridges. Under the *popolo*, however, new societies, much like modern customs houses, were established so that tariffs could be used for the commune's benefit. An attempt was also made to expropriate all tolls and tariffs in the Pisan *contado*, and to strip the Pisan archbishop and cathedral chapter of their jurisdictions. The church eventually reversed these measures, but the implementation of both the *libra* and indirect taxation greatly helped to support the costs of maintaining and protecting the commune. Both modes of taxation were kept in place throughout the fourteenth century.

Urban Structure and Development

The shape and structures of medieval Pisa—and indeed modern Pisa—were largely determined by the demographic, economic, and political developments that occurred in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Roman and early medieval *civitas* formed a rectangle that extended north of the Arno. But as the city began to prosper in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it consistently attracted waves of settlers. By 1150, for example, Pisa's inhabitants totaled between 11,000 and 15,000. These numbers could not be accommodated by the early medieval city. Pisa's population now spilled out into the *contado*, and especially into the area that would become the city's southern half, Kinsica. Thus in 1156 the consuls decided to enlarge the city by constructing a new wall to include Kinsica and areas to the east and west of the earlier city. When it was finally finished in the early fourteenth century, the new wall followed a path that enclosed 185 hectares (nearly 460 acres)—approximately six times the size of the early medieval city. It not only relieved overcrowding by absorbing Kinsica's population and incorporating new territory into the city but also, in so doing, amplified Pisa's tax base: by integrating this fast-growing population into the city, Pisa's consuls increased the number of taxpayers. Related to this was the consuls' decision to redefine the juridical organization of Pisa's population in 1164, shortly after the wall was begun. Previously classified by their relationship to the gates of the city, Pisa's inhabitants were now slotted into four new areas of jurisdiction, called *quartieri*. These *quartieri*—Kinsica, Foriporta, Mezzo, and Ponte—still serve as the city's organizational base.

Perhaps because of Pisa's prosperity, these new zones filled quickly, and with the new population the face of the city changed. Throughout the twelfth century and the early thirteenth, lay and ecclesiastical groups initiated a spate of building projects. Kinsica in particular saw a boom in the foundation of ecclesiastical and secular establishments, such as churches, canonries, and hospitals. These institutions responded to the needs of the increasing population and at the same time attracted further settlement. At the end of the thirteenth century, the city had about 2.5 times the population it had a century before—that is, about 35,000-40,000 people. This increase in the number of inhabitants and

institutions did not occur evenly, however. Space on both sides of the Arno and along the city's older thoroughfares was by far the most popular. In fact, the congestion around these areas soon came to be considered a public hazard. In their thirteenth-century statutes, municipal officials demanded that the streets running parallel to the river's banks be kept clear at all times.

Heavy traffic through the city also necessitated the construction of additional bridges across the Arno. The city's oldest bridge, the Ponte Vecchio, originally built of wood, was rebuilt in stone in 1046 and remained the principal mode of crossing the Arno until it was destroyed in 1328. The bridge was maintained by a *pontonarius*, and it was covered by shops, as is the Ponte Vecchio in Florence. Pisa's second bridge, the Ponte Nuovo, was built by a consortium of four families in 1183. In 1262, construction on Pisa's third bridge, the Ponte della Spina, began.

As with the expansion of the city itself, the multiplication of the city's bridges reflected the demands of a growing population. Furthermore, the maintenance of these bridges and other public works required a vast number of officials. Yet during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the functioning of so many offices seems to have fragmented the administration of public works and made it less efficient. In the second half of the thirteenth century, Pisa, like many other communes, decided to join its offices of public works into one centralized bureau. This process was not completed, however, until the mid-1300s.

Ecclesiastical Institutions and Religious Life

The history of the Pisan church and of Pisan religious life follows a pattern similar to that of the commune's political and economic institutions. In the late eleventh century and the twelfth century, as Pisan political institutions became stronger and the commune's economic base expanded, the Pisan church also rose in importance. In the thirteenth century, when the status of Pisa's government and economy changed and the stability of each was uncertain, the church weathered a series of challenges and controversies that forced it to

redefine itself.

As the commune gained increasing autonomy from the Holy Roman Empire with the bestowal of imperial privileges in the late eleventh century and the twelfth, the Pisan church also gained greater power. Most important, in 1092, Pope Urban II elevated the Pisan church to an archbishopric, its archbishop, Daimbert, having won the favor of the papacy. With this distinction came an expansion of the Pisan diocese. It was given metropolitan jurisdiction over Corsica, an honor extended in the twelfth century to include Sardinia. Also in the 1090s, the role of the Pisan church within the city changed. New religious orders entered the city and came to challenge the hold that the archbishop and cathedral canons had on the pastoral care of urban dwellers. This partitioning of the *cura animarum* ("cure of souls") first began in 1090, when the Camaldolesi entered the city. Soon after their arrival, other newcomers followed, so that by the mid-twelfth century various centers of pastoral care had formed: the Camaldolesi were found in San Michele in Borgo, San Erediano, and San Zeno, all located on the north side of the city; the Vallambrosans at San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno in Kinsica; and the Augustinian canons at San Martino, also in Kinsica. For the cathedral and its canons, this meant a gradual diminution of their influence. Though the cathedral was reassured of its exclusive right to baptize and to administer extreme unction, its right to burial was eventually cut back and confined to its original domain, that is, the area of the early medieval *civitas*.

This reconfiguration of pastoral administration resulted in ongoing struggles between the new and older institutions. As a result, when more newcomers tried to insert themselves into the institutional framework of the church during the 1200s, neither the cathedral canons nor the relatively new members of the city's pastoral system welcomed them. The most important of these newcomers were the mendicant orders. The Dominicans first arrived in the city in the 1220s, with the Franciscans trailing close behind. As was common in many Italian cities, both sets of friars were met with suspicion by the Pisan archbishop and clergy. The cathedral canons in particular resisted the attempt by the Dominican order to establish its convent as a center of pastoral care, principally because the Dominicans' church was so close to the cathedral.

By contrast, later archbishops encouraged the activities of the mendicants. Archbishop Federigo Visconti (r. 1254–1277) saw the friars as allies in his larger effort to unite his people and to reform his church. He sponsored their work, helped to refurbish their churches, and urged his lay listeners to do the same. Visconti's support of the friars' activities and his sympathy toward their spirituality ensured their enduring presence in the city; and with the continued reinforcement of Visconti's successors, the friars permanently shaped the nature of Pisan spirituality. The legacy of this environment included two fourteenth-century preachers, Giordano da Pisa and Domenico Cavalca, both of whom spent time in the urban Dominican convent of Santa Caterina. At the close of the thirteenth century, then, the activities and members of the Pisan church were much more diverse than they had been in the 1100s.

As important as this diversification was, the Pisan church should not be understood solely in terms of spirituality and pastoral care. As one of Pisa's wealthiest landowners, the church continually defended, leased out, and attempted to consolidate its patrimony, which was spread throughout the city and province. One archbishop, Ruggieri Ubaldini (r. 1279-1295) made the church's holdings his special concern. The church was also deeply involved in the politics of the day, and in particular acted as an intermediary between the notoriously Ghibelline commune and the papal see. Archbishop Visconti himself tried to restore peace to this troubled relationship, although with limited success, as the commune was put under interdict three times during his career alone. His successors faced similar challenges, and some failed miserably to uphold the name of the institution. Oddone de Sala (1313-1323) had a singularly shaky career, which included a period of exile. The precariousness of de Sala's career rendered all of Pisa vulnerable to the aggression of Lewis of Bavaria, who seized and ruled Pisa from 1327 to 1329. But once he was ousted, the Pisan church was restored to order under Archbishop Simone Saltarelli, who governed until 1342.

Although church leaders were embroiled in the commune's political troubles, the inhabitants of Pisa nonetheless had a vital spiritual life through a variety of religious institutions. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw an increase in the number of religious foundations such as hospitals and confraternities. These foundations not only provided an

outlet for new developments in lay religious life but in so doing further diversified the Pisan religious landscape. Pisa's local saints and the cult of the Virgin also became important popular civic institutions. There was considerable enthusiasm throughout Pisa for the city's patron saint, Ranierus (d. 1160), and his compatriots, Bona, Ubaldesca, and Domenico Vernagalli, all of whom, according to their *vitae*, took on the plight of the poor as their central concern. Somewhat later, the *beate* Gherardesca (b. 1230) and Chiara Gambacorta (b. 1362) practiced a less socially oriented asceticism, choosing to lead more solitary lives. It was not so much these local figures, however, as the Virgin who served as the focal point of Pisan religion. The Pisans dedicated the cathedral to her as their protectress, after a military victory in 1063, and they put her effigy above each of the city's gates. In addition, to celebrate the feast of her Assumption the commune prepared for weeks beforehand. These festivities included ceremonies honoring the Virgin and convoluted processions through the city that incorporated residents of both Pisa and the *contado*, thereby unifying two parts of the Pisan commune and diocese.

Art and Architecture

Few Italian *piazze* attract the attention commanded by Pisa's Piazza del Duomo, now also called the Campo dei Miracoli. The cathedral complex, in the northwest corner of the walled city, occupies the original site of the early medieval *pieve*. Three of its monuments—the cathedral, baptistery, and *campanile*—are all models of a unique style of architecture, Pisan Romanesque, which became one of the most influential architectural styles in Italy during the medieval period. With the exception of its cemetery, the Camposanto, the monuments in this complex were begun during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, at the height of Pisa's military and economic strength.

The *duomo* of Pisa (as noted above) was founded in 1063 in celebration of a victory at sea against the Muslims, and it was consecrated by Gelasius II in 1118. The cruciform basilica was designed by the architect Buschetto. The nave, 312 feet (about 95 meters) in length, is framed by double aisles and ends in a wide transept and

apsidal choir. The polychromatic marble exterior is of great importance for both its coloring and its composition—particularly for its use of arches and arcades, which came to serve as a model adopted by craftsmen all over Italy. The facade has three stories, and on the ground level there are three bronze doors carved by Bonanno. Classical inscriptions also decorate the facade, but more important than their decorative effect is that these allusions underscore the idea of Pisa as a new Rome, a strong current in Pisan literary and religious circles in the twelfth century.

To the east and west of the cathedral, respectively, stand the *campanile* and the baptistery. Both monuments embody the Pisan style, as they make use of arcades and thin columns to lighten the appearance of their marble surfaces. The circular baptistery was begun in 1153. Construction was interrupted several times, and the baptistery was not completed until the early fourteenth century; however, the core of the baptistery must have been essentially finished by 1246, for it was then that the font was installed. On the other side of the cathedral is the *campanile*, a cylindrical clock tower (this is the famous "leaning tower"). It was begun in 1173 and, like the cathedral, was founded to mark a sea victory; and as with the rest of the monuments in the *piazza*, its construction was slow, continuing intermittently throughout the following two centuries. In its various phases, the construction was overseen by Giovanni di Simone, the main architect of the Camposanto (c. 1275); and by Tommaso di Pisano (active there in 1350-1372).

The fourth element of the cathedral complex is the Camposanto, the enclosed burial ground north of the cathedral and baptistery. The Camposanto was begun in 1277 by archbishop Visconti and became a popular site for members of Pisa's elite families. Its name (meaning "holy field") derives from a story that it holds earth brought back from the Holy Land in 1203. The design and decoration of the cemetery were the work of Giovanni di Simone. Protected by walls of solid white marble, the interior of the Camposanto is filled with Roman sepulchres that were reused by Pisan families and leaders. Frescoes, although now for the most part lost, also covered the walls of the interior. Their subjects include the *Triumph of Death*, *Legends of the Anchorites*, *Last Judgment*, and *Life of Saint Ranierus*. Though these murals were badly damaged by bombing during World War II, the preliminary sketches

(*sinopie*) still exist. The attribution of the frescoes has been widely debated, but many, which date from mid-fourteenth century, are now commonly ascribed to Buffalmacco.

The visual power of this *piazza* has often been said to derive from the stylistic uniformity of the monuments and their spatial relationship. The *duomo*, baptistery, and *campanile* all share the features that came to be characteristic of the Pisan Romanesque: gray-and-white striped revetment, arcades on the ground level, slender columns, upper galleries, and classicizing architectural details. Even the Camposanto, despite its relative simplicity and its later inception, fits into this group. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of the monuments appears to have been carefully orchestrated from the outset. Yet contrary to what this harmonious effect might lead us to believe, the present appearance of the *piazza* was not achieved until the sixteenth century; during the medieval period, other edifices filled the *piazza*. On the north side stands the bishop's palace, and on the south side is the Spedale Nuovo, a redbrick hospital founded in 1257. There were also hospices for men and women, private residences, a house for lay brothers and for the *operarius* of the cathedral, and olive and peach trees. Finally, before the Camposanto was built, Roman sarcophagi were dispersed around the church; and Pisans often chose this area as a burial place. Thus in the Middle Ages the *piazza* functioned not just as a stage for religious ceremonies but as a home for pilgrims and the sick, and as a final resting place for the Pisan dead.

As monumentally important as this square was, it did not monopolize artistic activity in Pisa during these centuries. Other churches throughout the city and *contado* are also noteworthy. The oratory of Santa Maria della Spina, built in 1323, is most akin stylistically to the monuments at the Piazza del Duomo. Its single space is encased in walls of white-and-gray marble which are decorated with sculptures and jewel-like details similar to those seen on the baptistery. The small church got its name because it supposedly housed a thorn (*spina*) from Christ's crown. Originally the church sat on the bank of the Arno, but it was moved to its present position—just above the river—in 1871 for fear of flooding.

Another important church, San Piero a Grado, is a few miles outside the city. According to its foundation legend, when Saint Peter came to

Italy he first set foot in Grado, and he erected an altar on the site. The church was built around that altar. In the Middle Ages, its fame attracted scores of pilgrims from Pisa and from much farther away. Inside, the basilica has a double apse and is decorated by frescoes of the lives of saints Peter and Paul dating from the late thirteenth century.

The interiors of many of Pisa's churches were embellished by Pisan and Tuscan sculptors and painters, among them Nicola and Giovanni Pisano. The Pisanos executed two pulpits in Pisa: one for the baptistery, the other for the cathedral. Nicola Pisano crafted his pulpit for the baptistery c. 1260. This hexagonal pulpit is decorated with scenes from the life of Christ that are characterized by classical forms; like the inscriptions on the face of the cathedral, these forms connect the work to the popular theme of Pisa as a new Rome. In this project, Nicola had two assistants—Arnolfo di Cambio and Fra Guglielmo da Pisa—who went on to fulfill commissions of their own in Orvieto, Viterbo, Rome, and Pistoia, spreading his influence as they went. Later, from 1302 to 1310, Nicola's son Giovanni made the pulpit for the cathedral. In form, Giovanni's pulpit is circular, and as a result it seems less vertical than the earlier piece. It is richly detailed and is the largest of the four pulpits done by this father-son team. Like his father's, Giovanni's pulpit also depended on a large team of assistants for its completion. Perhaps most important among them was Giovanni di Simone, who, as we have noted, became the chief architect of the Camposanto. Before working on the pulpit, the younger Pisano busied himself with another pulpit in Pistoia and other pieces for Pisan churches. For example, he completed an ivory *Madonna and Child* for a tabernacle inside the *duomo* c. 1299.

Andrea Pisano, originally from the Pisan village of Pontedera, and his son, Nino, further strengthened the association between Pisa and the plastic arts. Andrea served as *capomaestro* at Orvieto until 1349, but he is better known for the set of bronze doors that he carved for the baptistery in Florence. These doors occupied him from 1330 to 1336. Covered with scenes of the life of John the Baptist, they show the influence of Bonnano's doors for the cathedral of Pisa, in that Andrea adopted Bonnano's use of rectangular fields. Despite Andrea's provenance, the sculptural style of the reliefs takes little from his predecessors, Nicola and Giovanni Pisano. Andrea's son Nino, on the other hand, carried on Andrea's work directly, albeit briefly—Nino died

by 1368. Nino was an active silversmith in Pisa c. 1358-1359 and carved various pieces for the interiors of Pisa's churches.

Pisan painters, though overshadowed by Pisan sculptors, did produce important works in their own right. In the first half of the thirteenth century, Giunta Pisano painted several crucifixes that seem to have influenced Cimabue. Another native, Francesco Traini, who was active as early as 1320, came to be an important fresco painter in Tuscany.

The history of Pisan secular art and architecture is less prominent, because far fewer examples survive. The central civic buildings of the medieval commune—a *signoria* and a praetor's palace—were razed and replaced by Giorgio Vasari in the sixteenth century when he remodeled the Piazza dei Cavalieri. A few civic constructions do remain, however, to attest to the growth and success of Pisa's government and its mercantile families. For instance, in the Piazza dei Cavalieri, a pair of thirteenth-century towers, one of which held the imprisoned Ugolino (made famous by Dante for his treachery during the battle of Meloria in 1284), still stand in the main *piazza* beside newer structures. Along the edges of the Arno, and along the city's main thoroughfares, especially Via Santa Maria and Via del Giglio, the facades of private palaces provide excellent examples of Gothic domestic architecture.

In the latter half of the fourteenth century, an impoverished economy and, as a result, a decline in commissions brought Pisan artistic and architectural production to an abrupt end. Chaos within the Pisan church, the principal patron of the artists, made Pisa no place to live, let alone work. Indeed the political and economic decline that began in the thirteenth century, together with the problems suffered by the church, brought the efforts of public builders and local artists to a definitive end in the early fifteenth century. Pisa was taken by the Florentines in 1406, and in spite of a few short-lived periods of independence brought about by the Pisans' rebellion, the commune lost its autonomy permanently in 1509. Annexed to the Florentine republic, Pisa attracted some architectural and cultural innovation during the first half of the sixteenth century. But nothing could restore the energy and prosperity that had characterized Pisa during the height of its power in the eleventh, twelfth, and early thirteenth centuries.

See also Florence; Genoa; Lucca; Pisano, Giovanni; Pisano, Nicola

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Pisano, Andrea

Andrea Pisano (Andrea di Ugolino di Nino da Pontedera, c. 1295-c. 1348 or 1349) is recorded as a sculptor, goldsmith, and *capomaestro* (master of works) of the cathedrals of Florence and Orvieto. Andrea was the son of a notary and is presumed to have been born in Pontedera, near Pisa. His reputation rests principally on his designs for the doors of the Baptistry in Florence (signed and dated 1330), which are considered among the greatest achievements of Tuscan *Trecento* sculpture. In this project, Andrea demonstrated that the direct narrative style and effective compositional principles of Giotto's painting could be successfully translated into the art of relief sculpture.

Though nothing is known for certain about Andrea's formative years, it is thought that he trained as a goldsmith, since the reliefs for the bronze doors, his earliest securely documented commission, exhibit attention to miniature detail and ornament as well as a high degree of competence in working with metal. Given the characteristics of his

securely identifiable oeuvre, it comes as no surprise that Andrea was referred to as *orefice* (goldsmith) in 1335.

Andrea's Reliefs for the Baptistry, Florence (1330-1336)

In 1322, the Arte di Calimala (guild of importers and exporters of cloth) of Florence, the institution in charge of the decorative program of the Baptistry, had made plans for wooden doors covered with gilded metal. By 1329, the project had been revised, and the officials of the Calimala favored a more costly and technically more challenging option: doors in solid bronze. Andrea is first recorded in connection with this project in 1330, but his appointment almost certainly dates from 1329, when the Calimala sent a Florentine goldsmith to Pisa and Venice, which had a tradition of bronze casting, to examine examples of bronze doors. Though Andrea's reliefs carry the date 1330, his work did not end until late 1335: in 1330-1331 he worked on the wax models, which were cast in bronze by Venetian craftsmen in the *cire perdue* method; in 1333 the left door valve was installed; and the right wing was not completed until late 1335, owing to problems in the casting. The doors were dedicated on the feast of John the Baptist (the patron saint of the building and of Florence) in 1336; they originally adorned the east portal but were subsequently removed to the south portal to make way for Lorenzo Ghiberti's work.

Each wing comprises ten reliefs on the life of John the Baptist and four reliefs of virtues; all are set in quatrefoil frames that are, in turn, contained in rectangular fields. The general configuration of Andrea's doors was inspired by the Romanesque scheme of Bonanno's Porta San Ranieri at the cathedral in Pisa and, possibly, the Porta Regia (now destroyed) from the same building. The remarkable unity of Andrea's design, however, depends on a variety of decorative motifs, which include lions' heads that are placed at the corners of each panel, bands of studs and rosettes that unite the lions' heads, and dentiled moldings that frame each of the quatrefoils.

The iconographic program of the figural reliefs is closely related to the mosaic scenes of the life of John the Baptist in the interior of the Baptistry and to frescoes on the same theme by Giotto in the Peruzzi

Chapel in Santa Croce (also in Florence). Giotto's influence is also reflected in the harmonious balance of the compositions, in which reliefs are carefully structured into planes; and in the classical economy of the narratives, which rely on the purposeful movements of concentrated groups of figures. The technique of applying figures to a plain background, a feature of Sienese metalwork of the early *Trecento*, adds to the solemnity of the compositions. Concessions were, however, made for the occasional motif of a doorway, curtain, or canopy; and in five reliefs from the left door valve, landscape is incorporated into the designs with great subtlety. The influence of Giotto's measured style in Andrea's work is tempered by a debt to French and Sienese artistic traditions: activated, spirited drapery forms, which envelope the bodies of Andrea's dignified figures, introduce a note of grace and elegance to the otherwise restrained reliefs.



Andrea Pisano, *Virtue of Hope (Spes)*. Detail of south door of Baptistery, Florence. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

That Andrea was at the height of his creative powers when he worked on the doors is clear from the precision of the finely chased details of the fire-gilt surfaces. The Calimala had, evidently, awarded this difficult commission to a mature and proficient artist, and his work would remain a benchmark for artistic excellence into the *Quattrocento*. In fact, when the Calimala set up a competition in 1400-1401, the aim

was to attract an artist who could work on a second set of bronze doors that would follow Andrea's model and maintain his high standards.

Andrea as *Capomaestro* at Florence and Orvieto (1337-1348)

Andrea's contribution to the decoration of the *campanile* in Florence probably dates from before Giotto's death in 1337. Thereafter, Andrea succeeded Giotto as *capomaestro*, supervising work on the tower until 1341. He proceeded according to his great predecessor's plans for the lower part of the structure, which included two rows of reliefs: the lower group, within hexagonal frames, shows scenes from Genesis and practitioners of the arts, sciences, and works of man; the upper set shows the seven sacraments, the seven planets, the seven virtues, and the seven liberal arts in rhomboid frames. However, Andrea departed from Giotto's scheme in adding niches designed to include statuary above these relief cycles. Though the precise nature of Andrea's contribution is still a matter of scholarly debate, one work generally attributed to him is the marble relief *Sculpture*, which, like the style of the bronze reliefs, is characterized by plastic form, harmonious composition, and attention to detail.

Around 1341, Andrea returned to Pisa, where he maintained a workshop even after 1347, the year he was appointed *capomaestro* at the cathedral of Orvieto. By 1349, however, Andrea had been replaced, and it is frequently assumed either that he died of the plague in 1348 or 1349 or, less probably, that he moved to Florence. The family tradition was carried on by Andrea's sons Nino (fl. 1334–1360s) and Tommaso (fl. 1363-1372), especially Nino, who succeeded his father at Orvieto. Andrea's sons were less interested in the classicizing aspects of his work, and both of them evolved a mainly Gothic formal vocabulary. In the early *Quattrocento* the suave, lyrical style of their sculpture was still a force to reckon with, as the early work of Jacopo della Quercia demonstrates.

See also Florence; Giotto di Bondone; Pisano, Nino

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Pisano, Giovanni

Giovanni Pisano (d. by 1319) was the son of Nicola Pisano. Nicola executed the pulpits in the baptistery of Pisa and the cathedral of Siena,

and Giovanni is first documented as an assistant to his father in the contract of 1265 for the pulpit in Siena; Giovanni received periodic payments until October 1268, when the pulpit was completed (Bacci 1926; Carli 1943; Milanese 1854). Nothing certain is known of Giovanni's activities between 1268 and 1278, when his name appears together with Nicola's on the Fontana Maggiore in Perugia. From c. 1285 to c. 1297, Giovanni was at work in Siena, where he is mentioned as *capomaestro* of the project for the cathedral facade in 1290. His name is recorded in Siena in 1314, but in 1319 he is referred to as having died. There is considerable uncertainty regarding the attribution of his early work or supposed early work on the pulpit in Siena, and elsewhere; passages that convey a greater degree of "spiritual tension" have tended to be ascribed to him, whereas those characterized by greater emotional restraint have suggested the hand of Nicola. One image on the Fontana Maggiore is almost certainly by Giovanni; a pair of eagles with enormous claws, powerful breasts, and twisting bodies that seem to anticipate the griffin on the central support of the pulpit in Pistoia.

The facade of the cathedral in Siena was left incomplete on Giovanni's departure c. 1297, and scholars disagree as to whether the present facade reflects his original plan (Kosegarten 1984) or the upper section is a much later design, c. 1370 (Carii 1977; Keller 1937). The program in Siena (unlike the encyclopedic programs of French Gothic cathedrals) is strictly Mariological, and the coherence of its iconography is strong argument for assigning the conception of the entire facade to a single initial project. From early sources we know that a (lost) Madonna and Child stood in the lunette of the central portal flanked by a representative of the commune swearing an oath of allegiance on behalf of Siena, and by a personification of Siena holding up a model of the cathedral. Scenes from the lives of Joachim and Anna and from Mary's childhood adorned the lintel of the central portal; the side lunettes and the gable fields contained mosaics representing further events from Mary's life. On platforms projecting from the towers and between the lunettes of the lower facade were placed prophets and kings of the Old Testament and sibyls and pagan philosophers, i.e., those who in remote times had foreseen the miraculous birth of the savior. Spread out along the upper facade were evangelists and apostles, whose teachings are confirmed by the prophets. Though these were

executed in the fourteenth century, they too were probably part of the original plan, which envisioned the prophets standing like foundations for the New Testament figures above. Around the rose window appeared a seated Madonna and Child flanked by half figures representing the genealogy of Christ; scenes from the life of David, an ancestor of Christ, appeared on one of the tendril columns that originally flanked the portals. The pictorial program of the facade thus revealed the place of Siena within the total redemptive plan of Christian theology. The initial visual impact of the facade comes from an interplay of its chromatic, plastic, and structural effects: the contrasts of color, light, and shadow created by the deep jambs, gables, and gallery; the rich tactile plasticity and rhythmic flow of concave-convex movements across the lower horizontal band of portals and lunettes; and the stepping back of the upper facade behind the gables. The fourteen prophets and sibyls (the originals are in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo) are dynamic, plastic forms whose gestures and movements embody the excitement of their special enlightenment. The dramatic effect of these figures communicating across real space has no medieval or antique precedent. However, the facade abounds in classicizing motifs such as bead and reel patterns, dentils, masks, acanthus foliage, and *all'antica* "peopled columns" originally flanking the main portal (Seidel 1968-1969, 1975; Venturi 1927). The traceried *bifore* and *trifore* and aspects of the figure style are influenced by French precedents, whereas the alternation of dark and light marble revetment belongs to the Tuscan Romanesque tradition. The facade, then, shows a creative synthesis of antique traditions, local traditions, and northern Gothic influences—the last of these seen also in the undermining of solid surface in favor of perforated mass.



Giovanni Pisano (1248-C.1314), pulpit, Sant'Andrea, Pistoia. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Perhaps as a result of professional difficulties, Giovanni left Siena c. 1297, when the facade was still incomplete (Ayrton 1969). Around this time, or possibly earlier, he executed a number of sculptures for the exterior of the baptistery in Pisa. The remaining fragments (installed in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Pisa) are badly weathered, but these swelling, twisting figures burst with inner energy.

Around 1297, Giovanni received his first commission for a pulpit, from the parish of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia. Pistoia was unusually rich in

Romanesque monumental sculptured pulpits, and the proposal for Sant'Andrea insisted that it must not be inferior to one made for San Giovanni Fuorcivitas by Guglielmo, a student of Nicola Pisano; this suggests that there was a strong sense of rivalry among churches. Giovanni's pulpit is signed and dated 1301 and has an inscription that boasts of a "mastery greater than any seen before" (Pope-Hennessy 1972). This richly carved and elegant structure—its parapet poised on Gothic trefoil arches above slender columns with alternating animal and figural supports—reveals Giovanni's debt to Nicola's two earlier pulpits, but it also reveals that Giovanni was completely independent in terms of technique, composition, and expressiveness. Like Nicola's pulpit in the baptistery in Pisa, Giovanni's pulpit in Pistoia is hexagonal and has great structural clarity. But here Giovanni adopts an invention from his father's pulpit in Siena: the narrative reliefs are flanked by figures. All the forms—capitals, figures, narratives—are more energetic than the corresponding elements in Nicola's pulpits. In particular, the lion, griffin, and eagle of the central support are dynamic opposing forces, revolving around the column as hub. Traces of polychromy on the figures as well as remains of the glazed colored background *tesserae* give a hint of the original chromatic effect. The most stunning aspect of this pulpit, however, is the heightened emotional content of the narratives. In the Annunciation, for instance, the awesome message simultaneously thrusts the Virgin away from Gabriel and magnetically draws the figures together. Expressiveness combines with naturalism to bring the sacred figures down to earth: the Christ child in the Nativity is neither the miniature adult of medieval tradition nor the Herculean child rendered by Nicola but is arguably the first realistic newborn infant in the history of art (Moskowitz 2001). Giovanni's compositional and expressive powers are nowhere more evident than in the Massacre of the Innocents. At first the composition appears chaotic, but closer examination reveals that the violent movements, deep pockets of shadow, and flashing highlights cohere as a series of zigzag vertical and horizontal rhythms generated by the forward motion and gesture of King Herod. In a cinematic sequence, every moment of response is portrayed: to the left of Herod, three women plead before the brutal slaughter; immediately below and at the lower left, several mothers clutch their infants in terror, shielding the babies with their own bodies;

at the base, three grieving mothers bend over their dead children. Finally, bringing the eye upward toward Herod again, mother and murderer—like an angel and devil fighting for a soul in the Last Judgment—battle over the body of a screaming infant who has already received the death blow.

A quieter, more intimate side of Giovanni's artistic personality is revealed in a series of depictions of the Madonna and child executed throughout his career. In Giovanni's hands, the image is transformed from austerity and rigidity to an expression of intimacy, as can be seen in a half-length Madonna from a tympanum of the *duomo* in Pisa of the mid-1270s (Keller 1942, 13). In several later Madonnas, the child leans toward his mother, resting his arm on her shoulder. Finally, in the Prato Madonna, universally attributed to Giovanni (c. 1312), the relationship intensifies, as Mary, smiling, bends her head down to direct her gaze at her son. In contrast to the regular, planar features of Giovanni's figure on the tympanum in Pisa, the Prato Madonna is characterized by refined features and delicate transitions in the soft planes and contours.

Giovanni's mastery extended to wood and ivory. He executed a beautiful ivory Madonna and child (Ragghianti 1954; Seidel 1972, 1991) and a series of wood and ivory crucifixes—none documented or dated—which are so compellingly close to his images on the pulpits that the attributions seem valid (Seidel 1971). These, too, mark a turning point in the history of the theme in Italy: the relative quietude of Nicola's representations is now often replaced by an aching pathos reminiscent of some transalpine examples.

In 1302, Giovanni was commissioned to execute a pulpit for the grand Tuscan Romanesque cathedral of Pisa. Because of its location within the vast space of the *duomo*—beneath the cupola, near the south transept—it had to be much larger than the pulpit in Pistoia. Like Nicola's pulpit in Siena, it is octagonal rather than hexagonal. Since each parapet of the bridge leading from stairway to balustrade contains a narrative, there are nine relief fields (an unprecedented number), with the first and last narratives (those on the bridge) on flat panels and the rest on curved slabs. This expanded sequence includes scenes from the life of John the Baptist: the first relief shows the Annunciation to Mary, Mary and Elizabeth in the Visitation, and the Nativity of John the Baptist. Parallels and intersections between the life of Christ and that of

John, his precursor, were emphasized in the popular apocryphal literature of this period; and here they are made eloquently clear because the two Nativity scenes are at an angle to each other and thus can be seen simultaneously.

An inscription on the pulpit alludes, in a surprisingly self-conscious way, to difficulties: "The more I have achieved the more hostile injuries have I experienced" (Pope-Hennessy 1972). Further along, there is a reference to the "envy" of others and the "sorrow" of the sculptor who lacks adequate "recognition." Vasari was quite critical of this pulpit, and later in the sixteenth century, when an excuse presented itself, the monument was dismantled (Bacci 1926; Moore et al. 1993). After various proposals for reconstruction in the late nineteenth century, the present version was executed by Peleo Bacci in 1926. Responses continue to be mixed. Documents record the names of dozens of individuals engaged on this pulpit, and certainly the quality of the carving is not as uniform as that on the pulpit in Pistoia. Nevertheless, there are passages of unsurpassed emotional power and inventiveness, such as a saint dragging a resurrected soul toward Christ; moreover, many of the reliefs reveal a continuing engagement with issues of spatial illusionism and naturalism in the treatment of figures and landscape.



Giovanni Pisano, pulpit, *Nativity and Annunciation of the Shepherds*. Duomo,

Both artist and patron must have felt the challenge posed by the three earlier pulpits and must have sought to surpass them in size, iconographic and sculptural complexity, and decorative richness. The pulpit in Pisa is, then, a recapitulation, synthesis, and amplification not only of the three others but also of the major innovations in almost all the earlier monuments by Giovanni and his father. In addition to the animals and figures supporting the columns—a feature of the earlier pulpits—here there are unusually complex figural supports: in the center the three theological virtues, supported by personifications of the eight liberal arts; *Ecclesia* supported by the cardinal virtues; statue columns of Saint Michael and Hercules (or Samson); and finally a statue column of Christ supported by the evangelists. Not only do the curved narrative panels boldly flout visual expectations; below the parapet, where in earlier works we would see roundheaded or pointed trefoil arcades, we now find, supporting the spandrel reliefs, exuberant classical volutes that seem to anticipate the Baroque and are impossible to enclose within the regular geometric contours of architectural norms. Here, as in the convex reliefs above, Giovanni must have relished his radical departure from the expected. In its sheer inventiveness of form, and in the range of emotions and the effectiveness of gestures in the narratives, the pulpit in Pisa represents a tremendous intellectual and artistic achievement.

The last major work by Giovanni is the tomb of Margaret of Luxembourg, wife of Emperor Henry VII. After her death in 1310, a cult grew up around her remains; and reports of miracles led to her beatification in 1313, when the tomb was probably commissioned (Seidel 1987). Much of the original complex is lost, but a major element is extant: an exceptionally fine carving of the empress being raised heavenward by two angels. There is scholarly debate as to whether the group represents the *elevatio animae*, the soul elevated to heaven, fervently desired in the prayers for the dead; or the bodily resurrection, which should occur only at the last judgment but might be granted earlier to a saint. The visual evidence suggests a bodily resurrection, since Margaret is sufficiently weighty to require the physical exertion of the two angels. Also disputed is whether the tomb was a wall

monument or, like many later saints' shrines, freestanding (Pope-Hennessy 1987; Seidel 1987).

See also Perugia; Pisa; Pisano, Nicola; Pistoia; Siena

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Pisano, Nicola

Nicola Pisano (c. 1220-1278 or 1284) is generally assumed to have come from southern Italy and thus from the cultural milieu of Emperor Frederick II von Hohenstaufen. Nicola may have arrived in Tuscany as early as c. 1245; a series of carvings in the upper reaches of the cathedral of Siena have been plausibly attributed to him (Bagnoli 1981).

In 1260, Nicola signed and dated the pulpit in the baptistery of Pisa. This pulpit has an unprecedented form; it is a hexagonal freestanding structure whose shape was eminently suited to the centralized plan of the baptistery and echoed Guido da Como's octagonal font occupying the center of the interior space. Its parapet and platform are sustained by seven columns; the central column is surrounded by crouching

figures and animals, and the six outer columns alternately rest on lions and on the ground. The columns support trilobed archivolts flanked by representations of the virtues and John the Baptist. Above these rises a balustrade with historiated relief fields separated by triple colonettes. When the pulpit was in its original state, the creamy marble reliefs framed by reddish colonettes and moldings, the speckled and patterned supporting columns, the relief backgrounds filled with colored glazed tesserae (some of which remain), and the polychromy accenting some parts of the figures produced a richly chromatic effect.

The reliefs embellish five of the six sides (the sixth is the entrance to the platform) with scenes from the life of Christ. In a continuous narrative, the first panel shows the *Annunciation*, *Nativity*, *Bathing of the Christ Child*, and *Annunciation to the Shepherds*. This is followed by panels illustrating the *Adoration of the Magi*, *Presentation in the Temple*, *Crucifixion*, and *Last Judgment*. The figures are powerfully plastic and expressive and reveal the sculptor's study of ancient art and northern Gothic art, enabling him to combine the serene majesty of the former with the deeply felt human experience of the latter. Nicola was not content to present symbolic narratives of transcendental events; his goal was, rather, to tell a human story in a credible and empathic manner. The work is enriched by naturalistic details; the figures convey a sense of bulk and weight, and gestures and movements are rendered with convincing naturalism. This new mode of sculpture was the visual counterpart of the widely diffused apocryphal literature, in which the sparse accounts of the Gospels were enriched with domestic incidents, making the sacred figures human.

In 1265, Nicola signed a contract for a second pulpit, in this case for the cathedral of Siena. Several assistants, including Amolfo di Cambio and Nicola's son Giovanni, are named in the contract. This pulpit, completed in 1268 and placed within the enormous space of the *duomo*, is octagonal and is larger and more complex than the one in the baptistery in Pisa. Here, the narrative program began at the stairway bridge leading to the pulpit casket, with a figure of Gabriel (now in Berlin) corresponding to Mary of the *Annunciation* seen at the left edge of the first relief (Seidel 1970). As at Pisa, there are three tiers—supporting columns, arcade, and parapet. The central support includes figures representing, for the first time, the liberal arts. The narratives

now include the emotionally wrenching *Massacre of the Innocents* and a *Last Judgment* that spreads over two fields, with a full-length figure of Christ the judge between the reliefs. Furthermore, instead of column clusters (as at Pisa), there are corner figures framing the reliefs, resulting in a continuous visual and narrative flow. The classicizing forms of the earlier pulpit give way to more elegantly proportioned figures with softer draperies and refined features—an ideal influenced by French Gothic art. In the narratives, the figures are smaller and more densely packed, and the compositions are organized to suggest movement into depth. Furthermore, Nicola has greatly enlarged his emotional range. The crucified Christ in Siena, for instance, conveys a pathos lacking in the earlier relief: hanging with arms stretched in two great diagonals, shoulders dislocated, abdomen sunken by the weight of the upper torso, and head bent into the chest, the figure conveys human pain and tragedy, intensifying the meaning of the crucifixion.

In 1267, Nicola completed the *Area di San Domenico* (tomb of Saint Dominic) in the church of San Domenico in Bologna. The form and structure of the *area* became the prototype for an entire class of tombs through the fifteenth century (Moskowitz 1994). Many changes have been made to this tomb, but originally it consisted of a freestanding sarcophagus resting atop a series of supporting statue columns representing friars, archangels, and virtues. The sarcophagus, the only part of the original monument that is still in San Domenico, is embellished on all sides with an extensive cycle of biographical reliefs rather than the traditional biblical or symbolic themes. The relief backgrounds show patterns of red and gold *verre églomisé* (much of it restored). The narrative fields are separated by full-length figures projecting in high relief, including the Madonna and child on one long side, the Redeemer on the other long side, and the four church fathers—Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory—at the corners of the sarcophagus. The corner figures, both on and supporting the sarcophagus, project out diagonally, encouraging the observer to move around the ensemble.

The bold and original design of the *area* has sources as disparate as pulpits, bishops' thrones, holy water fonts, and ancient sarcophagi and was conceived as addressing both laypeople and the Dominican hierarchy. "When the tomb was in its original location between the

presbytery and south aisle, Dominic's most public and most spectacular miracles were on the side facing the lay congregation, thus serving to promote the cult; and the scenes of the founding and expansion of the Dominican order, which were of greater interest to the clergy, were on the side facing the choir area.



Nicola Pisano (c. 1220-1287), pulpit. Baptistery, Pisa. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The last major work securely associated with Nicola's name is the Fontana Maggiore ("great fountain") in Perugia, completed in 1278. This is a remarkable secular and civic monument, as original in form and

conception among fountains as Nicola's pulpits and the *area* are, respectively, among pulpits and tombs. The Fontana Maggiore is polygonal and embellished with sculptures; it stands in Perugia's main civic and religious square, and it began not as an artistic project but rather as an engineering and hydraulic problem: it was intended to bring an adequate water supply to Perugia, a town poor in freshwater springs (Nicco Fasola 1951). Precedents for some elements of the fountain's formal structure are found in two- and three-basin liturgical furnishings, such as baptismal and cloister fountains; and also in illustrations of the *fons vitae*, copies of the Holy Tomb, pulpits, and altar *ciboria* (Hoffmann-Curtis 1968; Schulze 1994). However, there is no close prototype for the scale, the complexity of design, or the richness of the program of this indispensably functional urban monument. The sculpture on the basins is uniquely expansive, including scenes from Genesis, prophets, saints, "labors of the months," the liberal arts, various fables, allegorical figures, and even contemporary civic personages. A ring of steps serves as a foundation; on this rests a twenty-five-sided basin with low reliefs separated by colonettes. Above this rises a smaller basin of twelve plain concave sides with figures at the angles and at the center of each face. From here a thick bronze column emerges supporting a third, still smaller basin, also of bronze, which in turn contains three graceful bronze female caryatids. The facets of the superimposed lower basins do not line up, resulting in a syncopated rhythm that impels the viewer to move around the structure. Simultaneously, the vertical elements, together with the diminishing sizes of the basins and the increasing plasticity of the sculpture, draw the eye upward. The effect is of a spiral movement that culminates in, and is resolved by, the caryatid group. The fountain was designed to be seen not only from the ground but also from the balcony of the communal palace (altered at a later date), which was used for announcements to the *piazza* below and as an entrance to the audience hall within for government officials and citizens. Even today, the view from above has its own special effect, as the play of descending water contrasts with the ascending concentric superimposed basins.



Nicola Pisano, *Nativity*. Pulpit, baptistery, Pisa. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Nicola's sculpture provided the source and impetus for the development of his two major assistants. His son Giovanni took up the emotional current of Nicola's style, transforming it into a very personal and highly charged idiom. Arnolfo di Cambio's temperament led him instead toward a starkly monumental and classicizing mode. Nicola's art profoundly influenced not only his immediate successors but also the painting of Giotto and, indeed, the entire naturalistic and classicizing tradition of the art of the following centuries.

See also Arnolfo di Cambio; Bologna; Dominic, Saint; Perugia; Pisa; Pisano, Giovanni; Siena

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Pisano, Nino

The Tuscan sculptor Nino Pisano (c. 1315-1368) remains an elusive figure for art historians, despite the wide recognition of his importance in the second half of the fourteenth century. He signed only three marble sculptures: in Florence, the Madonna and Child at Santa Maria Novella; in Venice, the Cornaro Madonna and Child at Santi Giovanni e Paolo; and in Sardinia, the Bishop Saint at San Francesco in Oristano. Archival documents record other projects, including a position as *capomaestro* of the cathedral at Orvieto in 1349; contracts for work as a goldsmith; and contracts for tomb monuments, such as those for Archbishop Giovanni Scherlatti of Pisa and for the merchant Giovanni dell'Agnello—his last documented work (1368). The first edition of Giorgio Vasari's biographies of artists, in 1550, mentions only Nino's completion of the Madonna in Santa Maria Novella; but in his edition of 1568, Vasari added three more works from Pisa: the Madonna and Child at Santa Maria della Spina, the Madonna del Latte (Museum of San Matteo), and an Annunciation group at Santa Caterina. The Santa Maria Novella Madonna and Child, in Carrara marble, demonstrates why Nino's sensitive work enthralled contemporary and later sculptors. The elegantly draped Madonna supports a large, animated Christ child on her left hip and smiles kindly as he reaches, open-mouthed, toward a bird that she grasps in her right hand. Nino signed this piece and identified himself as the son of Master Andrea of Pisa. (Andrea created the first bronze doors for the baptistery in Florence and major marble sculpture for the cathedral bell tower.)

Modern scholars have struggled to identify other work by Nino, a task made particularly problematic by his close association with his father; by his independent interest in increasingly expressive Sienese and French Gothic styles; and by the fact that he had his own workshop, which included both his brother Tommaso and his son Andrea di Nino. The attribution of several works—primarily the famous Madonna del Latte, an unusual half-length nursing figure—has been particularly vexing. Although Vasari considered the Madonna del Latte a work by Nino, scholars now generally attribute it to Andrea; even Pope-Hennessy (1994) finally came to this conclusion. Another attribution by Vasari has been equally disputed: the marble Annunciation at Santa Caterina. In this sculpture, the archangel Gabriel and the Madonna may have been moved from their original location,

and the inscription with the date 1370 may have been added later. Moskowitz (1986) does not consider the Annunciation Nino's work; but other scholars accept Vasari's claim and have used this sculpture pair as a basis for attributing to Nino the famous Madonna and Child in Santissima Annunziata in Trapani, Sicily.

Moskowitz (1986) has argued for a limited group of sculptures by Nino whereas Kreytenberg (1984, 2000, 2002) has expanded the corpus and has included wooden sculptures. One of the most interesting works is a rare wooden tabernacle, presumably by Sienese carvers, with a small polychromed wooden Christ crucified that Kreytenberg believes is Nino's and a painted representation of the Virgin Mary, Saint John the Evangelist, and two angels by the Sienese artist Luca di Tommè. Kreytenberg compares this Christ crucified with another work he attributes to Nino, a marble Christ crucified (c. 1355–1360) in Pisa at San Michele in Borgo.

Almost the entire literature on Nino Pisano focuses on questions of connoisseurship rather than the context of his work, which often seems to have been within the orbit of the mendicant orders. The lively interest in this late medieval sculptor, however, has brought increased attention to a very active area of art commissions, often ignored until recently.

See also **Pisano, Andrea**

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Pistoia

Pistoia is a Tuscan city, about 21 miles (34 kilometers) from Florence and 10 miles (13 kilometers) from Prato. It is situated on the Ombrone River, in a basin circled by the Apennines to the north and the Tuscan hills to the south. The province of which Pistoia is the capital extends into the mountains and out to the plain toward Prato. At its farthest extent, medieval Pistoia covered a territory of which almost half was very mountainous and only about a fifth consisted of arable plains and low hills. The city at the center of this region, Pistoia, supplied agricultural products and other trade goods to the mountainous Apennine settlements, which could grow some grains but was better able to grow chestnuts, acorns, and other nuts. People living at the highest elevations, more than about 2,000 feet (600 meters) above sea level, had to buy or trade for wine and oil. Thus Pistoia was important as an agricultural center.

Though horses and cattle wintered in the mountains, sheep herding was possible in the mountain regions only through transhumance, moving the animals from summer to winter quarters at lower altitudes, either near the city of Pistoia itself or across the Arno into the Sienese Maremma. The mountains were also rich in lumber, stone, and iron, which the city used in building. Though the pistol that gave Pistoia its

name is beyond the dates of this work, ironworks of all kinds were a documented specialty of Pistoia from the twelfth century on. Monte Albano sloped more gently, and subsistence farming of grain, olives, and grapes was possible there. Enough wine was produced for export, not just to Pistoia but also to Prato and Florence.

By the twelfth century, Pistoia was a walled city, a regional trade and ecclesiastical center with six major roads leading out of it, and a hub for numerous monasteries. Three routes went over the Apennines: one northwest to Modena and two to Bologna. The first of the two to Bologna went straight north through Sambucca; the other went northeast along the River Bisenzio. The older of two routes heading south over Monte Albano led to Pescia and Lucca, along the Roman Via Cassia; the newer one went to Pisa. The sixth road led east to Prato and then southeast to Florence. In addition, the Via Francigena, the pilgrim route from France through Lombardy to Rome, skirted Pistoia. So long as land travel remained the chief method of transporting goods, Pistoia flourished. However, the Arno was not navigable for large ships much inland from Pisa. As the sea became more important than roads for international trade in the later Middle Ages, Pistoia's importance lessened.

History

There are traces of Etruscan settlement in the vicinity, but the first written reference to the city's classical Latin name, Pistoria, is in Plautus, who speaks of its bakers, *pistorienses*, c. 200 B.C. According to Livy (*Historiae* 39.1), it was the supply base for Roman legions fighting in the vicinity from 279 to 174 B.C. It also saw fighting under the Republic. Catiline's forces were destroyed, and he himself was slain near Pistoria in 62 B.C.

Much of our knowledge of Pistoia in the early Middle Ages is ecclesiastical. Tradition, perhaps unreliable, ascribes its conversion to Saint Romulus, bishop of Fiesole. Tradition also ascribes the dedication of the cathedral to Saint Zeno, patron and bishop of Florence, who saved Pistoia from a flood c. 500. The earliest firm evidence of a bishopric is a mention in a letter of Pope Gelasius I in 496; the first

bishop whose name has come down to us is Johannes, c. 700. In the seventh century, the city, including its cathedral, was destroyed by the Lombards, but the Lombard king Desiderius fortified Pistoia again in 772. The boundaries and possessions are listed in a charter of Emperor Otto III in 998 and were confirmed and further defined by various twelfth-century popes. In 1067, Bishop Leo of Pistoia figured prominently in the investiture controversy between Emperor Henry IV and the church.

Pistoia was the first city to establish its independence after the death of Countess Matilda of Tuscany (in 1115), and the twelfth century witnessed the ascendancy of a commune. There are mentions of statutes as early as 1107, and there are surviving statutes from 1175, which define its powers. But the landowning and property-owning families did not always work peacefully together.



Duomo, Pistoia. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.



Baptistry, Pistoia. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Pistoia was officially Ghibelline, supporting Emperor Frederick II. But c. 1300 the Guelf Cancellieri and Ghibelline Pancia tichi families began to struggle with each other for supremacy. In May 1301, the Ghibelline faction appealed to Florence for help. The combined Ghibelline and Florentine force was victorious, and the Pistoian Guelfs took refuge in Florence. In November, however, the Pistoian and Florentine Guelfs, under Charles of Valois, captured the city. Between 1302 and 1306, the city was besieged. From 1306 to 1310, the city was

ruled by Lucca and Florence and was heavily taxed. The Cancellieri triumphed but then became divided into Black and White factions; the divided town fell to Castruccio Castracane of Lucca, who was its effectual ruler from 1320 to 1328. In 1325, the city appealed to Florence for help, which came at the price of Florentine rule. Under this rule a consular government was established, headed by officials who were first called consuls and then *gonfalonieri*; it lasted from 1329 to 1821.



Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Political Institutions

The church. The bishopric had been the central force in Pistoia during the early Middle Ages. But in 1048, the cathedral suffered a disastrous fire. Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, contributed to its rebuilding; however, a document of 1114, in which Count Guido and Countess Emilia gave orders to construct a water channel for the building works, indicates that it was not finished until the early twelfth century. By then, the political power of the church in Pistoia was weakening, and its property was being sold to the commune, which was becoming more influential. There are records of regional groups of landowners from the late tenth century. A free commune of lay landholders is first mentioned in Pistoia in 1105. By the statutes of 1107

—the oldest in Tuscany—the commune ruled the city and the land for 4 miles (about 6 kilometers) around it. Though the bishopric continued to hold land in much of the countryside beyond that, neither Bishop Hildebrand (c. 1107) nor his successor Jacobus (r. 1118–1141) was sufficiently forceful to combat the growing organized lay power.

Bishop Atto (r. 1135–1153) succeeded in restoring the church to something of its former importance and regained some of its property. Through a Pistoian cleric called Rainerius, who had become the schoolmaster at Santiago da Compostela, the cathedral negotiated successfully with the archbishop and canons of Compostela for a relic of Saint James, which arrived c. 1140. By 1145, there was an altar to James in the cathedral, and miracles began to be reported. Aided by an indulgence from Pope Eugenius III, Pistoia became a place of regional pilgrimage. The Opera di San Jacopo, which collected and distributed alms and organized the celebration for the feast of Saint James (25 July), had its own *palazzo* in the cathedral square. Some of the miracles reported in Pistoia were included in the widely circulated *Legenda aurea* (*Golden Legend*, c. 1265) of Jacobus da Voragine, bishop of Genoa, spreading the renown of the city. Bishop Atto was also regarded locally as a saint (though he was not formally canonized until the sixteenth century), and miracles reported at his shrine enhanced Pistoia as a spiritual force. One of Atto's successors, Giovanni Vivenzi (c. 1370), was spiritually remarkable enough to be raised to the rank of venerable, but by the end of the twelfth century the bishopric was no longer a political force to be reckoned with.

Commune. From the mid-twelfth century on, the basis of political power was increasingly centered in the commune. By the late 1170s, the commune controlled not only the city but three hospitals guarding the two mountain passes over the Apennines and the pass over Monte Albano to Pisa. By 1200, it also controlled the lowland route to Bologna. This gave it power over most of the trade coming in and out of Pistoia, and over the landholders along those routes, who were taxed in money and services for the maintenance of the roads.

Church and state shared the Piazza del Duomo in the city center, where the episcopal palace was first built in the eleventh century; this palace now houses the archaeological and diocesan museum. The Palazzo del Commune was built in 1294 on the east side of the square; it

now houses the Museo Civico. The Palazzo Pretorio was built in 1367, when the city was under the domination of Florence; the arms of the city magnates still adorn the walls of the courtyard.

Social and Economic Life

The trade routes running through Pistoia ensured its prosperity during the early medieval period. What we know of its social and economic life is scattered before the early thirteenth century but suggests an expanding rural population, capable of supporting monasteries and hospitals. The *Liber focorum* (*Book of Hearths*), which surveyed the rural households of the 124 communes, indicates a prosperous and stable country population, served by thirty-two parish churches (*pievi*) in the province c. 1244. But a decline was setting in: only 108 communes were reported in 1255. The decline seems to have continued through the fourteenth century. The black death hit the region in 1348, and the rural population suffered further losses.

Herlihy (1967, 73) estimates the urban population at about 11,000 in 1219. It remained steady until the political upheavals of the early fourteenth century, when unstable conditions and high taxes drove many people away. There was a plague in 1340; and then, in 1348 (as noted above), came the black death, cutting the population nearly in half. The result was a lack of tradesmen, craftsmen, and laborers in the city at mid-century. But recovery followed; there was more church building in the second half of the fourteenth century than there had been since the twelfth century, the population grew to about 8,000 by 1400, and there were steady increases in wages for both rural and urban workers. The population also expanded outside the city walls.

The chief industries in the city were ironwork and wool, which continued to prosper. Political subjugation to Florence had economic advantages. As early as 1209, Pistoian bankers were present at the fairs in Champagne. Following land routes or using ships from Pisa, merchants also traveled to Marseilles and beyond. They formed merchant companies, of which the five most prominent were the Ammanati, Chiarenti, Panciatichi, Reali, and Visconti. By the late thirteenth century, the Ammanati had regular establishments in

Bologna, Genoa, England, Orléans, Paris, Montpellier, and Acre in the Levant. Their English office unfortunately lent money to Edward I of England, whose failure to pay led to their bankruptcy early in the fourteenth century, but the others survived as economic and political leaders.

The statutes of 1330 list dealers in spices, gold, silks, and girdles; and money changers, cloth and iron workers, furriers, masons, vintners, innkeepers, butchers, shoemakers, painters, and barbers. In the twelfth century, Pistoia had done little to finish the wool it collected, but by 1330 the city had weavers, finishers, tailors, and stocking and doublet makers. There were also manufacturers of silk. The ironworkers made arms and sent them to Florence and elsewhere.

The cathedral continued to be an important force in the social life of the city; pilgrims came to the shrine of Saint James in the cathedral, and as we have seen, the Opera di San Jacopo, which saw to its maintenance and adornment, had a *palazzo* in the main square. This was run by a city official. Records that survive from the mid-fourteenth century on indicate that the Opera di San Jacopo sponsored increasingly lavish feasts. It also gave alms to the deserving poor of the city and the region. It survived until 1777. By the sixteenth century, a Confraternity of Saint James was organizing processions; we do not know when it was founded.

Other churches also had processions. In ceremonies similar to those at Florence, the Benedictine nunnery of San Piero Maggiore presided over the mystic marriage of its abbess with each new bishop, with feasting and processions, until the seventeenth century. The Cavallieri di Santo Stefano had their celebrations at the church of San Bartolomeo.

Miracles were a part of the social life of any medieval shrine, and in addition to the relic of Saint James the city had a miraculous fourteenth-century painted bed in the church of the Madonna del Letto. The twelfth-century bishop, Atto, was translated to a new shrine in 1337; by 1357, seven miracles had been recorded to be presented in the documents for his canonization.

The oldest city hospital, the Ospedale del Ceppo, has provided care for the sick and permanently infirm since its foundation c. 1277; the present building is remarkable for a series of polychrome terracotta *tondi* by Giovanni della Robbia (early sixteenth century), representing

the cardinal virtues, the theological virtues, and the seven works of mercy. With the hospital of San Gregorio, which cared for the insane as well as the sick and permanently infirm, the Ospedale del Ceppo also distributed alms and food to the poor during specified feasts.

Intellectual and Literary Life

There are manuscripts of Bibles, sermons, commentaries of Augustine, and the decretals of Burchard dating from the eleventh century and the early twelfth century still in the cathedral library and city archives of Pistoia, suggesting that the city must have had both a school and a *scriptorium*.

The earliest named author associated with Pistoia is Bishop Atto. According to a tradition at Vallombrosa, where he was abbot, he was a Spaniard, born in the Portuguese border town of Badajoz. At Vallombrosa, he wrote lives of two Vallombrosan monks—Saint John Gualbert (d. 1133) and Bernard, who became bishop of Parma. All that survives of Atto's literary endeavors at Pistoia is his correspondence with Rainerius and Archbishop Diego Gelmirez of Compostela about the relic of Saint James.

The lively account of the consecration of the first chapel to Saint James in the cathedral in 1145 is the work of Cantarinus of Pisa, who was active as a scribe in Pistoia in the 1140s. Authors of subsequent Jacobean miracles and liturgies are anonymous, but (as mentioned above) two Pistoian miracles were included by Jacobus de Voragine in his widespread collection of saints' lives, *Legenda aurea*. Miracles of Atto himself were collected after the discovery and reinterment of his body in the cathedral in 1337. Later in the twelfth century, Bishop Bonus wrote a treatise, *De cohabitatione clericorum et mulierum* (c. 1189).

Apart from these traces, we know little of the intellectual and literary life of the city. The cathedral must have had a school, but no distinguished scholars are identified with it. We know of independent grammar masters lodging in the city in the late thirteenth century. The city's own historians who left contemporary accounts all fall outside our period: Sozomeno (d. 1458); Manetti; and Francesco Ricciardi, who

wrote a city chronicle from 1494 to 1500.

Zaccagnini (1907) collected the work of a number of Pistoian poets—e.g., Paolo Lanfranchi, Meo Abbracciavacca, and Lemmo Orlandi—from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but the only one of major importance is Cino da Pistoia. Cino, the son of *ser* Francesco dei Sinibalde (Sighibuldi, Sinibuldi), was a canon lawyer as well as poet of the *dolce stil nuovo* and was a friend and contemporary of Dante, who refers to him in *De vulgari eloquentia*. Though Cino served as the judge of civil cases in Pistoia in 1317, he spent most of his career elsewhere. He held teaching positions in Siena (1321-1326), Perugia, and Naples and also lectured in Florence and Bologna. His poems include exchanges with several Bolognese notables, as well as poems to Dante, the best-known of which is on the death of Beatrice. Cino's own ladylove, Selvaggia Vergiolesi, came from a Pistoian magnate family. Cino's Latin legal works—the only ones mentioned in his epitaph in the cathedral—include commentaries on the first nine books of the code of Justinian, and some *quaestiones*, *consilia*, and *additiones*. Cino bought property in Pistoia the year before he died, and a cenotaph was erected in the cathedral, near the altar of his uncle the bishop; Cino's nephew inherited the *castellum* and *torre*.

Zelone Zeloni was also a doctor of law, but c. 1374 he wrote a Latin epic, *Pia fons*. Tancredi Vergiolesi corresponded with Coluccio Salutati. Buonaccorso da Montemagno wrote *canzoni* to the lady Lauretta; his nephew and namesake lectured on law and wrote a treatise on nobility.

Art

The visitor to Pistoia is first impressed by its circuit of walls, dating from c. 1240 and still complete. Within the city, traces can be found of the first circuit with four gates, built under the Lombard king Desiderius c. 772; and the second circuit, of c. 1150. The magnificent tower of the fortress of Saint Barbara is a sixteenth-century addition. Within the walls are numerous churches, as well as the medieval houses where the builders of the baptistery lived, on Via Stracceria between the baptistery and Piazza della Sala. Piazza del Duomo contains the cathedral, with campanile and baptistery, and several medieval palaces.

Palazzo Pretorio dates from 1368 and still has carved or painted crests of *podestà*, *capitani*, and magistrates on the walls and vaulting of the entrance foyer. The Palazzo del Comune was built between 1295 and 1353 for the *anziani*. In the central square, Pistoia still has the feel of a well-built medieval city.

Since Pistoia had few native architects of the first rank, it imported architects from Florence, Pisa, or Siena for major projects. These outsiders, however, had local helpers and assistants, and some of their names have come down to us. We know a bit more about the decorative artists associated with buildings. A group of Pistoians—including Vincino, Leonardo, Enrico, and Giacomino da Pistoia; and Jacopo di Mazzeo—worked in Pisa on the Camposanto under Giovanni Pisano, son of Nicola Pisano, during the last years of the thirteenth century. They also worked in Pistoia. Enrico was probably responsible for the capitals on the main door of Sant'Andrea. In the church of San Paolo, Jacopo di Mazzeo made the statue of the saint above the architrave. Vincino may be the same as the Vincino who worked on the figure of the Madonna in an apse mosaic at the *duomo* of Pisa. Antonio Vite worked in Pisa in 1403, under Stamina, on the passion of Christ, and later assisted with the frescoes in the chapel of Saint Anthony Abbot in Pistoia.

We know little more than the names of most of the members of the artists' guild. Giovanni Cristiani is an exception. He is mentioned first in 1374 and again in 1382. According to Vasari, he had studied with Cavallini; he worked in the cathedral in 1394 and 1396 and wrote manuscripts. His three sons, Bartolo-meo, Jacopo, and Giovanni, were also painters.

The first cathedral was dedicated to Saint Martin of Tours in the fifth century, but it was rededicated in 595 to saints Zeno, Felix, Rufinus, and Proculus. The final rededication in 1453 was to saints Zeno and James. Pistoia suffered the usual vicissitudes of medieval cathedrals. There was a disastrous fire in 1108. Two years later, Countess Matilda of Tuscany gave money for a new cathedral. The massive columns in the nave survived the fire of 1202 and can still be seen. In 1240, Nicola Pisano rebuilt a three-aisle church. In 1298, the nave collapsed in an earthquake; its replacement was restored in 1660. In 1311, the portico was constructed with black-and-white marble from Monte Ferrato in

the territory of Prato and from Valdibrana. Although the choir and Romanesque apse were destroyed in 1599 to make way for the present Baroque apse, the cathedral remains substantially a thirteenth- and fourteenth-century building.

The elaborate silver and gilded altar of Saint James in the chapel in the south aisle was a lengthy project. The oldest part is the base, with New Testament scenes and apostles, which was worked in silver by Andrea d'Ognabene in 1316. The right-wing panel, with silver reliefs of other Old and New Testament subjects, was done by the Florentines Francesco di Niccolo and Leonardo di Ser Giovanni in 1361 — 1364. The left wing with scenes from the life of Saint James was completed by Leonardo in 1367-1371. Gilio Pisano did the silver seated statue of Saint James, surrounded by the other apostles, in 1353. Giovanni Cristiani designed the Christ in the mandorla above the apostles in 1394, and this was executed by the goldsmith Nofri di Buto and Atto di Piero Braccini. Pietro d'Arrigo (1386) did many of the figures of the four doctors and four evangelists, and Pace di Valentino executed many of the figures in the niches surrounding Saint James on the throne. In all, there are 628 figures on the altarpiece. The result of all this industry is nearly overpowering, but Gilio Pisano's Saint James preserves a compelling serene dignity.

Political turmoil did not disrupt the creative life of Pistoia. The *duomo* received further adornment in the fourteenth century, and the octagonal baptistery was begun in 1338 by Celiino di Nese. Jacopo di Mazzeo fashioned the marble statue of Saint James (1366) on the top right-hand side of the facade. The monument to Cino da Pistoia (1337), designed by Celiino di Nese, shows Cino flanked by four of his pupils. The main altar was redone in 1337 and again in 1606. In 1379-1383, Filippo di Andrea fashioned a reliquary of the Holy Cross weighing 28 pounds (about 13 kilograms) and requiring 6 ounces (168 grams) of silver gilt.

Across the *piazza* from the *duomo* is the baptistery, in green-and-white marble with a lead-covered cupola. It was begun in 1338 by Cellino di Nese, working from a design by Andrea Pisano, and was finished in 1359. Statuettes and bas-reliefs are by Andrea's sons Nino and Tommaso. The exterior of the baptismal font is decorated with panels from the choir of the *duomo*. In the interior of the font, an early

basin (1266) in polychrome marble by Lanfranco da Como has been discovered.

The fortified tower of the *poaestà*, dating from c. 1200, became the campanile for the *duomo* in 1301, with the addition of three orders of columns in the Pisan style of dark-green and white marble, designed either by Giovanni Pisano or by his assistant Fra Guglielmo di Pistoia. It is 22 feet (67 meters) high—the approximate elevation of Pistoia above sea level.

The oldest surviving church in Pistoia is Sant'Andrea, built in the first half of the twelfth century. The relief sculpture of the Adoration of the Magi above the doorway was done by Magister Gruamonte and his brother Adeodatus in 1166. The pulpit in the nave is an imitation of Nicola Pisano's pulpit in the baptistery of Pisa, by his son Giovanni. Also from the twelfth century (1159) is San Bartolomeo in Pantano, with a relief of Christ and the apostles (from 1167) on the facade.

San Giovanni Fuorcivitas—which, as its name implies, is located outside the twelfth-century city walls—has one long side adorned with dark-green and white arcades in the Pisan style, and relief sculptures on the architrave by Gruamonte (c. 1162). Inside are a pulpit by Fra Guglielmo da Pisa (a follower of Nicola Pisano) and a font by Giovanni Pisano, both of which date from c. 1270. The altar is composed of intarsia panels from the *duomo*, and to its left is a polyptych by Taddeo Gaddi (1353-1355).

Though it is an old foundation, the church of San Pietro Maggiore dates from the late thirteenth century. The architrave over the main portal is divided into niches containing white marble statuettes of Christ, Mary, and the apostles; these have been ascribed to Bono Fiorentino, who also worked on Sant'-Andrea. The church of San Francesco, begun in 1294, has frescoes on Franciscan themes by followers of Giotto. In the chapterhouse off the cloister in the church of San Domenico, also begun toward the end of the thirteenth century, are collected various frescoes by artists such as Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani and some members of the Sienese school.

See also Cino da Pistoia; Dante Alighieri; Florence; Lanfranchi da Pistoia, Paolo; Orlandi da Pistoia, Lemmo; Pisa; Pisano, Giovanni; Pisano, Nicola; Prato

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Placiti

See Texts, Early Italian: Placiti Cassinesi

Plato

Plato (427-348 B.C.) was born into an aristocratic Athenian family. As a young man, perhaps in part owing to Socrates's influence, he refused to become involved in violent opposition to a democracy led by a relative. But when the democracy itself later executed Socrates, Plato decisively rejected Athenian politics for a life of philosophy. He subsequently founded the Academy, a loose group of intellectuals devoted to philosophy, especially mathematics. Though he did not take part in

domestic politics, he made several visits to Sicily, at some personal risk, in connection with plans for political reform. Most of his own philosophizing in the Academy was carried on through live discussions. What he wrote appeared in the format of dialogues in which Socrates usually played the principal role.

During the fifth century B.C., traditional Greek values had been challenged by the so-called Sophists, who subjected every aspect of life to criticism based on experience and on reason free from the inhibitions of convention. Socrates and Plato, too, insisted on the autonomy of reason, but at the same time they recognized that awareness of its own limitations is a primary requirement for fully rational thought. Many traditional values could then be rigorously criticized with no danger of relativism or nihilism. From the conviction that reason is the key to human nature but that mankind has powerful irrational impulses as well, Plato concluded that human beings are complex creatures and that philosophy, accordingly, is concerned with difficult choices between conflicting moral values. Goodness centers on our true self (reason and soul), evil on our lower self (passion and body). Rational choice is possible only if reason has something objective and binding to work with. Socrates and the Pythagoreans had already viewed philosophy in these terms, and Plato's thought borrows elements from both to support a full-scale justification—epistemological as well as ontological—for the conviction that philosophy is an entire way of life founded on what is absolutely true.

The dialogues are commonly divided into three main groups. The earliest group portrays Socrates attempting, unsuccessfully, to define key ethical terms. The middle group introduces a more positive, ambitious metaphysical basis for knowledge. The last group explores technical questions, especially in epistemology, reflecting current discussions in the Academy. The first group seems to represent Plato's initial grappling with issues raised by the critical questioning through which Socrates showed the need for a firm standard of value without fully providing one of his own. The elaboration of metaphysical tools—the theory of forms—in the middle period is Plato's own proposal (influenced by Pythagorean mathematics and Parmenides's theory of reality) concerning an objective foundation for knowledge and reality. Its central thesis is that only what is fully real can be fully known. The

last group of dialogues, some of which reopen fundamental issues, is an ongoing critical examination that marks the imperfection of human knowledge and is an abiding Socratic heritage. Plato thus has not so much a system as a basic orientation for which he is convinced good reasons can be advanced.

The theory of forms (this term, like others in Platonic philosophy, is often capitalized) is an ontological counterpart to and a basis for the distinctions between truth and error, good and evil, mind and body. Because material objects are subject to change and are inherently imperfect, they are not fully knowable. Yet relativism and skepticism are not inevitable, since we do in fact encounter something that is unchanging, perfect, and therefore an object of true knowledge. This is notably the case in mathematical knowledge of, say, the circle, which as studied by the mathematician is not material at all but a changeless, wholly objective reality. We have access to such objects only through the mind, and so there is a domain made up of perfect entities which serve as exemplars for the countless imperfect things we deal with physically (e.g., circular things). These fully real forms, or ideas, thus represent an alternative "world" opened to us by philosophy; that is why our true self lies in our power to reason abstractly. In addition to mathematical objects (which Plato may have regarded as somewhat different from other forms), forms include perfect patterns of various virtues and of structures in the material universe (e.g., living things), though he remains vague about many aspects of the theory.

We also live in bodies—hence the perennial tension in Platonism between the physical and intellectual dimensions of human life. In several dialogues on love (*Symposium*, *Phaedrus*) Plato gives both sides their due by embracing the paradox that true knowledge—e.g., of the form of beauty—is attained also through nonrational inspiration and passionate response to bodies. On a larger scale, though the universe is material, it is genuinely beautiful and rational in so far as it, too, is shaped by soul and mind at work through body (*Timaeus*).

Plato often uses terms taken from the religious mysteries in speaking of the encounter with true being or with the supreme idea of the good (*Republic*) as a "vision." Such language is natural, given the limits to analytic reason, and several dialogues include elaborate myths dealing with the soul's life outside an earthly body. As something nonmaterial

and akin to the forms, soul is immortal and subject to rewards or punishments for the embodied life it led in the course of cycles of reincarnation. Much of this is vaguely Pythagorean or Orphic; and though it is not intended to be taken literally in detail, it is meant quite seriously in so far as life is not explicable in purely immanent, material terms. Plato, however, leaves many questions unanswered about exactly what the world of pure being and pure thought is. He may have had in mind no more than another way of understanding the familiar material world. It often seems, though, to be another, higher world in a richer sense, the real home of true selves. This view, along with his ascetic insistence on the priority of soul over body, made his thought in its Neoplatonic version attractive to later Christian theologians.

The Jowett translation of Plato is often eloquent, though dated. The Loeb edition conveniently combines Greek text with translations but is uneven. Penguin translations are relatively recent and readily available.

See also Neoplatonism

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Podestà

Podestà—in English, *podesta*—is derived from the Latin *potestas*, "power," and refers to an office with special authority in the city-states of communal Italy. The term was sometimes applied to leaders of bodies such as the *popolo* and usually denoted the commune's highest officer. The *podestas* were at first often, and later always, foreigners, chosen for their lack of local connections or interests and for their presumed impartiality in the face of inveterate civic strife.

Frederick I Barbarossa, after the Diet of Roncaglia (1158), imposed the first *podestà* to replace or supercede citizen-consuls as chief judicial and executive officials in cities under his control. By 1175, Bergamo, Lodi, Padua, and Parma, and in the 1180s Cremona, Milan, and Piacenza, had all chosen their own *podestas*, without reference to the emperor. After the peace of Constance (1183), powerful cities began establishing the office in subject towns; in 1276 Siena appointed twenty-seven *podestas*.

The position could be lucrative (the *podestà* of Forlì received 70 *lire*, and the *podestà* of Milan received 2,000 *lire*); but it could also be dangerous: some *podestas* were beaten, mutilated, or even killed (in Bologna in 1193 and 1194 and in Modena in 1213). The *podestas* served for nonrenewable terms lasting only one or two years, and later only six months; thus the demand for good *podestas* was always strong. "Professionals" developed a regular clientele: the Milanese Guglielmo Pusterla, for example, was appointed seventeen times. A special civic commission generally elected a candidate to be approved by the legislative council. Those chosen were usually men of arms or law with a background of respectable public service. They had to provide their

own judges, notaries, clerks, and bodyguard. The *podestà* took an oath of office, promising to obey and execute the laws, dispense justice, be accessible to the public, and avoid private meetings or entanglements. He presided over communal council meetings, led the army in wartime, kept the peace, and oversaw both criminal and civil judicial cases. He was paid every two or three months, and at the end of his term his performance was scrutinized very formally and carefully (a process known as "syndication").

The office of *podestà* flourished between 1220 and 1270; but with the rise of *signori*, who often usurped power from their positions as podestas, the power and authority of the *podesteria* faded.

See also Frederick I Barbarossa; Popolo; Urban Development

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Polo, Marco

What we know of Marco Polo (1254-1324) is based largely on his *Divisament dou monde*, later known as *Libro delle meraviglie del mondo*, or simply as *Il Milione* (after the name Emilione, which Marco Polo and his relatives used to distinguish themselves from the many other Polos in Venice). Tradition has it that Marco dictated this work to Rustichello da Pisa while the two were held in a Genoese prison. Rustichello, a writer of Arthurian romances, transcribed Marco's account into Old French (the preeminent vernacular of the romance genre), and embellished it with narrative and stylistic features typical of a medieval romance. Since people in the Middle Ages regarded *Il Milione* as a book of marvels, it took a long time before cartographers and explorers (including Christopher Columbus) became aware of its importance as a work of geography.

Marco Polo's work is more than a medieval romance or a book of marvels; it was probably meant to be a straightforward account of two journeys to China: the first by his father Niccolò Polo and his uncle Matteo Polo, and the second by all three Polos. There are numerous discrepancies among the manuscripts and early editions of *Il Milione* which probably do not reflect Marco's original account or Rustichello's lost rendition of it. There is, however, sufficient information in the most important manuscripts to enable scholars to reconstruct the Polos' two expeditions to China.

In 1260, the two Venetian brothers departed from Constantinople, where they had done business for six years, and arrived in Bukhara (in the Uzbek republic). They were forced to stay there for three years because local wars had cut off the roads leading back to the west. During that time they accepted an invitation to join an envoy from

Hulaku Khan to Kublai Khan (grandson of the Mongul conqueror Genghis Khan); and in 1266 they arrived at Kublai Khan's summer palace in Shangtu (near Tolun on the Shan-den Ho, or Luan River, about 150 miles—240 kilometers—north of Beijing). The brothers stayed at Shangtu for several months before returning to Italy with a message for Pope Clement IV from Kublai Khan.

Not long after their return to Venice in 1269, the brothers decided to bring Marco with them on their second expedition to China. They left Venice in 1271, accompanied by two Dominican monks who were supposed to travel with them to Shangtu but who soon withdrew from the expedition. When the Polos arrived in Acre (Akko) on the Syrian coast, they received letters from the newly elected Pope Gregory X for Kublai Khan. From Acre they went to Ayas (Cilicia) on the southeastern coast of Turkey and presumably took the caravan route to the Turkish cities of Kayseri, Sivas, Erzincan, and Erzurum before arriving at Lake Van. From there the Polos passed through eastern Armenia, where Marco describes Mount Ararat (the traditional site of Noah's landing after the flood), and then south to the Persian cities of Tabriz, Yazd, and Kerman before reaching the ancient Persian port of Hormuz (Bandar Abbas). When they realized that it was unsafe to go to China by ship, the Polos retraced their steps back to Kerman and went north to Mashhad, in northeastern Iran. It is at this point in the narrative that Marco recounts the tale of the "Old Man of the Mountain," one of the best-known episodes in *Il Milione*. From there the Polos went to Balkh (in northern Afghanistan), where, according to Marco, Alexander the Great married the daughter of Darius, and then to the castle of Taican (present Talikan), known for its nearby salt mountains. They spent a year in the province of Badakhshan while Marco recovered from an illness.

On Marco's recovery, the Polos presumably followed the Oxus (Amu-Darya) and Vakhsh rivers, crossed the Pamirs (known to Marco as the "roof of the world"), and reached the old silk route. The Polos followed the silk route through eastern Turkestan to the Chinese cities of Kashgar (K'a-shih), Yarkand (Soch'e), Khotan (Hotien), Keriya (Yiitien), and Cherchen (Ch'iehmo) before arriving in the ancient city of Lop (either Charkhliq or Milan), where they made preparations to cross the desert and the salt-encrusted bed of dry Lop Nor. After thirty days of

travel through the desert, they arrived at Sha-Chou (Tun Huang), the first Chinese city under the khan's rule. From there they went to Kan Chou (Zhangye or Chang-yeh) in Kansu province, where they spent a year waiting, presumably, for the khan to send them an escort. They resumed their journey by going south to Lanchou and then north along the Yellow River (and perhaps along the Great Wall) in the direction of Beijing, and arrived at Shangtu in 1275.

Marco spent the next seventeen years serving Kublai Khan on several diplomatic missions to the southern regions of the khan's vast empire, including Yunnan province, Burma (as far as the Irrawaddy River), Cochin China (Vietnam), and even parts of Tibet. Although Marco was impressed by most of these places, his greatest praise and most detailed descriptions are reserved for Hangchou in Chechiang province, the largest and most important city in China at this time. As scholars have pointed out, it was probably Marco's ability to describe in detail the people, customs, and geography of all these places (most of which the khan himself had never seen) that enabled him to remain in the emperor's good graces for seventeen years. Marco, in fact, claims that Kublai Khan rewarded him for his services by making him "governor" of the city of Yangchou, 50 miles (80 kilometers) northeast of Nanking (Nanching). Scholars, however, find it hard to believe that a foreigner could have held such an important position: it is more likely that Marco held a minor post, such as that of inspector.



Marco Polo's house and courtyard, Venice. Photograph courtesy of Gail L. Geiger.

In 1292, the Polos found an opportunity to return to Venice by joining an envoy escorting the princess Cocacin to her groom, Arghun Khan of Persia, the grandnephew of Kublai Khan. The envoy departed from the port of Zaiton (Chuanchou or Chinchiang in Fuchien province on the Formosa Strait) and sailed along the coasts of China and Vietnam to Sumatra, Ceylon, and the Malabar Coast of India before reaching Hormuz almost two years later. In Hormuz, the Polos learned of Arghun's death and delivered Cocacin to Arghun's brother Kaikhatu.

They spent the next nine months in Tabriz before going to Trebizond (the Turkish town of Trabzon on the Black Sea). From there they sailed to Constantinople and Negroponte (a Venetian colony on the Greek island of Euboea) before finally arriving in Venice in 1295. Not long after his return to Venice, Marco was taken prisoner by the Genoese while sailing a galley (possibly in 1296). He remained in prison until 1299, during which time he dictated to Rustichello his adventures in the far east.

The Polos' two journeys to China were the farthest any European had traveled to the Orient since the time of Justinian. In 1246, Giovanni di Piano Carpini, who was a Franciscan emissary of Pope Innocent IV and the author of a history on the Mongols (*Historia mongolorum*), went as far as Karakorum (the ancient Mongolian capital, about 250 miles—400 kilometers—west of Ulaan Baatar). In 1253, William of Rubruck, also a Franciscan friar, went to Karakorum as an envoy of King Louis IX of France. Although both friars left written accounts of their trips to Mongolia, neither account captured the imagination of so many people for so many centuries as Marco's *Il Milione*.

See also Giovanni di Piano Carpini; Venice

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Pomposa

The Benedictine abbey at Pomposa in the region of Emilia, 50 miles (80 kilometers) southeast of Ferrara, was founded in 523. It remained a flourishing cultural center until the thirteenth century, when it declined because the marshy land it was built on had become malarial. Pomposa is the best surviving example in Italy of a free abbey—an abbey which was an independent state with territorial rights. Through the favor of

the German emperors, it won independent status, and in 1045 it oversaw the rule of a large territory bordered by the Po and Gauro rivers and the Adriatic Sea. In addition, it also ruled states outside this territory. Although the cloister no longer exists, the surviving remains of the complex include the chapterhouse, the refectory, some of the dormer (dormitory), the campanile, and a distinguished Palazzo della Ragione. All the buildings except for the Palazzo della Ragione stand along two sides of an open courtyard that the cloister once occupied. The restored remains of the Palazzo della Ragione, where the abbot dispensed justice, are situated to the west of the complex.

The church, Santa Maria, was built between 751 and 874, and its design follows the style of many other Romanesque churches of the time, which were characterized by heavy walls, small windows, and a semicircular apse at one end of the sanctuary. The basilican form of the church must have been inspired by similar models at Ravenna. The simple interior has planar stone walls that lack moldings, and three aisles that are nine bays long. In addition, there are three apses; the median apse, decorated with pilaster strips, is circular on the inside and polygonal on the outside. The wall division of the nave is reminiscent of Sant'Angelo in Formis. The lack of structural accents in the church's interior, with the noticeable exception of the raised apse, however, serves to provide an appropriate backdrop for the elaborately frescoed walls.



Pomposa Abbey. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Abbot Guido of Ravenna built the atrium and campanile in the eleventh century. The campanile is constructed in the typical Lombard style of the time: its nine stages are marked with pilaster strips, applied shafting, and arched corbel tables. The Romanesque terra-cotta insets that decorate the campanile appear to have been inspired by similar ornaments at Ravenna. Although the church's exterior decorations do not have an overall iconographic program, the Ravennate design of Pomposa's ornamental terra-cottas, created by molding the clay by hand and then baking it, provides a magnificent decorative complement to the church's facade. The abbey also has two rose windows, a unique

Romanesque or medieval invention, which can be dated to the eleventh century. Pomposa's rose windows, consisting of decorated frames and pierced motifs, resemble a lace design worked into marble. The abbey's floors consist of *opus sectile* pavements alternating with mosaics, which are inspired by an eastern design and feature fantastic creatures contained within circular bands.

The decoration in the church at Pomposa, possibly executed by various Bolognese masters c. 1351, covers the entire nave, the apse, and the entrance wall and presents the viewer with an impressive array of the most complete collection of monumental painting still in existence. Much scholarly debate remains over the identification of the artists who created the extensive decorations, depicting the entire story of the Bible in great detail. The frescoes in the refectory at the abbey are in early Romagnol monumental style, which can trace its influences to Giotto and Cavallini. One of the most distinctive scenes, the *Last Supper*, boldly executed in cool, light colors, shows Christ and the disciples seated at a round table. Although the *Last Supper* has been considered the work of either Pietro da Rimini or Giovanni Baronzio, no positive identification of either artist's hand is possible.

Another artist, who specialized in light, warm colors with soft impasto, is Vitale da Bologna, an exceptional Bolognese master. He is thought to have created the scenes of Saint Eustace in the abbey c. 1351, with the help of some assistants. In addition, the frescoes in the nave of the abbey church are ascribed to Vitale and his pupils. The magnificent *Christ in Majesty* and the large *Last Judgment*, which dominate the nave of the abbey church, are executed in the style of Vitale, even if they are not the work of Vitale himself. The novel composition and iconography of the frescoes, combined with certain naturalistic touches, give new vitality and intensity to the biblical themes. For example, the *Entry into Jerusalem* shows, in addition to the traditional elements of the scene, one young boy reaching down from the top of a tree to assist another boy. The archaizing style of the scenes from the apse wall and the depiction of the *Last Judgment* on the west wall imply that the work was meant to reestablish an earlier design plan. The frescoes were restored in the 1960s by the Istituto Centrale per il Restauro.

See also **Benedictine Order; Ravenna; Vitale da Bologna**

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Popolo

The term *popolo* (from the Latin *populus*, "people") once indicated the non-Roman—i.e., Germanic—elements of early medieval Italian society. By the later eleventh century, in urban northern Italy, *popolo* referred to the population of towns, sometimes represented in documents by their lay or ecclesiastical lords. As communal governments developed, gaining autonomy for the citizenry from lordship, the *popolo* were increasingly identified as a middle class between the urban feudal nobility and unskilled or part-time workers, the poor, and recent

immigrants. With armed and landed nobles generally dominating communal regimes, the skilled workers, artisans, merchants, and professionals, whose wealth and economic power were driving urban progress, began to demand representation and political power.

Popolani understood organization as it applied to guilds, parishes, and even urban militias, and they used these, and the emerging commune itself, as models for their own *societas populi*. These became states within states, with their own oaths, elected leaders (captains, *podestà*, and standard-bearers), councils (*priori* and *anziani*), courts, treasuries, and *palazzi* (e.g., the Bargello in Florence). Although they confronted the urban nobility as their rivals for power, and often battled nobles in the streets, they needed and welcomed disaffected nobles, who had military and leadership skills. In the early thirteenth century, *popolani* gained guaranteed representation on civic councils: one-third of the seats in Cremona (1210) and Vicenza (1215 and 1222), and half the seats in Milan (1212) and Piacenza (1222). By the 1280s, they controlled the councils, which even passed laws that specifically disadvantaged nobles (or "magnates"), and this marked the high point of the *popolo*'s power.

But success brought division, as poor (the *popolo minuto*: artisans, shopkeepers) opposed rich (the *popolo grasso*: bankers, international merchants), and the rich gravitated toward the nobility, weakening the solidarity of the *popolo*. Popular regimes drifted, by the early *Trecento*, into oligarchies or *signorie*, led at times by former captains of the *popolo*. In the *ciompi* revolt of the 1370s in Florence, we glimpse a brief resurgence of the *popolo minuto*, but their potential had long been spent.

See also Ciompi; Urban Development

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Pornocracy

Scholars, especially those who are not Italian, have used the term "pornocracy" (from the Greek *pornos*, "prostitute") since the nineteenth century to describe the "rule of the prostitutes," a period when female members of the papal entourage enjoyed great authority in Rome and over the church.

The evidence for the notorious promiscuity and immorality of the papacy during the early tenth century comes mostly from Liudprand of Cremona's writings. During the Counter-Reformation, as Catholic historians became sensitive about prelates' lifestyles, Cardinal Baronius uncritically adopted Liudprand's scorn for the tenth-century popes. Thereafter, Catholic and Protestant authors perpetuated the stereotype of dissolute popes in that period, so that by the eighteenth century it was common to refer to the "regime of the whores" (*Hüerenregiment*). Voltaire, always polemical, was virtually alone in his dissent; he

claimed that several popes of the "iron century" had been worthy clerics. Indeed, though it is convenient and clever, the term "pornocracy" is too facile a characterization of the complex workings of Roman history in the early 900s.

Popes Sergius III (r. 904-911) and John XII (r. 955-964) are generally identified as the first and last representatives of the pornocracy. During the sixty-year period that they bracketed, the popes are said to have fathered other popes (in at least one case by a fifteen-year-old girl), and to have attained the Roman pontificate because of their sexual appeal to influential matrons or even to the whole population of Roman women. But within the pornocratic period, behavior was not uniformly scandalous. Alberic's rule at Rome (932-954) marked a hiatus in the pornocracy, as he patronized ecclesiastical reform. By contrast, both Liudprand and the chronicler Benedict of Sant'Andrea mentioned the years when a woman, Marozia, headed the house of Theophylact (924-932) as particularly debauched.

Contemporary ecclesiastical writers felt a venomous hostility for the popes of this period. This is only partly explained by the chroniclers' indignation at a situation which they considered perverse (and which they compared to infamous Old Testament precedents). Aversion to the clan of Theophylact, which monopolized political authority in the competitive atmosphere of tenth century Rome, and ideological opposition to a Romanocentric, anti-imperial series of popes likewise contributed to forming the dark opinions of the chroniclers.

Any evaluation of the pornocracy depends on how much reliance is placed on the partisan accounts of the tenth-century chroniclers. Liudprand and Benedict of Sant'Andrea were not exact contemporaries of the early pornocrats, whose careers they interpreted as a backdrop to that of John XII. The collated evidence indicates that several popes of the period were licentious and applied moral standards unacceptable to other clerics; still, it is questionable whether sexual excess was the salient, defining characteristic of this period in the history of the papacy. Recent historiography is moving toward a rehabilitation of the pornocracy and its protagonists, and away from interpretations of the tenth-century papacy as a decadent institution populated by spineless debauchees, waiting to be swept aside by various reform movements. However, this effort is hampered by a lack of evidence generated by

those directly involved in papal or Roman affairs in the first half of the tenth century.

See also Liudprand of Cremona; Papacy; Papal States; Rome

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Portinari Family

Like the dal Borgo, Pulci, Strozzi, del Rosso, dell'Antella, and Saltarelli, die upwardly mobile Portinari were members of the Florentine mercantile elite. They were also intensely involved in the political life of Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They came originally from Fiesole, and the first documented member of the lineage in Florence was Torrosiano dei Portinari (1201). Though most Portinari were supporters of the *popolo*, several had been Ghibelline sympathizers during the period of Ghibelline control of the city (1260-1266). Segna di Assalto Portinari served in communal councils under the Ghibelline regime, and Doccia and Giano dei Portinari are also said to have served in that government. Several members of the lineage were inscribed in the wool finishers' guild (Arte di Calimala) and served in the government as priors. The Portinari were also important creditors. Like the Pucci and Alberti companies, a Portinari company had established a permanent office in Naples in the early fourteenth century.

Folco di Ricovero dei Portinari (d. 1289) had at least two daughters, Ravnana and Beatrice (the supposed beloved of Dante). His son, Manetto, was apparently a close friend of Dante. Folco, a banker, was closely associated with the Cerchi and was also a very influential public figure in the late thirteenth century. He served as consul of the wool finishers' guild in 1280 and 1288 and was prior on at least three occasions (1282, 1285, and 1287). In 1286, he founded the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, equipped initially with at least twelve beds. He also appeared as a principal patron of the religious community of Santa Maria dei Serviti (Servites) in the north of the city. He died in 1289.

Beatrice dei Portinari, the daughter of Folco, married Simone di Messer Jacopo dei Bardi. According to Boccaccio, she was the inspiration for Dante's Beatrice. Dante probably first met her in 1274. She appeared in three of his major works: *La vita nuova*, *Il convivio*,

and the *Divina Commedia*. Scholars know very little about her life. She apparently died in 1290 at the age of twenty-four, shortly after the death of her father.

See also **Dante Alighieri**; **Florence**

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Pragmatic Sanction

The first "pragmatic sanction" was an edict issued by the Byzantine emperor Justinian in August 554. This was two years after his general Narses had defeated the last two Ostrogothic kings and effectively shattered the Gothic regime in Italy, and just following the emperor's humiliation of the Roman pope, Vigilius. The edict provided the basis for the reestablishment of imperial government in the peninsula.

The twenty-seven articles of the edict were designed in full awareness of the ruin and devastation that Italy had suffered during some two decades of the Gothic wars, and of the sensitive issues of conflicting property claims resulting from the Ostrogothic occupation. The starting point was therefore a confirmation of the acts of the previous Gothic rulers, excepting only the "tyrant" Totila, and a validation of all contracts undertaken during the upheavals. Provisions were made for restoration of property lost during the hostilities, for the repair or renewal of public works, and for traditional food doles to the urban populace. Taxes, which were to be paid largely in produce, would be carefully regulated (with new provisions for weights and measures) to avoid earlier abuses by venal imperial officials. The judiciary system was restored, and care was taken to guarantee civil due process to all Roman citizens. However, special privileges and exemptions were reserved to great landowners.

The edict preserved the earlier administrative structure essentially intact, except that Italy was now defined solely as the main land—the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica were assigned to other jurisdictions. Of particular interest was a change in the method of selecting local governors; their previous appointment through the central regime had allowed too much fiscal abuse, and they were now to be chosen honestly by the bishops and magnates of each locality. Although this arrangement undoubtedly curbed some corruption, it strengthened the local landowners, while also confirming the increased role of the church hierarchy in civil government.

The edict was entitled *Pragmatica sanctio pro petitione Vigili* and was included among Justinian's *Novellae* ("new laws"). It was the first major promulgation to bear the designation "pragmatic sanction," which would be applied in later centuries to instruments of agreement between individual governments and the Roman church.

See also Gothic Wars; Justinian I; Narses; Totila; Vigilius, Pope

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Prato

The Tuscan city of Prato lies in the broad valley of the Bisenzio River, flanked by the long, low hills of the Monte Calvana and Monte Albana, about midway between Florence and Pistoia. Modern Prato is a bustling center of textile production at the crossroads of the Autostrada del Sole (Milan-Rome) and the Autostrada del Mare (Florence-Pisa-Genoa). In the early 1990s, Prato was Tuscany's third largest city (with a population of about 160,000), and, in 1992, it became the capital of a new province. Its wealth is based on cloth, and has been for 800 years. Several thousand—mostly small—factories continue to absorb immigration to the sprawling suburbs of the walled medieval town.

The site of Prato may have been occupied by the Etruscans and was certainly occupied by a Roman town, probably housing a garrison. Little remains from the Roman period apart from a few fragments and inscriptions, and possible topographical remnants. The town was situated near the Via Cassia and was very likely little more than a stopping-off point and a center for local agricultural production. Evidence of Christianity in Prato goes back no earlier than the third century and tells no coherent story. Pagan remains disappear after the

late fourth century. The archaeological record indicates a very low level of activity on the site from the mid-third century until the time of Charlemagne. In fact, the entire Val di Bisenzio was declining in population and economic activity long before the great Germanic invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries. The 21 miles (34 kilometers) between Florence and Pistoia were marshy and heavily wooded, had no fortified center, and thus fell prey to marching or marauding Goths, "Greeks," Lombards, and Franks. The Lombards tended to be especially destructive, but they also settled in small groups in the area, leaving place-names that echo their presence. The earliest evidence of Pratese law and legal practice embodies elements of Lombard custom, such as the replacement of Roman testamentary practice with "donation" and the use of the *Morgengabe* ("morning gift") in marriage arrangements. Some of these elements remained in use until the late thirteenth century.

In the absence of effective secular authority, the institutions of the early medieval church imposed at least rudimentary jurisdictional order on the Val di Bisenzio. Monasteries carved out holdings. The river itself formed a rough boundary for the diocese of Pistoia, under whose bishop Prato remained throughout the Middle Ages. (Prato would gain its own bishop in 1653, and full episcopal autonomy in 1954.) By the end of the eighth century, Catholic religious life was well established in monasteries and around chapels and churches that dotted the hillside and plain. Villages grew up around some of these, and those with walls or a tower for protection were called *borghi*.

During the early ninth century, the bishop of Pistoia exercised even greater power than the local Frankish count. With the treaty of Verdun (843), however, Adalbert I became the first powerful count-duke. This treaty was a royal attempt to unify much of the administration of Tuscany, and it included jurisdiction over Pistoia and the Val di Bisenzio. The kings also interfered in ecclesiastical matters, appointing courtiers or family members to bishoprics. In the early tenth century, the Frankish kings reinstated the heads of powerful Lombard families as local counts in northern Italy, and thus the Alberti clan came to control and protect the area that would become Prato.



Palazzo Pretorio, Prato. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The stronghold, or *curtis*, of Ildebrandino di Alberti on the Bisenzio River attracted settlers, and the Borgo di Prato was born. *Prato* means "meadow," and the name probably distinguished this Alberti settlement from others in the hills. Nearby, from at least 994, stood the *pieve* of Santo Stefano. This was the region's principal church, which housed the baptismal font and eventually a chapter of canons. In the midst of private churches and chapels, it served as the diocese's outpost in the central valley. Around the *pieve* evolved another quickly growing population center, Borgo di Cornio. During the eleventh century, the

Alberti counts merged these two settlements—one with its church, the other with its castle—and kept the name Borgo di Prato (sometimes referred to as Pezzanese).

By 1150, the process of amalgamation was complete, and large numbers of people immigrated from the countryside to the security and new occupations offered by the Borgo. Indeed, many smaller villages vanished from the records. In part, the attraction of Prato had to do with broader issues of eleventh-century ecclesiastical reform. Santo Stefano was a reformed "Gregorian" church removed from direct lay control and the abuses that often accompanied such control. Many of the local churches and chapels remained in lay hands, and some of these were abandoned by the faithful, who sought orthodoxy and better service from the *pieve*. This issue of reform often pitted landed nobles, ecclesiastical authorities, and the common people against one another, and it served as a basis for the development of both communes and *popoli*. Artisans, local merchants, moneylenders, and landowners built up the town in the eleventh century; and shops, houses, hospices, churches, and chapels sprang up within the walls to meet new civic needs

In 1107, Prato and the Alberti defied Matilda of Canossa, countess of Tuscany. Her army of Lucchesi, Florentines, and Pistoiesi destroyed Prato after a three-month siege. The Pratesi rebuilt their town, and it flourished without interference from its Alberti lords. In fact, the Alberti encouraged Prato's autonomy and civic growth, and they grew rich along with the town. Thus, the development of the commune in the twelfth century was not the typical reaction against meddling by local feudal lords. On the contrary, opposition to the ecclesiastical control of Pistoia united the Pratese lords and populace; and this opposition grew fiercer in the twelfth century as Prato made unsuccessful bids for its own bishop and fought to control the incomes of the churches in its jurisdiction (1138-1142).

The earliest mention of the consuls of the commune dates from 1142, but some organization no doubt long preceded that. Although commune and lord normally enjoyed good relations, the people joined with Florence in 1154, and with Florence and Lucca in 1184, to defeat the feudal ambitions of the Alberti in the area. By 1186, the Alberti clan had ceded its jurisdiction over Prato to the emperor and had turned its

attention southward, to Semifonte. By 1193, an imperial *podestà* had been established, and in 1195 a viscount arrived to exercise supreme local authority.

The lines of communal development remain unclear, but a document of 1212 mentions seven councilors. In 1246, the ruling body included representatives from all of the town's eight sections, as well as fifteen guild rectors, and consuls of the knights and of the merchants. The *popolo*, an independent organization in the town's power structure that excluded nobles and magnates, was also fully developed by 1252. It was led by a foreign captain, four *anziani* (elders), twenty-four councilors, and a larger council of forty. Given its natural Guelf leanings (in opposition to the generally Ghibelline nobility), its history and evolution are closely bound up with events in Florence, which was the arch-Guelf center. As elsewhere in Tuscany, the reaction of the Pratese Ghibellines following the debacle at Montaperti was swift and strong. From 1260 to 1266, many prominent Guelf *popolani* were exiled or imprisoned.

After 1266 the *popolo* again dominated Pratese politics, but in 1271, a resurgent *parte Guelfa*, led by four captains (of whom two had been exiled and two imprisoned), effectively ruled Prato. In 1279 an oligarchic reaction set in, and the government was reorganized. Twelve *popolani* councilors (modeled on Pisa's twelve *anziani*) were to aid the captain of the commune, and three citizens from each of Prato's sectors formed the "council of twenty-four." In 1285 a further reaction added sixteen members to the council of twenty-four and a new body, "the eight" (*otto*), as counselors to the captain. In official documents, to the title *comune* was added "and *popolo*": *comune et populus*. The *otto* became extremely powerful and strictly limited admission to its own ranks.

In 1292, Prato adopted the *Ordinamenti sacrali et sacratissimi*, a law code similar to the Florentine ordinances of justice but directly imitative of codes in Pistoia and Bologna; it included statutory revisions typical of the period. Many of these new laws were aimed directly against the noble or magnate class, which was widely seen as too powerful, arrogant, rich, and Ghibelline despite its traditional economic, administrative, and military leadership. The *popolo* and Guelf oligarchy formally excluded from participation in government

even magnates who were duly enrolled in guilds. For those identified as magnates, fines were much higher, guilt for crimes against *popolani* was simpler to prove, and expulsion from the city was easier to obtain. From 1293 on, the *otto* were no longer "counselors of the captain" but "defenders of the *popolo*." In addition, the office of "standard-bearer (*gonfaloniere*) of justice," traditionally held by the leader of the *popolo*, was also co-opted by the *otto*: the standard-bearer had to have been a member of the *otto*, had a voice in their proceedings, and had to live in their quarters during his term.

By the early *Trecento*, the vehement antimagnate stance of the regime had softened, in fact if not in law. In part, this was because defections by magnates to the *popolo* class (by official declaration), interclass marriages, and aspirations of the bourgeois to nobility made extreme measures against the magnates less and less tenable. The shift may also reflect the declining demographic and economic conditions in the Val di Bisenzio (as elsewhere in Tuscany in the same period). Around 1290, Prato had claimed some 4,000 hearths; but in 1339—which was well before the black death (1347-1348)—there were only 2,762. By 1429, the number had plummeted to 951 (representing about 3,517 people).

The influence of Florence in Prato continued into the *Trecento* as Black Guelfs became prevalent in both cities (1301). Prato experimented with Florentine voting procedures that included eligibility lists for offices and the drawing of names from a bag for candidacy or election (1305, 1310-1311, and 1314). Political and economic ties drew Prato closer into Florence's orbit, and soon *come si fa a Firenze* ("as it is done in Florence") became common shorthand for all manner of procedures.

The descent of Emperor Henry VII into Italy for coronation (1310) was opposed by all good Tuscan Guelfs, and Florence lent generous (and calculated) aid to the Pratesi, including a Florentine garrison for the *castello*, built by Frederick II in the mid-thirteenth century. In 1313, Prato, threatened by Henry's reentry into Tuscany, offered its allegiance and fealty—which still belonged properly to the emperor—to Robert of Anjou, king of Naples, who was a champion of the Guelfs. In the 1320s, the campaigns of Castruccio Castracane of Lucca threatened Florence and its allies, and again Florence insinuated itself more and more into its neighbor's affairs. In 1326, Charles of Calabria received Prato's fealty,

and he sent Florentine vicars to oversee the town.

On 23 February 1351, all pretense to autonomy in Prato fell away as Queen Giovanna (Joanna) of Naples, who had inherited control of the town, presented that control to Florence in return for 17,500 gold florins. Not surprisingly, the arrangement had been engineered by a Florentine, Niccolo Acciaiuoli, seneschal of Naples. Thenceforth, Prato received a *podestà* from Florence. Prato's councils could still pass laws for the town, under the eye of the *podestà*, but Florence had the right to veto them if it saw fit. Florentine taxes were levied, but most civic organizations, including the guilds, were only minimally affected: decades of Florentine influence had removed the need for radical changes after 1351. In the later fourteenth century, the Florentine government tightened its control over its dominions, entailing a further reduction in Prato's self-government.

Economy

Throughout the early Middle Ages, agriculture dominated the economy of the Val di Bisenzio. In the early period, this was small in scale and was hampered by the marshy floor of the valley. Woods and wetland covered much of the territory well into the twelfth century, but canalization, probably begun by monastic houses, revolutionized the use of the land. Lay and ecclesiastical feudal lords, including the bishop of Pistoia and monastic houses in Florence and Pistoia, controlled most of the land, but even in the eleventh century there were at one point 217 freehold parcels in the region of Prato.

Further drainage made more fertile land available, and at least by the end of the tenth century a market had developed in Borgo di Cornio. In the twelfth century a full range of crops were being grown to feed the expanding town population. Typically, cereals headed the list: wheat, spelt, barley, oats, millet, and rye all found their way to Pratese mills and bakers. Pears, apples, figs, plums, chestnuts, and almonds grew in small orchards, and vineyards provided grapes for wine. Peasants and monks cultivated olives, flax for linen, and woad, a popular dyestuff.

Canalization of the Bisenzio was also vital for the development of mills. Monks and feudal lords had provided mills for grinding grain,

and by the very early twelfth century the tamed waters were turning the wheels of cloth-fulling mills (the earliest recorded is from 1107). Nearby was a good source of the soil that was necessary for the fulling process, and new channels off the river's main course invited the further development of this new industry. By the later thirteenth century there were thirty fulling mills and forty-four flour mills in the valley. In the late twelfth century one of Prato's earliest guilds developed, that of the *padroni* (bosses) of the mills. The *padroni* had many interests in common, not least of which were the continued free flow of the river, the regulation of further channeling, and the restriction of entry into the market.

Sheep were not plentiful in the vicinity, and early on the ancillary enterprise of wool importation was added to that of actual cloth production. Local artisans in both town and countryside took up weaving the cloth. Dyeing was carried out in town on a larger scale, since huge vats and drying racks were required. At first, local woad probably sufficed, but over time imported dyestuffs added greatly to the value of the merchandise. Importation of the raw materials, production of the cloth, and exportation of the finished product fed an expanding commercial network both in the town and beyond. The wool guild, or *Arte di Lana*, emerged from familial and monastic origins to regulate those who participated in this burgeoning industry, and to protect the industry's interests in the commune. The *Lana* was the most powerful of Prato's guilds.

The purchase of raw materials and the maintenance of the mills required capital, and local landlords readily invested in the cloth enterprises, often shifting resources away from less lucrative agricultural uses. In the long run, these connections helped ease the tension between nobles and *popolani* in Prato, and clearly delineated the relationship between the countryside and the town.

The division of labor that accompanied wool cloth production and trade further advanced economic organization in Prato, especially during the thirteenth century. The money changers and moneylenders guild of the *Cambiatori* flourished from mid-century on; and the guild of notaries buried 432 of its members between c. 1250 and 1332—a figure that suggests how many notaries there were. In a commercial atmosphere like that of Prato, notaries had ample work drafting and

recording all manner of private documents, including contracts, partnership agreements, and surety arrangements, and more personal instruments such as wills, dowry agreements, and donations to religious houses. One notary was Scrigno, father of Convenevoles, the tutor of Petrarch. During the thirteenth century, along with the development of the commune and *popolo*, the guild system flourished. The number of guilds representing merchants, crafts, or professions increased from fifteen to twenty-six, and without a division into major and minor *arti* such as occurred in Florence.

Prato's most famous entrepreneur was Francesco Datini (1335-1410), whose *palazzo* today houses his own archives—including some 500 account books and 140,000 letters—and the city's. Datini was the son of a local taverner; he lost both parents in the black death of 1348, made a small fortune as a merchant in Avignon, and spent his last thirty years in Prato directing a set of commercial companies that had main branches in Avignon, Barcelona, Florence, Genoa, Majorca, and Valencia. His trading network stretched from England to the Black Sea, and across the Mediterranean. He dealt in almost anything that could be exchanged, but especially in wool and cloth, in good Pratese fashion. Datini's records are uniquely comprehensive and illustrate that despite poor economic conditions, a healthy profit could come to a well managed and innovative business. His activity certainly spurred the ailing Pratese economy, as his network brought wool from the best sources in Europe and distributed cloth across the Christian world. Important as he was, Datini was no Cosimo de' Medici; he chose to play no political role in Prato, nor was he much of a patron of the arts. In his will, though, he established a foundation to support abandoned children in Prato, to which he gave virtually all of his vast fortune. It is said that Prato is still using funds which originated with Datini. His innovations in business practices and his contributions to the local economy earned him a statue (1896) that stands today in the Piazza del Comune.

Buildings

The medieval walled town formed a rough hexagon with one side

running along the Bisenzio. It bristled with family towers, of which a few stumps remain today. The present-day cathedral, originally *pieve*, of Santo Stefano was begun in 1211; its green-and-white facade was added between 1385 and 1457. The nave is flanked by green marble columns and a striped green-and-white arcade. The cathedral is notable for its exterior pulpit by Donatello and Michelozzo (1434-1438), which was created to display the town's greatest relic, the *cintola* (cincture or girdle) of the Virgin Mary. This object was brought to Prato in 1141 by the crusader Michele Dagomari and is said to be the cord handed to "doubting" Thomas, the apostle, by Mary from heaven after her assumption. The *cintola* is displayed on certain feast days and has its own chapel immediately inside the cathedral. This chapel contains a Madonna and Child carved by Giovanni Pisano (1317) and is covered with frescoes by Agnolo Gaddi (1390s) of the life of Mary and the history of the relic.

Prato's mendicant churches are relatively small but notable. The Franciscans traveled through Prato in their earliest days, and they established a church in Prato in 1228. The current church of San Francesco was built between 1275 and 1295 with a trussed roof and a green-and-white striped facade. Its interior was frescoed under Datini's patronage in the 1390s, and his tomb lies prominently at the foot of the altar, according to his last wishes. The chapterhouse (Cappella Migliorati) contains well-preserved frescoes, painted at the end of the fourteenth century by Niccolò Gerini. Radical restoration took place in modern times.

The Dominican church of San Domenico was founded in 1283 and was completed by 1322 under the direction of Giovanni Pisano. Little of the original medieval decoration remains. The Augustinians, too, had a convent and church in Prato. Nestled against the northern wall, the complex was built in 1271 but has been greatly altered in the years since. Its oratory of San Michele and chapterhouse contain late medieval work by Gerini and others.

The Palazzo Pretorio, seat of government in medieval Prato, is a tall structure with a Gothic facade; its height is exaggerated by its second-story entrance. The *palazzo* incorporates two buildings: one of brick from the thirteenth century, and one of limestone from the early fourteenth. Battlements were added in the sixteenth century. Today it

houses the Galleria Comunale and the Museo Civico.

In his effort to control his dominions in Italy, Emperor Frederick II built many castles, including the *castello* in Prato, probably dating from 1237-1248. Although it resembles Frederick's southern Italian castles, it is unique in the north. It remains an imposing edifice, although the restored curtain walls are only an empty shell.

See also Agriculture; Castruccio Castracani; Datini, Francesco di Marco; Florence; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Fustians; Ghibelline; Guelfs; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Lombards; Matilda, Countess of Tuscany; Ordinances of Justice; Pisano, Giovanni; Pistoia; Popolo; Urban Development; Wool Industry in Italy

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Preachers and Preaching

The study of preaching in medieval Italy has expanded greatly in recent decades as more and more scholars have become aware of the prominent role played by preachers in all sectors of Italian society throughout the period. At the same time, we have discovered the abundance of insight and information furnished by sermon texts on surprisingly numerous topics of research, even far beyond the realm of theology and spirituality. No portrait of medieval Italian society, no reconstruction of the "mentality" of the period, can be complete without taking into consideration the peninsula's many preachers and the traces, written or other, they left behind.

The Periods of Italian Preaching

In studying preaching, one may distinguish between popular (destined for the large masses in cities, towns, and countryside) and elite

(destined for smaller, specialized audiences such as those in monasteries and universities). Much more attention has been focused on popular preaching, probably and above all because it opens a window onto the daily life of a far larger segment of the population. The great season of popular preaching in Italy that begins with the rise of the Franciscans and Dominicans in the first quarter of the thirteenth century (and does not end, in fact, until the seventeenth) is also the best documented and thus the most studied and understood. Our image of the state of preaching in preceding centuries is at times shadowy and fragmentary, owing to the paucity of surviving documentation and scholarly research. However, certain observations may be made with reasonable certainty.

Like every other aspect of life in western society, with the onset of the "dark ages," preaching—public instruction in faith and morals—suffered a tremendous decline in quality and frequency. In the long stretch of time between the death of the last great Latin father of the church—Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604)—and the rise of the mendicants in the thirteenth century, the state of preaching in Italy appears to have been universally dismal. To be sure, there were exceptions to this rule: those very few, privileged places, such as the monasteries, with their higher level of domestic literacy and spiritual striving; and the occasional diocese or parish lucky enough—temporarily—to have that rarest of early medieval personages, a well-instructed, spiritually enlightened, and pastorally conscientious bishop or pastor. When preaching in this long period did occur—above all, within the context of the mass on Sundays and holy days—it often took the form of mere superficially adapted vernacular translations of the homilies of the fathers of the church—especially saints Ambrose (d. 397), Jerome (d. 420), Augustine (d. 430), and the aforementioned Gregory. Even as late as the second decade of the thirteenth century, we find Pope Innocent III, an accomplished preacher in his own right, attempting to set an example for his fellow preachers by simply translating one of Gregory's sermons word for word in a public liturgy on the feast of Mary Magdalene. (The story is related by the Dominican master general Humbert of Romans, in his *De eruditione praedicatorum*, one of the most widely disseminated scholastic *artes praedicandi* of the late medieval period.)

The church's intermittent calls during these centuries for more and better preaching went unheeded, mostly because of a severe lack of trained personnel. The Carolingian reforms directed at the clergy reached Italy in, at best, only attenuated form; and the later Gregorian reform, although successful in its main objectives, had little effect on the quality of preaching. A more urgent impetus for reform in preaching finally came, beginning in the second half of the twelfth century, with the challenge to the clerical monopoly on preaching raised by the many new lay "apostolic" groups—some heretical, such as the Cathars and Peter Waldo's Poor of Lyon; but others not, such as the Umiliati of Lombardy. (Documentation of the preaching of these groups—as well as, we might add, that of the Jews of medieval Italy—has all but disappeared.) In response to this threat, the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 passed legislation (constitution 10) whose goal was to ensure a proper supply of adequately trained preachers and confessors.

The Dominance of the Mendicants

The council's goal, however, would have probably gone unfulfilled had it not been for the simultaneous rise of two prodigiously successful and influential brotherhoods of late medieval Italy: the Order of Friars Minor (O.F.M.), or Franciscans, founded by the charismatic Francis of Assisi (d. 1226); and the Order of Preachers (O. P.), or Dominicans, founded by the learned Castilian Dominic Guzman (d. 1221). Both of these so-called mendicant orders made competent, ubiquitous preaching—to both popular and elite audiences—one of their most urgent priorities. Their success in this endeavor was such that they soon effectively eclipsed all other categories of preachers—most notably, the secular clergy—and continued to do so for centuries. The most important preachers of late medieval (and, indeed, early modern) Italy were almost all mendicants. Notable examples are, among the Franciscans, Anthony of Padua (d. 1231), Bonaventure of Bagnorea (d. 1274), Servassanto of Faenza (active second half of the thirteenth century), and Matteo d'Acquasparta (d. 1302); and among the Dominicans, Peter Martyr of Verona (d. 1252), Jacopo da Voragine (d. 1298), Jacopo Passavanti (d. 1357), and Giovanni Dominici (d. 1419).

Two Augustinians must also be mentioned: Alberto of Padua (d. 1328) and Simone Fidati da Cascia (d. 1348). In terms of both sheer abundance and engaging vivacity of extant sermon texts, however, none can rival the Dominican Giordano of Pisa (d. 1311) or the phenomenal Franciscan Bernardino of Siena (d. 1444).



Saint Bernardino of Siena. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 248r.

The “Modern” or Thematic Sermon

Along with the rise of the mendicant orders came the emergence of the

sermo modernus, or thematic sermon. Its predecessor, the *sermo antiquus*, took essentially the form of the patristic homily, a loosely structured verse-by-verse exposition of a Gospel passage, interpreted in a simple spiritual and devotional key. Although the patristic-style homily never disappeared (especially in preaching to less educated audiences), the thematic sermon became the standard after the first quarter of the thirteenth century and reigned supreme for at least two more centuries. (At no point did the church ever mandate a specific form of preaching, so preachers were at all times free to follow whatever form they desired.) A product of the scholastic mentality, with its love of minutely articulated order and meticulous logical analysis, the thematic sermon was a complex, pedagogical structure that had as its foundation the *thema*, a scriptural verse usually chosen from the mass of the day, whose moral and doctrinal content was explained, step by step, in the *dilatatio*, through a series of divisions and subdivisions (*distinctiones*) of the original biblical "proposition."

Summoned to this at times laborious instructional-persuasive task were traditional allegorical interpretations, corroborating quotations from the church fathers and doctors (*auctoritates*), etymologies, data and observations from the natural sciences, and narrative examples (*exempla*)—often lengthy and comically entertaining—from history, hagiography, and the everyday life of the audience. These homiletic tools were all available, prepackaged, in many dictionaries and handbooks, and the numerous *artes praedicandi* supplied the preacher with the necessary theoretical and structural foundations. Exceptionally busy or under-educated preachers also had recourse to ready-made sermons anthologized in the many *sermonari* of the period. The language of all popular preaching was the vernacular, although most secondhand sermon transcriptions (*reportationes*) and actual published texts from the preachers themselves are usually in Latin.

The Sermon as Social-Civic-Religious Event

Although the primary context for preaching was the mass on Sunday and holy days, the ecclesiastical and civic calendar offered endless occasions for preaching. Indeed, as the medieval period progressed,

preaching became increasingly separate from the liturgy, just as it moved from the confines of the church building to the public square in the case of exceptionally popular preachers. Since the moral instruction imparted by the preachers was deemed invaluable for the collective and individual wellbeing of the citizenry, it was often the secular, not ecclesiastical, authorities who arranged and paid for the services of the preacher. There was at times lively competition among the towns for booking an exceptionally good preacher, especially during Lent, the premier preaching season.

What we know of the logistics of Bernardino of Siena's preaching missions during Lent and Advent was probably usual for the period: each day at the crack of dawn, men and women, young and old, from all walks of life, from both the town and its countryside, would gather to listen to the preacher, who, for two to three hours, would attempt to stir them emotionally to contrition for their sins, while instructing them, in at times detailed fashion, in the essential elements of their duty as both Christians and citizens. (Sano di Pietro's famous panels of Bernardino preaching to the Sienese are, however, idealizations, depicting the faithful in excessively orderly ranks and as highly reverential in demeanor.) Since literacy was low, books were rare, and free public instruction and respectable entertainment—especially for women—were always welcome, it was probably not too difficult for preachers to capture the attention of the populace and to persuade them to change their behavior, at least temporarily. However, ensuring their true, lasting conversion was another, more challenging and elusive matter.

See also **Dominican Order**; **Franciscan Order**

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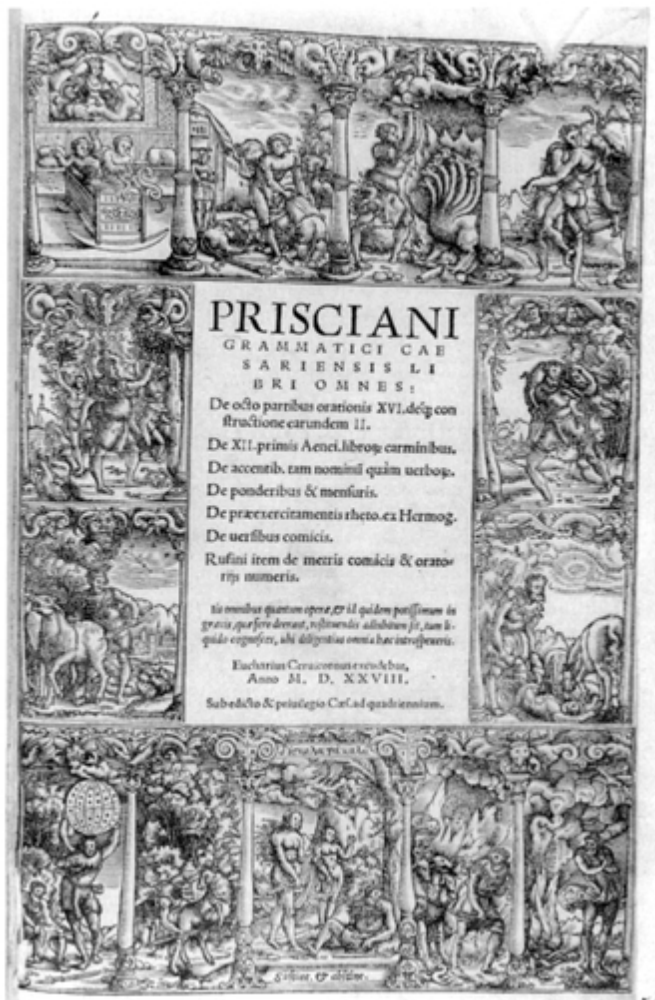
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Priscian

The Latin grammarian and poet Priscian (Priscianus, fl. 485-526) was born in Caesarea (Algeria) but studied and taught in Constantinople. For patrons in Rome, which was then under Ostrogothic rule, he composed manuals on Latin rhetoric, metrics, and metrology that stressed Greek antecedents; among other minor works, he freely translated Dionysius's *Description of the World*. Priscian's greatest and most influential work was the *Grammatical Institutions*, a massive advanced grammar of the Latin language (974 printed pages), abundantly illustrated with more than 10,000 lines of quotations from a

host of authors, notably Cicero, Virgil, and Horace. The first sixteen books, later known as *Priscianus maior*, dealt with the parts of speech; the last two books, *Priscianus minor*, dealt with syntax. Both *maior* and *minor* applied Greek linguistic theory to Latin. During the Carolingian Renaissance, this work became the standard textbook for upper-level instruction in Latin, and it retained its preeminence throughout the Middle Ages, so much so that "Priscian" came to be synonymous with the science of Latin grammar. Its obscurities were explained in Carolingian written commentaries and, as part of the university arts course, in oral lectures. The full work survives in hundreds of manuscripts and in more than 1,000 abridgements. Dante placed Priscian among the "violent against nature" (*Inferno*, 15.109), but it is unclear whether the intended offense was sexual sodomy; a condemnation of Priscian's theoretical, Greek-derived approach to language seems more likely.



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Procopius of Caesarea

Procopius (c. 500-C.561) was born and classically educated in Palestine. In 527 he became a legal adviser and secretary to the rising young general Belisarius, and he served with Belisarius in campaigns against the Persians, the Vandals in North Africa, and the Ostrogoths in Italy. After returning to Constantinople in 540, Procopius held several civil offices and began writing a series of historical works in Greek that have won him recognition as the last of the great historians in the classical tradition. Little is known of his final years, but he is understood to have died before his sovereign, Emperor Justinian.

The historical work of Procopius is in ten parts. The first eight "books" are collectively known as *History of the Wars*, in turn subdivided by military theater. Books 1 and 2 are known as *The Persian Wars* and cover events in the east into the 550s. Books 3 and 4, *The Vandalic Wars*, describe Belisarius's lightning campaign in North Africa

(533-534) and extend to the subsequent pacification program there into the late 540s. Books 5-8 treat the Gothic wars against the Ostrogoths in Italy. In this group, Book 7 carries the narrative to 550, and, along with its predecessors, was circulated in 551; Book 8, a supplement covering events on several fronts through 552 (notably the final defeat of the Ostrogoths under Narses), was completed and circulated in the years that followed. The author's style throughout is in the grand manner of military, diplomatic, and political history; the work is superbly written and authoritatively detailed, reflecting either the author's personal participation or his access to the best contemporary information. Occasionally there is mild criticism of Justinian, but the general tone is that of an official history.

The other two works by Procopius are less securely dated and more problematic in character. *Anecdota (Unpublished Sections)*, known as *The Secret History*, was intended for limited circulation, if not for the author's desk drawer only. Sensational and often hysterical in tone, the work is a vindictive diatribe aimed at Belisarius, Theodora, and Justinian himself. *The Secret History*, which was once thought spurious, offers important information and perspectives if used critically. The other work is a panegyric, *On the Buildings*, a survey of Justinian's far-flung architectural program. It was intended to cover the entire empire but, apparently incomplete in its final form, omits Italy. Its tone of slavish adulation for Justinian is repugnant, but it contains much information of value. *The Secret History* has been thought to represent the bitter disillusionment of Procopius's last years, whereas *On the Buildings* was written to ingratiate the author with the court after some loss of favor; but it has also been argued that these two "supplemental" works were joined with the rest in a coherent grand design.

See also **Belisarius; Gothic Wars; Justinian I; Narses; Ostrogoths**

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Prodenzani, Simone

Simone Prodenzani (c. 1360-c. 1440) was born in Prodo and died in Orvieto. He was the author of *Liber saporecti* (*Il saporetto*) and *Liber solatii* (*Il sollazzo*), both composed between 1400 and 1422. *Il saporetto* is a poem consisting of 186 sonnets and is divided into four parts or *mondi*. In the first two parts—*Mundus placitus* and *Mundus blandus*—the poet gives a detailed description of banquets, dances, concerts, and other ludic activities of the bourgeoisie and of the nobility in the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century. Parts 3 and 4—*Mundus tranquillus* and *Mundus meritorius*—are a discussion of moral, religious, and philosophical issues based on traditional sources: Aristotle, Saint Augustine, Boethius, Saint Thomas Aquinas, and Dante. Less interesting than the festive *mondi*, they nevertheless demonstrate that Prodenzani was a cultivated individual whose middlebrow philosophy reflected the concerns and attitudes of a broad audience of Orvietani. The *Mundus placitus* and the *Mundus blandus* are another matter. Here, as a prominent figure in city politics between 1387 and the time of his death, Prodenzani documents the customs of the privileged class. For modern scholars, the first two *mondi* are an indispensable

store of linguistic and cultural information about the period.

At the outset of the narrative, Buonare (Proenzani) dreams that he has sent his son, Sollazzo (a talented entertainer whose name means "jester"), to a nobleman, Pierbaldo, lord of the fictional land of Buongoverno. Buonare's son participates in the Christmas festivities at Pierbaldo's court. The mountebank becomes the life of the party when he recites *Il sollazzo*, a collection of eighteen novellas in *ballata* form, similar to the French fabliaux. According to Debenedetti (1913, 96), *Il sollazzo* was the first collection of novellas in Italian literature to be set to poetry. The novellas are *exempla* of moral retribution, many of which feature women as sinful antagonists. Although the tales are taken primarily from the oral tradition, two of them are adapted from Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The ninth novella of *Il sollazzo*, dealing with the theme of hypocrisy, is similar to the tale of the promiscuous abbess (*Decameron*, 9.2); the eleventh, which is about vanity, recalls the *novella* of Andreuccio da Perugia (2.5). *Il sollazzo* is a showcase for Prodenzani's wit and ability to create unique characters and comic situations that are similar to those of Antonio Pucci and Franco Sacchetti (Andrioli Nemola 1979, 108).

Scholars have examined the relationship between these poems. Because the very popular *Sollazzo* is the high point of the *Saporetto*, the latter has been seen as the frame of the jester's narrative. According to Debenedetti (p. 33), Prodenzani selected eighteen tales written in his youth and integrated them into the structure of *Il saporetto*, which was probably composed after *Il sollazzo*. Debenedetti also believes that the poet added the moralizing *Mundus tranquillus* and *Mundus meritorius* in order to give his work aesthetic and moral unity. However, *Il sollazzo* is transcribed before *Il saporetto* in the most authoritative manuscript of the poems, manuscript 286 of the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma. Given the documentary evidence, Andrioli Nemola (p. 222) considers *Il sollazzo* and *Il saporetto* autonomous works that are connected by important figurative elements, such as the protagonist-narrator Sollazzo, and by Prodenzani's ideological perspective.

Besides *Il saporetto* and *Il sollazzo*, Prodenzani also composed twenty-one *rime*.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni**

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Prosdocimus de Beldemandis

Prosdocimus de Beldemandis (Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi, d. 1428), was the author of treatises on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. After studying in Bologna, he took a doctorate in arts at Padua on 15 May 1409 and received a license in medicine there on 15 April 1411. He was a professor of arts and medicine at Padua from 1422, at the latest, until his death.

Prosdocimus wrote on all four of the quadrivial arts; the following

treatises have survived. On arithmetic: *Canon in quo docetur modus componendi et operandi tabulam quandam* (Padua, 1409 or 1419) and *Algorismus de integris sive pratica arismetrice de integris* (Padua, 1410). On geometry: *De parallelogramo*. On astronomy: *Brevis tractatulus de electionibus secundum situm lune in suis 28 mansionibus* (Montagnana, 1413); *Scriptum super tractatu de spera Johannis de Sacrobosco* (Padua, 1418); *Canones de motibus corporum supercelestium* (Padua, 1424); *Tabule mediorum motuum, equationum, stationum et latitudinum planetarum, elevationis signorum, diversitatis aspectus lune, mediarum coniunctionum et oppositionum lunarium, feriarum, latitudinum climatum, longitudinum et latitudinum civitatum; Stelle fixe verificate tempore Alphonsi; Canon ad inveniendum tempus introitus solis in quodcumque 12 signorum in zodiaco; Canon ad inveniendum introitum lune in quolibet signorum in zodiaco; Compositio astrolabii; and Astrolabium*. On music: *Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis Johannis de Muris* (Padua, possibly 1404); *Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis* (1408); *Brevis summula pro-portionum quantum ad musicam pertinet* (1409); *Contrapunctus* (Montagnana, 1412); *Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis ad modum Ytalicorum* (Montagnana, 1412); *Tractatus plane musice* (Montagnana, 1412); *Parvus tractatulus de modo monacordum dividendi* (Padua, 1413); and *Tractatus musice speculative* (1425).

Prosdocimus based his *Algorismus de integris* on a similarly titled work of the thirteenth-century polymath Johannes de Sacrobosco; his *Scriptum super tractatu de spera Johannis de Sacrobosco* is based on the same author's textbook of Ptolemaic astronomy, one of the most widely disseminated medieval astronomical works.

Prosdocimus's musical treatises represent an attempt to survey the entire discipline; no earlier music theorist had attempted such a comprehensive project through separate treatises on the subdisciplines, and Prosdocimus's musical writings are of great importance because of their scope and clarity. In *Parvus tractatulus de modo monacordum dividendi*, he described a scale that preserved the standard medieval "Pythagorean" tuning (i.e., with pure perfect fifths, slightly wider than those of present-day equal temperament) but with seventeen notes to the octave (seven naturals, five flats, and five sharps not quite in tune

with the flats); this expanded scale may have been an important step toward the tempered tunings of the later fifteenth century. In *Contrapunctus*, he confirmed that medieval scribes did not write all the accidentals they necessarily expected to be performed, and he gave rules that clarify where accidentals are appropriate, even if unwritten. He surveyed the theory of rhythmic mensuration in three treatises, *Expositiones tractatus prattice cantus mensurabilis Johannis de Muris* (a commentary on the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis*, the most widely disseminated medieval treatise on mensuration, which laid the foundation for French fourteenth-century rhythmic notation); *Tractatus prattice cantus mensurabilis*, his own account of fourteenth-century French mensuration; and *Tractatus prattice cantus mensurabilis ad rnodum Ytalicorum*, an exposition of contemporaneous Italian mensuration (this is the most comprehensive treatment of Italian mensuration in its mature stage). *Tractatus musice speculative* is an attack on the division of the tone into fifths described a century earlier by Marchetto da Padova, based on what Prosdocimus saw as the earlier theorist's abandonment of "Pythagorean" tuning and his faulty logic.

The manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ashburnham 206, written by Prosdocimus in 1409, is an anthology of the curriculum of the Paduan college of arts and medicine at the time. It includes the *Algorismus de integris* of Johannes de Sacrobosco, the *Algorismus de integris* of Johannes de Lineriis, the *Canones supra tabulas Alphonsi* and the *Scriptum super Alkabicium* of Johannes de Saxonia, the *De septem planetis* of Messahala, the *Tractatus quadrantis novi* and the *Canones de almanack perpetuum* of Profatius Judaeus, and the *De prognosticatione mortis et vite secundum motum lune* of Pseudo-Hippocrates, among shorter works on arithmetic, astronomy, and astrology and several compilations of medical prescriptions.

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Prosody

See Italian Prosody

Prostitution

See Sexuality

Provençal Language in Italy

See Occitan Language in Italy

Proverbs

The word *proverbi* in medieval Italy has three connotations: (1) references to the Book of Solomon, a collection of wise aphorisms probably assembled between the fourth and eighth centuries after Christ; (2) short, witty sayings of popular origin; and (3) pithy observations created by a single, identifiable author after the manner of folk proverbs.

The Cremonese notary Girard Pateg (fl. 1228) left a somewhat dry poem in alexandrine rhymes, *Splanamento de li Proverbi di Salamone* (*Explanation of the Proverbs of Solomon*). The author explicitly states that this gloss was written for the edification of the masses. Topics include the tongue (speech), pride, anger, humility, the choice of a good wife, friendship, and riches versus poverty. Dante also referred to *li Proverbi di Salomone* in his *Convivio* (3.11.12).

The second connotation of "proverb" is most common: a folkloric source of knowledge that parallels written forms produced by cultural institutions such as the church and the university. All cultures produce their own proverbs, terse distillations of experience that address natural, social, psychological, and even political situations. The production of proverbs in Italy was particularly rich, owing to its multiple and enduring dialects. Relatively recently, there has been an explosion of regional scholarship on proverbs, studies too numerous to list here.

Italian proverbs can be documented in the thirteenth century, and their production continued throughout the Middle Ages. A noteworthy rhymed text by Garzo (c. 1225), perhaps an ancestor of Petrarch,

contains 240 proverbs, in alphabetical groups of twelve. One early fourteenth-century codex in Piedmontese dialect conserves allegorical and moralizing proverbs about nature, flora, and fauna. The use of proverbial expressions in a written text indicates a popular audience or readership. Learned authors may also use proverbs ironically, in humorous shifts to a lower register, or in an insulting manner to characterize a person as *villano*, of the lower classes.

Proverbs appear in a wide range of texts and genres, in verse and prose. Early poets such as Guido Guinizzelli, Monte Andrea, Chiaro Davanzati, Cecco Angiolieri, and Fazio degli Uberti mention or cite proverbs. Giovanni Boccaccio, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, and Franco Sacchetti include proverbs in the respective *novelle* of the *Decameron*, *Il pecorone*, and *Il trecentonovelle*. Popular religious authors such as Fra Giordano, Domenico Cavalca, and pseudo-Bonaventura refer to the potentially harmful nature of these often sharp-tongued sayings and look askance at their sometimes negative moral content. The fifteenth-century Tuscans Andrea da Barberino and Luigi Pulci explicitly cited proverbs in their long chivalric narratives.

See also Pateg, Gerardo

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Prudentius

Prudentius (Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, 348-after 404) was born a Christian, was classically educated, became a Roman lawyer and government magistrate, and then abandoned his administrative career to dedicate himself to poetry. His work combines classical form and Christian spirit, making him, for many medieval readers, the archetypal Christian Latin poet.

Prudentius produced a large body of work including hymns, short lyrics, and long poems in hexameter. His better-known works include the following: *Peristephanon* (*Crowns of Martyrdom*), fourteen hymns honoring Christian martyrs in a variety of meters; *Cathemerinon* (*Hymns for the Day* or *The Daily Round*), twelve hymns to be sung throughout the day and on Christian holidays; *Hamartigenia* (*The Origin of Sin*), which examines, in hexameter, man's responsibility for his sinfulness; *Contra Symmachum*, two books of hexameter presenting a polemic against paganism; and *Psychomachia*, which depicts the struggle between virtue and vice in an innovative combination of allegory and epic style.

The hymns enjoyed enormous popularity throughout the Middle Ages and were used for centuries in church liturgy. Although they borrow meters found in Horace's *Odes*, they never waver from their firmly Christian perspective. *Contra Symmachum*, too, proved influential, particularly for its vision of classical culture as a vehicle for, rather than a rival of, Christianity. Medieval readers responded to

Prudentius's contention that the Christian God willed Rome's conquests in order to enable the diffusion of Christianity through a politically unified empire.

Psychomachia, however, was Prudentius's greatest success. In this hexametric poem, personifications of the virtues and vices struggle for control over man's soul. The virtues and vices behave like epic heroes, performing extraordinary acts of strength and violence. Faith strangles Idolatry, Humility beheads Arrogance, Chastity slaughters Lust. Prudentius crafts battle scenes which read like passages from Homer or Virgil, but he raises the stakes of the conflict: the outcome of the strife will be the salvation or damnation of man's soul. He infuses classical epic with the gravity of Christian belief and thus provides a place for pagan poetics in the literary life of Christianity.

The *Psychomachia* served as a forceful stimulus to the development of allegorical poetry. The nearly iconographic portraits of the allegorized virtues and vices also made their presence felt in the visual arts, where representations of these abstractions became popular subjects in the Middle Ages.

See also Allegory

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Ptolemy of Lucca

Ptolemy Fiadoni of Lucca (Tolomeo, Tholomeo, Ptolomeo, Bartolomeo; c. 1236-1327) was a member of a family that belonged to the Lucchese commercial elite, though not the aristocracy. He entered the Dominican convent of San Romano at Lucca at an unknown date, but obviously before he accompanied Thomas Aquinas on a journey from Rome to Naples in 1272. He remained in Rome with Aquinas until 1274, probably helping him set up a *stadium* of theology in the Neapolitan

convent of San Domenico. Ptolemy included a long account of Aquinas's life and works in his *Historia ecclesiastica nova*. Ptolemy may also have visited or lived in Rome during the time of Pope Nicholas III (r. 1278-1280), since his *Historia ecclesiastica* contains interesting descriptions of Nicholas's building projects. *Libellus de iurisdictione imperii et auctoritate summi pontificis* (usually called *Determinatio compendiosa*), written at about this period, seems to breathe the spirit of Nicholas's pontificate. In 1283-1285 Ptolemy visited Provence. In 1285 he was made prior of San Romano in Lucca. In 1288 he was named preacher-general of his order and attended its general chapter in Lucca; he was a *diffinitor* at the general chapters of 1300 at Marseilles and of 1302 at Cologne. During the years 1287-1307 there are frequent documentary references to his presence in the Lucchese convent, often as prior; he was also (from 1300 to 1302) prior of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. During this period he made other trips outside Lucca; for example, Ptolemy witnessed the election of Celestine V at Perugia and his crowning at Aquila and was in Naples during his pontificate in 1294. Ptolemy was in Avignon by 1309 and spent most of the next two decades there, serving at least two cardinals. He was named bishop of Torceilo in 1318. Because of a quarrel with the patriarch of Grado, Ptolemy's episcopate was stormy, and he even suffered excommunication and imprisonment. Pope John XXII restored Ptolemy to his see in 1323, probably while the pope was in Avignon attending the festivities for Aquinas's canonization. Ptolemy died in Torceilo.

Though he wrote one "scientific" work, *De operibus sex dierum*, published under the title *Exaerneron*, Ptolemy's achievements as a historian and political thinker far outweighed those in philosophy or theology. Besides his *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, which is based not only on Martin of Troppau and other chroniclers but also on numerous canonistic texts, Ptolemy wrote *Gesta Tuscorum*, a volume of annals extending from 1061 to 1303 in which Tuscany and particularly Lucca figured prominently. Ptolemy refers also to a third historical work, *Historia tripartita*, of which no manuscript is known. His desire to exalt the temporal jurisdiction of the papacy found expression in his *Libellas de iurisdictione imperii et auctoritate summi pontificis*, published as *Determinatio compendiosa de iurisdictione imperii*; and *Tractatus de*

iurisdictione ecclesie super regnum Apulie et Sicilie. Krammer, who edited *Determinatio compendiosa* (1909), also edited *De origine ac translatione et statu romani imperii* as a work probably by Ptolemy, but its authorship is uncertain. In about 1302 Ptolemy wrote his continuation of Aquinas's *De regno*; this composite work has usually been referred to as *De regimine principum* and attributed solely to Aquinas. In Ptolemy's continuation, another dimension of his political thought came to the fore: his republicanism. He arranged governments under two main headings, political and despotic, classifying aristocracies and popular governments as political and all forms of absolute rule, including kingship, as despotic. Ptolemy depended heavily on Aristotle's *Politics*, but Aristotle had drawn a sharp distinction between despotic and royal government—a distinction of which Ptolemy shows himself to be well aware in his *De operibus*. Ptolemy's preference for political government was revealed in his claim that this was the regime best suited for inhabitants of Eden, northern Italy, and Rome. In *De operibus* he said that in the state of innocence government would have been, as it was today among the angels, not despotic but political, a prelacy based on service, not a dominion involving subjection—subjection having come about only as a result of the fall of man. In *De regimine principum* he said that this was also true of northern Italy and Rome, whose inhabitants took pride in their own rationality, though it was not true of the majority of other postlapsarian men, who usually profited more from royal rule. Ptolemy tried to reconcile this view with the frequency of despotism in contemporary Italy by saying that northern Italians could be subjected only by coercion. As for the Roman empire, not it but the church was the legitimate heir of the Roman republic. The virtues of the heroes of the Roman republic, to which Ptolemy also alluded in *Determinatio compendiosa*, recalled, in fact, the pristine state of human nature before the fall of man. Ptolemy's attempt to justify and harmonize republican and hierocratic theories makes him one of the most original political thinkers of the Middle Ages.

See also Nicholas III, Pope; Thomas Aquinas, Saint

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Q

Quadrivium

See Liberal Arts

Quilichino of Spoleto

Very little is known about Quilichino (early thirteenth century), the author of *Historia Alexandri Magni* (*History of Alexander the Great*), a Latin poem in 1957 elegiac distichs written in 1236 and revised in the course of the following year. Even his name is uncertain: all vernacular forms are modern-language versions of the attested medieval Latin, conventionally given as Quilichinus but more likely to have been Vilichinus (and in either case accented on the second syllable). Quilichino tells us that he is a judge, that his family is of Spoleto, that he is a partisan of the emperor Frederick II, and that he has elsewhere written praises (*precoma*) of Frederick. These praises appear to be lost; during the early twentieth century they were identified with an eighty-line Latin poem to Frederick usually ascribed to Terrisio of Atina, but that theory is no longer widely accepted. Nor (the Library of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding) is Quilichino in any way responsible for the early fourteenth-century *Pomerium rethorice* (*Orchard of Rhetoric*) of the somewhat similarly named dictaminal writer Bichilino of Spello.

Quilichino's poem closely follows one version (J³) of the so-called *Historia de preliis*, a catchall term for reworkings of the archpriest Leo's Latin rendering of the Greek romance of Alexander. However, Quilichino divides his account into four books in a way that emphasizes Alexander's several kingships and so suggests a parallel with Frederick, king of Germany, Italy, and Sicily. Its general lack of stylistic polish is

relieved in places by phrasing adapted from the poetry of Boethius. As a morally informed piece of versified history, it enjoyed some success. At least twenty manuscripts are known, four from the fourteenth century and the rest later. There are also an early fourteenth-century Italian translation in ottava rima by Domenico Scolari and a late fourteenth-century German verse translation known as the Wernigerode *Alexander*.

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Quintilian, Marcus Fabius

Quintilian (c. A.D. 30-96), a Roman lawyer and orator, earned lasting fame as a teacher of rhetoric. His most significant and only surviving work, *Institutio oratoria*, is dedicated to the education of the orator. The book defines the orator as a civic leader; and when Quintilian describes rhetoric as "a knowledge of speaking well" (*bene dicendi scientia*), the term *bene* implies both moral excellence and artistic mastery (Kennedy 1980, 101). In *Institutio oratoria*, Quintilian argues that instruction in rhetoric must be part of a comprehensive educational plan, beginning with a child's nurse, moving through literature, and concluding with the rhetorical art. The vast scope of the book and the educational plan it advocates diminished its utility in late antiquity, a time when academic horizons were narrowing, and it fell into disuse.

Nevertheless, Quintilian's influence was funneled to the Middle Ages through several indirect sources. Cassiodorus, whose *Institutiones divinarum et humanarum lectionum* served as a fundamental textbook in medieval monastic education, cites Quintilian, along with Cicero, Augustine, Martianus Capella, and others, in his brief passage on rhetoric. Caius Julius Victor, another late Roman professor of rhetoric, also relied on Quintilian. The Carolingian reform of the ninth and tenth centuries initiated a renewal of interest in *Institutio oratoria*.



Quintilian, *Oratoriarum Institutionum*. Cologne: Eucharius Cervicornus, 1527. Reproduced by courtesy of Department of Special Collections, General Library System, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

At least one manuscript tradition of the complete *Institutio oratoria* circulated in the British Isles throughout the Middle Ages. The *Recensio Ambrosiana* (*Ambrosian Edition*) of the work was also available to a few writers in Tours, including John of Salisbury. More widely disseminated was the incomplete *Recensio Berne* (*Bern Edition*), known in continental Europe. Despite its mutilated state, this book inspired

interest at Chartres in the twelfth century and had a particular influence on debates concerning the education of children. Dante gives no indication of knowing Quintilian; and Boccaccio mentions the author of *Institutio oratoria* only in proverbial form, noting that Frate Cipolla's eloquence (*Decameron*, 6.10) inspired comparisons with "Tulio" (i.e., Cicero) or perhaps "Quintiliano."

The *Recensio Ambrosiana* was recovered on the continent by Poggio Bracciolini in 1415. He describes the manuscript in dramatic terms: long languishing deep in the dungeons of Saint Gall, "his face cruelly torn—his ears wrenched from despoiled brows, and his nostrils lopped by a shameful wound" (*Aeneid*, 6.495-497, trans. Fairclough). The restored text became an essential work for the humanists, influencing both educational theory and the theory and practice of rhetoric.

See also Augustine, Saint; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Cassiodorus; Cicero; Liberal Arts

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Quirini, Giovanni

Little is known about the poet Giovanni Quirini (fourteenth century) except that he was a Venetian nobleman and merchant and his family

was exiled in 1310. Fortunately, the substantial corpus of his poems has been handed down to us in an authoritative manuscript, Latino XIV.223 of the Biblioteca Marciana of Venice. According to Morpurgo (1894, 135), the 106 poems contained in the codex were copied from an autograph manuscript.

As an imitator of Dante and of the *dolce stil nuovo*, Quirini often speaks about love in his poetry—although he seems to have undergone a spiritual conversion, because many of the compositions also deal with religious themes. His poetry incorporates Tuscan linguistic forms and *stilnuovo* motifs in Venetian language. Hence, his poetry bears witness to the rapid spread and assimilation of Florentine poetry in northern Italy, and particularly in the Veneto. He praises Dante and the *Commedia* in the sonnet *Com'egli errò ne la fede cristiana* ("As he erred in the Christian faith"): *ispredor e lume, fonte e rioldel belparlar della lingua nostrana* ("splendor and light, fount and stream of the lovely speech of our language" (verses 7-8). Unlike Dante's contemporaries who were primarily concerned with the doctrine in the *Commedia*, Quirini underscores the work's linguistic importance (Corsi 1969, 41n).

Quirini's *dantismo* is manifest in many of his sonnets, in particular *Se per alcun puro omo avvenne mai* ("If because of a simple man it ever happened"), a poem sent to Cangrande della Scala. In this poem, Quirini laments the death of Dante, saying that it should be made known to the world by more eventful and foreboding signs than the solar and lunar eclipses that occurred at the death of a "simple" man (a reference to Christ).

At their best, Quirini's poems have sincerity of expression and lively imagery. In the sonnet *Colui cheperse la figura umana* ("The one who lost his human form"), Quirini combines graphic language (*Amor ... /mi squatra e rode il cor cun ambidue/quel vostri ladri che lume mi fanno*: "Love . . . tears me apart and devours my heart with both of your thieves [i.e., the woman's eyes] that shine on me") and fluid syntax in order to create a concise representation of his emotional state. In another sonnet, *Ora che 'l mondo se adorna e se veste* ("Now that the world adorns and clothes itself"), he resuscitates the topos of spring, describing nature's beauty and the joy it brings. This *plazer* ends with the hope, and perhaps a plea, that his lover will serve him well.

Quirini also composed devotional poetry characterized by liturgical

formulas and a simple musicality that enlivens the religious themes.

See also Cangrande della Scala; Dante Alighieri; Dolce Stil Nuovo; Italian Poetry; Lyric

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R

Rabanus Maurus

Rabanus Maurus (c. 780-856) was a teacher, scholar, writer, and active churchman whose career reflects the Carolingian renaissance. He was born at Mainz, and as a boy he became an oblate at the monastery of Fulda. In 802, he was sent briefly to Charlemagne's court and then to Tours to study with Alcuin, who was the leading figure in shaping Charlemagne's program to revive education and learning. Rabanus returned to Fulda before 804, became master of the monastic school, and then in 822 became the abbot. As abbot, he not only promoted the monastic school, library, and *scriptorium* but also built churches, carried on pastoral work, and managed the abbey's extensive properties. As a consequence, Fulda grew to be a major center of learning in the Frankish world and constitutes a case study of the nurture of learning in local centers remote from the Carolingian court. Rabanus was a supporter of Louis I the Pious and Louis's eldest son, Lothair (Lothar) I, as representatives of the ideal of imperial unity, a position that cost him his abbacy in 842 during the fraternal struggles following the death of Louis in 840. In 847 Rabanus was elected archbishop of Mainz, and until his death he utilized that office to promote church reform, defend doctrinal orthodoxy, and support missionary activity.

Rabanus was i he most prolific of all Carolingian writers. He produced a huge body of literary works in many forms: scriptural commentaries, basic textbooks on the liberal arts (*De arte grammatica* and *De computo*), penitentials, collections of sermons, a martyrology, poems, and letters, some of which reflected his views on current political and theological issues. Perhaps his most influential works were *De institutione clericorum*, a manual for priests dealing with the nature and exercise of their office and with the education required to prepare them for their duties; and *De rerum naturis*, an encyclopedia seeking to provide the basic knowledge required to read and interpret scripture in

a spiritually fruitful way.

Rabanus's literary works are primarily compilations drawn from earlier writers, and so he has received little credit as an original thinker among modern scholars. However, this evaluation misses the inspiration that guided his intellectual, literary, and pastoral career. Deeply imbued with the fundamental concept guiding the Carolingian renaissance, Rabanus believed that the challenge facing his age was the recovery in usable form of the basic wisdom that defined the true Christian religion. This wisdom—enshrined in scripture, the vast body of Latin patristic writing, and even Latin pagan literature—needed to be sorted out and organized so that it could be learned and applied by his contemporaries. To what was essentially a pedagogical task, Rabanus brought considerable talent: extensive learning, a sense of essentials, skill as an organizer of borrowed materials into straightforward works of instruction, and an ability to adapt received knowledge to new situations. His corpus of writings indicates one of the major accomplishments of the Carolingian renaissance: the reestablishment of fruitful contact with a rich and complex tradition. For his contribution to the Carolingian revival of learning, he perhaps deserves a title given him by modern scholars, *preceptor Germaniae*.

See also Charlemagne; Frankish Kingdom; Louis I the Pious

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Radagaisus

Radagaisus (d. 406) was a pagan Goth who crossed the Danube and invaded Italy in 405-406. He met with little resistance there, and he had forced the city of Florence to the point of surrender when the Roman regent Stilicho arrived with relief troops. Stilicho forced Radagaisus and his army to withdraw from Florence to Fiesole and then cut off their supply line. Consequently, Radagaisus was starved into submission. When Radagaisus tried to abandon his soldiers, he was captured by the Romans and executed outside the gates of Florence on 23 August.



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See also Stilicho

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Raimbaut De Vaqueiras

The troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (c. 1155or 1160-1207) was born in Vacqueyras, near Orange in Provence, and probably died near Messinople in Thrace (northern Greece). He was of lowly origins and soon adopted the profession of jongleur. Since during this period the courts of Provence were somewhat lukewarm in their patronage of

poets, he tried his luck on the other side of the Alps, where the lords of Montferrat, Malaspina, and Este were vying with each other to welcome troubadours and jongleurs. In particular, the brilliant court of Montferrat, where Raimbaut arrived in the 1180s, was very hospitable to exponents of the new poetry; and he soon formed a bond of sympathy with the marquis's third son, Boniface, who was about his age. In due course this ripened into one of the most intimate and affectionate associations ever recorded between a poet and his patron, which was not severed until Boniface's tragic death in 1207. Before reaching Montferrat, Raimbaut had been forced to wander, on foot and hungry, across the plains of Lombardy, as he recalled in a famous *tenso* with another troubadour, Albert of Malaspina. Afterward, as a close friend of the marquis, Raimbaut fought valiantly alongside his patron on several occasions and was instrumental in saving Boniface's life during a Sicilian campaign of 1194 for Emperor Henry VI, a feat that earned him a knighthood. In the spring of 1203, Raimbaut went on the Fourth Crusade, joined the marquis and the Venetians on their way to Constantinople, and was wounded during the ensuing siege. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Raimbaut accompanied Boniface on a campaign in Greece; later he participated in the activities of Boniface's court at Salonika. Raimbaut very likely died with his friend during Boniface's ill-advised incursion into the Rhodope Mountains, on 4 September 1207.

Raimbaut left twenty-six poems, of which eight are preserved with musical notation. His multilingual *descort* is particularly famous: one stanza is in Occitan, another in Italian, a third in French, a fourth in a kind of Gascon, a fifth in a type of Gallician-Portuguese, and a sixth in a combination of the five languages, each having two lines. The lyric-epic composition called *Carros*, which described an imaginary war of merit, beauty, and youth between his patroness—Boniface's sister Beatrice—and a band of more than twenty ladies of the Italian nobility, is no less famous and is one of the jewels of Occitan literature. Another fine composition, completed in 1205 in Greece, is his *Epic Letter* (its modern title). This work is unique in the Romance literatures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: it consists of three poems rhyming *-at*, *-o*, and *-ar* and contains a request to the marquis for material compensation for his services, concomitantly serving as an

autobiography.

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Rainulf, Count of Aversa

Rainulf (Ranull Drengo, died c. 1045) was the leader of a band of Norman mercenaries who would establish the first permanent Norman principality at Aversa. Having landed in southern Italy with his

brothers in 1016, Rainulf eventually placed himself and his followers at the service of various Lombard princes who in one way or another were determined to expand their principalities at the expense of the Byzantine empire, which maintained more than a nominal control over the south. At some point, Rainulf placed himself at the service of Pandulf IV, prince of Capua, who, taking advantage of the death of Guaimar IV of Salerno and the minority of Guaimar V, proceeded in 1027 to take over Naples and remove the ruling duke, Sergius IV (d. 1037). Later, Rainulf, having married the sister of Duke Sergius, helped Sergius to regain Naples. For this service, in 1029, Rainulf was granted the village of Aversa; when fortified, it became a strong defensive outpost for Naples and also the base for the *Normans'* expansion in southern Italy, a rallying point for incoming Normans seeking employment as mercenaries.

After the death of his first wife, Rainulf married the niece of Pandulf IV of Capua and thus returned to the service of Pandulf. But when Conrad II (r. 1024-1039) moved southward to rearrange the political order there, Rainulf once again switched allegiance, giving his support to the prince of Salerno, Guaimar V. In 1038, Conrad recognized Guaimar as prince of Salerno and Capua and invested Rainulf as count of Aversa. Rainulf assisted Guaimar in the conquest of Amalfi in 1039 and Gaeta in 1040. In the campaigns against the Byzantines, the Normans fought alongside the Lombards, and although the Normans were still only allied mercenaries, they were responsible for a series of victories. The Normans would eventually assume the leadership of the Apulian revolt, but Rainulf himself died in June of 1044 or 1045.

See also Aversa; Conrad II; Normans; Sergius IV, Duke of Naples

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Rangerius of Lucca

Rangerius (d. 1112) was bishop of Lucca from c. 1096 until his death. He was a talented literary writer in Latin and a vigorous champion of the Gregorian reform. His life before August 1097, when he first appears in the Luccese charters, is a mystery: his nationality (perhaps French), his training, his possible monastic vocation, and even the date of his election as bishop are all controversial. Most of our evidence for Rangerius is derived from his two surviving poems, whose considerable stylistic merits have commanded far less attention than their utility as historical sources.

Vita metrica s. Anselmi lucensis episcopi (*Metrical Life of Saint Anselm, Bishop of Lucca*) was presumably written between 1096 and 1099. It is an elegant treatment, in 3,650 elegiac distichs, of the life and deeds of Rangerius's recent but not immediate predecessor, the reforming bishop Anselm of Lucca; and it is valuable as a document of the ecclesiastical history of Lucca and also for the light it sheds on attitudes toward the role of the church in late eleventh-century Luccese society. *De anulo et baculo* (*On the Ring and the Staff*) was seemingly written in late 1110; it is in 530 elegiac distichs and constitutes a reply to a recent treatise upholding imperial rights in the investiture of bishops. In this work, Rangerius focuses mainly on the sacramental nature of the staff and the ring presented during the investiture ceremony and offers an eloquent affirmation of the freedom of the church from lay (and especially royal) interference. According to Donizo of Canossa, who quotes verses that are absent from the text as transmitted, the poem was dedicated to Matilda of Tuscany; but as we have it now, it is addressed to the papal chancellor John of Gaeta (the future Pope Gelasius II).

At least two prose writings have also been ascribed to Rangerius: a sermon on the translation, in 1109, of the remains of the martyrs Regulus, Jason, Maurus, and Hilaria; and a sermon on the dedication of the church of Saint Martin (Lucca's cathedral, dedicated 6 October

1070). The first sermon, whose most authoritative form has been edited only in part, is probably Rangerius's work and has been accepted as such by at least one relatively recent scholar; the other attribution, however, has found little support.

See also Latin Literature; Lucca

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Ratchis

Ratchis was a king of the Lombards (r. 744-749). He had been made duke of Friuli, succeeding his father, Pemmo, by King Liutprand. In 744, Ratchis overthrew Liutprand's successor, Hildeprand. As king, Ratchis inherited the strong realm created by Liutprand, and he continued Liutprand's policy of expansion at the expense of the empire. Although Ratchis was successful in a number of projects, he faced an increasingly serious situation as the popes succeeded in breaking a long-lasting friendship and cooperation between the Lombards and the Franks, and the Lombard dukes became increasingly restive under strong royal control. Ratchis was overthrown by his brother Aistulf in 749, whereupon Ratchis retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino. He emerged briefly in 756 in an unsuccessful attempt to regain the throne.

See also **Aistulf; Liutprand; Lombards**

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Ratherius of Verona

Ratherius, bishop of Verona (Rather of Luttich, c. 887 or 888-974), was born in Germany. In 926 he went to Italy, where he found favor with Hugh of Aries, who, in addition to his Provençal holdings, had just become king of Italy. Ratherius became bishop of Verona in 931. Unfortunately, he sided with Arnulf of Bavaria when Arnulf invaded Italy in 934. Hugh defeated Arnulf and imprisoned Ratherius for two and a half years.

Ratherius wrote his greatest work, *Praeloqua*, in prison, as a guide for those beset by suffering. His contemporary Liudprand of Cremona praised it, but some modern critics believe it is marred by self-pity.

See also **Latin Literature; Verona**

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Ravenna

History

Ravenna is strategically situated along the land corridor of eastern Emilia between the Po valley and the Via Flaminia as it passes southward through the great barrier of the Apennines; thus the city commanded the historic passage between old Cisalpine Gaul and Italy proper. It could be made virtually impregnable because it was erected in the tidal marshes inward from the Adriatic shore—"built entirely on piles, and traversed by canals which you cross by ferryboats," as the Greek geographer Strabo (first century B.C.) describes it, almost anticipating Cassiodorus's depiction of the Venetian lagoon. Ravenna was the southernmost base of Julius Caesar's proconsular realm, and from it he marched south to cross the boundary of his province, the Rubicon River, to confront the senate in 49 B.C. Octavian (Augustus)—recognizing the needs of the Roman navy, and appreciating Ravenna's location—used it as a maritime base during the civil wars and then created the new port of Classis ("Fleet"), more than 2 miles (3 kilometers) southeast of the town, as one of the empire's major naval stations. Between Classis and Ravenna proper a suburb known as Caesarea developed.

Through the early history of the empire, Ravenna apparently grew and prospered. Christianity is said to have come to it as early as the first century after Christ, and tradition holds that Saint Apollinaris, a Syrian-born disciple of the apostle Peter, became its first bishop (and possible martyr). A later bishop, Ursus (r. 370-c. 396), is credited with building the first Christian church in Ravenna (c. 385). Though Ravenna played a role in the recurrent military crises of the second and third centuries, its facilities may have already begun to decay, as its shore silted up. However, its decline, if any, would have been suddenly arrested in 402, when the young Theodosian emperor Honorius (r. 395-423) decided to transfer his court to Ravenna from Milan, which was then the imperial capital. This step has been explained as resulting from Honorius's sense of vulnerability at the time of Alaric's entry into

Italy, but it also very sensibly took into account the comparative security and defensibility of Ravenna as a seat of government. Thus, in the confusion following the fall of Stilicho in 408, and despite the collapse of military organization that allowed Alaric's rampage through Italy and his symbolically devastating sack of Rome in 410, Ravenna remained the inviolate governmental center from which order could be reestablished.

Another of Ravenna's assets was its immediate access to the Adriatic as a route of possible aid from the eastern court of Constantinople. Its value was demonstrated when an eastern force was sent to depose a usurper who had seized power after Honorius died childless, and to establish as his successor his young nephew, Valentinian III (r. 425-455). Valentinian, though, was a worthless prince, whose mother, Galla Placidia (Honorius's sister), was the actual ruler until her death in 450. She preserved Ravenna as functioning capital, adorning the city with new buildings. During her regime, and under its prelate Peter Chrysologus (from 432 to 450), the see of Ravenna replaced that of Milan in jurisdiction over neighboring bishoprics.

Galla Placidia also maintained ties with Rome, where her son held his court; indeed, it was in Rome that she died and was buried. During the tumultuous third quarter of the fifth century, which witnessed the final debasement and destruction of the empire's western court, Rome alternated with Ravenna as the focus of events, but it was in Ravenna that the last western emperor, the boy Romulus Augustulus (r. 475-476), played out his brief reign and was deposed. His nemesis, the barbarian general Odovacar, then ruled as patrician and king of Italy (476-493) with Ravenna as his seat. There he made his stand when he was defeated by the invading Ostrogothic king, Theodoric: Odovacar used the city as his bargaining chip in a negotiated agreement of joint rule, before he was treacherously murdered.

The regime of Theodoric (493-526) opened a new chapter for Ravenna, in which its importance increased. Rome remained the seat of the old senate, with all the trappings of the Roman past that Theodoric so carefully maintained and respected, but Ravenna was his residence. When Ravenna was confirmed as the Ostrogothic capital, its economic life revived, it became a cultural center, and it saw renewed building projects. Several churches and Theodoric's own famous tomb still testify

to his era. However, Theodoric's hope of infusing permanent Germanic leadership into Roman civilization was doomed. Various difficulties, and the murder of his daughter, Amalasuntha, provided an excuse for intervention by the Byzantine empire: its emperor, Justinian (r. 527-565), made the Ostrogothic realm the second target in his ambitious program of reconquest. As imperial commander, the brilliant general Belisarius initiated the era of the Gothic wars, which at first promised a quick victory but turned into a devastating struggle that lasted for two decades. The incompetent Gothic king Theodahad (r. 534-536) was replaced by Witigis (r. 536-540), who fought desperately until he was compelled to surrender Ravenna to Belisarius. The revival of the Goths under Totila (r. 541-553) renewed a conflict that was finally brought to an end by the victories of a new imperial commander, Narses.

Ravenna itself was spared the ruin that most of Italy experienced; largely untouched, it benefited from a campaign of adornment and beautification appropriate to its dignity, and to Justinian's propaganda. Justinian's appointee as prelate of Ravenna, Maximian (r. 546-556), was the first to use the title of archbishop. Narses and his successors maintained the city as the center of restored imperial government and as the bastion of the imperial territories remaining in northern Italy after the Lombards began their own inundation of the peninsula (568). Against their threat, the imperial regime was reorganized, by the later decades of the sixth century, as the exarchate. Ravenna became the capital directly of a province of that name, but its viceregal exarchs also became the governors-general of all of remaining imperial Italy.

Although the Lombards of Spoleto were able to seize Classe in 579 and hold it for ten years, Ravenna itself held firm. Its exarch, Smaragadus, if unable to provide aid to points farther south, at least restored imperial control of the cities along the Via Flaminia. This resecured connection between Ravenna and Rome effectively divided the Lombards' power between the northern kingdom ruled from Pavia and the separate duchies of Benevento and Spoleto. Ravenna seems to have prospered generally through the seventh century, as the economic center of its region. Nevertheless, there were recurrent periods of tumult: to the intermittent Lombard threats were added lurches in Constantinopolitan policies, episodes of local unrest, tension with the papacy in Rome over Ravenna's independence, and the rebelliousness

and ambition of some of the exarchs. In 709, Emperor Justinian II (r. 685-695; 705-711), convinced of Ravenna's hostility and disloyalty, sent a force to punish the city: its leading citizens and its bishop were arrested and carried off to Constantinople (the former to be executed, the latter to be blinded), and the city itself was devastated.



Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Ravenna recovered but was racked by new disturbances as the Byzantine government attempted to impose its new religious policies of

Iconoclasm over the opposition of the popes in Rome. The sympathies of Ravenna's clergy and population were fully on the side of the popes, and the city only narrowly escaped disaster at the hands of another punitive expedition from Constantinople in 727. But it was the final Lombard threat that signaled Ravenna's fall from greatness. The restless Lombard king Liutprand directed his forces against the city, which received no relief from the Byzantines, and actually seized and held it for a few years (737-740). It was recovered with the help of a fleet from fledgling Venice, but the restored exarchate retained little of its former control over the strained components of Byzantine Italy: the Lombards courted the support of the papacy, against the interests of the Byzantine empire, for control of northern Italy. A new pope, Zacharias (r. 741—752)—the pope who was to initiate a momentous alliance with the Franks—was able in 743 to persuade the aging Liutprand to cease putting pressure on Ravenna. But Liutprand died the following year, and in 751 his successor, Aistulf (r. 744-757), at last achieved the Lombards' aim of seizing Ravenna and ending once and for all its role as a base for Byzantine rule in northern Italy.



Neonian baptistry, Ravenna. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Ravenna continued to be the administrative and ecclesiastical center for its region under new overlords, but they were not long to be Lombard. The personal appeals of Pope Stephen III (r. 752–757) to the Franks resulted in the Donation of Pepin (754) and the successive campaigns of Pepin the Short (755, 756). Aistulf was defeated, and the new territorial enclave of the papal states was created as a Frankish protectorate. Ravenna and the immediate lands of the old exarchate now became part of that regime, and in 757 the new pope, Paul I,

visited Ravenna, to achieve territorial control and complete the subjection to Rome of Ravenna's long-independent archbishopric.

The quarrels of the last Lombard king, Desiderius (r. 757–774), with Pepin's son, the great Frankish ruler Charlemagne (r. 768–814), resulted in the final destruction of the Lombard monarchy—or rather the annexation of its crown by the Frankish dynasty—and the renewal (774) of the Donation of Pepin. Though Ravenna and its district remained part of the papal patrimony, it was also under temporal control of its Frankish protectors. Charlemagne himself, visiting the city, marveled at its Byzantine splendors and dreamed of emulating them by copying Ravenna's architecture in his palace chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle and by carrying off some of Ravenna's art. In the aftermath of this tumultuous subjection, Ravenna's past glories and its continuing struggle against the papacy found their strongest literary voice in the work of Agnellus Andreas, a cleric who belonged to a prominent family. His *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, written c. 830–845, though spotty and problematic, remains our most important source for the city's history and life.

Conquest by the Franks and control by the papacy reduced Ravenna, meanwhile, from a capital city to a backwater provincial town. Its decline was accelerated by the decay of its old port facilities and the waning of its commercial activity—to be replaced by the restless enterprise of Venice. Nevertheless, as the Franks' power faded and as the northern papal territories were appropriated into the neo-Lombard "kingdom of Italy" (888–962), immediate ecclesiastical control was exercised anew by Ravenna's archbishops, who were given a freer hand as a result of the papacy's period of decadence. With the reestablishment of German dominion over northern Italy by Otto I (r. 936–973) and his dynasty, the prelates of Ravenna became their enthusiastic supporters. These prelates remained agents first of the Saxon emperors and then of the Franconian successors, holding high positions at court and winning for Ravenna intermittent recognition as the administrative seat of German power in Italy, and for themselves confirmation of their own temporal power in the region.

Ravenna flourished sufficiently in this era to contribute at least three distinguished personages to the religious life of the time. Two were of the local Onesti family: Saint Romuald (born c. 956), educated in the

Benedictine house of Classe, became a monastic reformer who founded (1012) the order of the Camaldoli; and Pietro degli Onesti, known as Blessed Peter of Ravenna (II Peccatore, died c. 1119), a local man of great piety, built one of the few important structures in Ravenna of the central Middle Ages, the church of Santa Maria in Porto Fuori. The third was Peter Damian (1007-1072), the great reform thinker and writer in the service of the revitalized papacy.

During the eleventh-century papal reform, Ravenna's archbishops remained staunchly pro-German; and during the investiture controversy, one of them, Archbishop Guibert, was elected as an imperialist antipope, Clement III (1080). Because of this stance, Rome briefly deprived Ravenna of power (1106-1118); and the emergence of communes around the territory permanently deprived its archbishops of temporal authority in most of the towns, though they were able to dominate the aristocratic commune of Ravenna itself and enjoy continuing wealth and prestige. Under these archbishops, Ravenna saw some revival of church building and decoration in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. When Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1152-1190) attempted to reassert German rule in northern Italy, Ravenna again took the lead in supporting the empire. However, in 1198, with changes in circumstances (including increased regional competition from Venice), Ravenna shifted its loyalty and became a leader of the cities in Romagna and the Marches against Hohenstaufen interests; in the process it became reconciled with the papacy and once again recognized the suzerainty of Rome.

Thereafter, Ravenna's archbishops were pushed into the background as a new circle of powerful aristocratic families emerged, among them the Anastagi, Dusdei, Umbertini, Mainardi, and Traversari. Competing for seigneurial power, and specifically for the new office of *podestà*, they made Ravenna another urban battleground for the pro-imperial and pro-papal factions. At first, the Ghibellines under the Ubertini and Mainardi were able to dominate the city, but in 1218 the Mainardi shifted their alliance to Pietro Traversari. His son, also named Pietro, became *podestà* in 1225, converted to the Guelf cause, and supported Pope Innocent IV against Emperor Frederick II. The emperor managed to seize Ravenna and hold it for eight years (1240-1248), having expelled Pietro. The city was subsequently restored to papal control,

and the Traversari reestablished their power. In 1276, the papacy's title to the city, along with the full regions of Romagna and the Marches, was recognized anew and definitively legalized by a decree extorted from a feeble new German emperor, Rudolf of Hapsburg.



Church of San Vitale, Ravenna. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

However, this triumph of Rome was theoretical, and reality stood in contrast to it. In 1275, one of the archetypal *condottieri*, the soldier-adventurer Guido (Minore) da Polenta, achieved sufficient ascendancy to drive out the Traversari and take power as *capitano del popolo*, a position he held until his death in 1310. In the process, he managed to create one of the first examples of a virtually independent territorial *signoria* in medieval Italy. His power was bolstered by a strategic alliance with his previous enemies, the Malatesta family, who controlled Rimini. The seal of this alliance was the marriage of his daughter, Francesca, to Malatesta's elder son. Francesca's tragic love affair with her handsome brother-in-law, Paolo, and their murder at her husband's hands became material for one of the most famous passages in Dante's *Inferno* (Canto 5).

The control of the Polenta family over Ravenna was tightened by Guido Minore's son, Lamberto (r. 1310-1316), who was followed by a nephew, Guido Novello da Polenta. A cultivated man with an appreciation for art and letters, Guido Novello attracted to his court

such notables as the artist Giotto and, above all, the poet Dante Alighieri, together with Dante's daughter and two sons. Dante apparently arrived in Ravenna in 1317; he is said to have given lectures and instruction there, while putting the finishing touches on his *Comedy*. In 1321, Dante went to Venice as ambassador on Guido's behalf; on his way back, he was infected with fever, and he died after reaching Ravenna. The grief-stricken Guido planned a noble tomb for Dante, whose remains (repeatedly solicited by the Florentines, but in vain) rested temporarily at the Franciscan church and were then shifted to a series of sepulchres before being placed in the edifice of 1760 where they still remain.

Guido Novello was soon expelled by a rebellious kinsman and transferred his talents to Bologna, where he was elected *capitano del popolo* (1322); his hope of returning to Ravenna was never realized. His successor, Ostasio da Polenta, was recognized as vicar by both the German emperor and the pope and ruled with great cruelty from 1321 to 1345. The next Polenta lord, Bernardino (r. 1345-1359), was no less brutal and was briefly overthrown by his brothers. Guido Lucio (r. 1359-1389) ruled better, but he too was overthrown by relatives and was succeeded by his son, another Ostasio (r. 1389-1431). The last of the Polentani, yet another Ostasio (r. 1431-1449), had attained his position (barely) through an alliance with Filippo Maria Sforza of Milan. He was then tricked into visiting Venice, where he found himself deprived of his city and sent off to encloisterment and assassination. From 1449 to 1509, Ravenna was held by its old rival, the Serenissima; thereafter, it returned to papal control, under which it remained with only brief interruptions until its incorporation into the emerging Italian state in 1859.

By the late medieval period, Ravenna had lost all its maritime operations and based its prosperity on its operation of the salt flats at Cervia, from which it supplied this valued commodity to the entire Po valley region as its principal export. Not until the creation of the Canale Corsini in 1739 was Ravenna's access to the sea renewed. In modern times, the discovery of natural gas fields revitalized the economy of the city and its region.

Monuments

Only scraps of Ravenna's Roman past can be traced. Much still remains of the basically Roman city walls, however, along with elements of the gates: the walls were maintained over the centuries, and an impressive Venetian *rocca* (fortress) enclave at the northeastern corner represents their continuance in the fifteenth century. A number of Ravenna's earliest churches were totally rebuilt (mainly in the Baroque period): these include, notably, the *duomo*, also known as the Basilica (or Ecclesia) Ursiana; its original foundation is attributed to Bishop Ursus (either 370-386 or 403-429).

Ravenna does, nevertheless, have the finest constellation of monuments and art of the early Christian era in the Byzantine style. Most of these monuments, as we now have them, date from the sixth century, but four important ones survive from the fifth century, and two are associated with one of the great figures in Ravenna's history, Empress Galla Placidia. One of these two, the church of San Giovanni Evangelista, was originally built to fulfill a vow made when the empress and her two children, the emperor Valentinian III and the princess Honoria, were caught in a terrifying storm while sailing from Constantinople to Ravenna for her restoration there. The large basilican church was ruthlessly rebuilt in Baroque style in 1747; still later, after it had been damaged by bombing in World War II, what was left of the original was extensively reconstructed, so that what is seen today preserves little of the empress's actual foundation.

However, the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia is virtually intact and is Ravenna's earliest jewel. It was built originally as a chapel extending the narthex of her church of the Holy Cross: that church has been effectively eliminated by subsequent rebuildings, leaving isolated this small, cruciform chapel, apparently dedicated to Saint Lawrence. It contains three carved sarcophagi, and they have sometimes been identified with the burials of Honorius, Valentinian III, and Galla Placidia. There are stories that Galla Placidia's seated, mummified body survived here until the sixteenth century. In fact, though, it remains debatable whether the building actually functioned for burials, and it is almost certain that the empress herself was interred in Rome, not here. The glory of this little building is not burials but rather the stunning

mosaic decoration (which has received some modern restoration). The central domical vault represents the starry heavens, with zoomorphic symbols of the four evangelists; in the spandrels below are figures of saints. Lunettes in the axial arms show (over the door) Christ (with features of Apollo or Orpheus) as the Good Shepherd tending his flock, and (opposite) Saint Lawrence with the fiery grill of his martyrdom and a display of the four Gospel books (though this representation has also been described as the mature Christ burning books of the heretical Arians). The lunettes of the longitudinal arms have animal scenes (doves at fountains; and souls, represented as stags, thirsting after eternal water). The four arm vaults display stars, and the borders are rich in the vegetational collages so beloved of Roman mosaicists.

Another fifth-century monument is the octagonal baptistery that is part of the latter-day cathedral complex. This baptistery is said to have been originally a chamber of the Roman baths; a few fragments of Roman sculpture are to be found in the exterior walls. It is known as the Orthodox or Neonian baptistery (the latter name from its decorator, Archbishop Neon, who served c. 449-459). Its walls are encrusted with arcading and rich marble and stucco revetments, above which are two circles of mosaics: the first showing eight shrines in separate panels, containing either enthroned crosses or altars with open Gospel books; the second showing the twelve apostles carrying their crowns. In the center is one of the earliest representations (much restored) of Christ's baptism, attended by the river-god Jordan.

The last of the monuments of this period is of uncertain date. This is a small chapel dedicated to Saint Andrew, part of the fragments of the medieval archbishops' palace incorporated within later rebuildings (and now part of the Archiepiscopal Museum). Some traditions trace its building back to the bishop and saint Peter Chrysologus (c. 432-450); others date it to Bishop Peter II at the end of the fifth century; and the mosaics are sometimes dated to the time of Archbishop Maximianus (546-556). These mosaics, much reworked, include handsome figural and symbolic elements in the vaulting over an elegant pavement. Even more impressive is the antechamber, which has vaulting with rich naturalistic decoration, framing a panel over the door showing a beardless Christ in full armor (symbolizing the church militant), treading down the lion and the adder and holding an open book

revealing the motto *Ego sum via Veritas et vita* ("I am the way of truth and life").

Several structures survive from Theodoric's ambitious building program; most of these were recast under the imperial restoration, though at least two have come down to us with something of their original character. The great church of Santo Spirito, built for the Arian Christian rites of the Ostrogoths, has been totally lost in rebuildings of later centuries. But near it is the so-called Arian baptistery, which may have functioned earlier as a bath chamber. This small brick octagon is devoid of interior decoration—except at the crown, where there is another mosaic of the baptism of Christ (here too with the river-god Jordan), surrounded by a circle of apostles: Peter holds his keys, Paul holds a book, and the rest hold crowns.

The other original Ostrogothic building is the extraordinary Mausoleum of Theodoric, just outside the northeast corner of the city walls. It is built of finely dressed and squared stone and has two stories: the lower decagonal, the upper circular, surmounted by an enormous monolithic capstone said to weigh some 300 tons. It was presumably originally surrounded by a colonnade of some sort, now lost, which would have included stairs to the otherwise inaccessible upper chamber. Its curious design has given rise to much debate and dispute regarding derivation (Roman or Germanic?) and symbolism (a tent? a helmet? a crown?). The upper chamber still contains a porphyry receptacle, presumably the king's sarcophagus; however, Theodoric's body was desecrated and removed at some point well before the ninth century, when the building was used as a church (Santa Maria della Rotunda) by an adjacent Benedictine monastery.

A principal monument begun by Theodoric but transformed under the imperial restoration is one of Ravenna's greatest churches, known now as Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Its Arian builder originally dedicated it to Christ; when it was converted officially to the Catholic rite by the archbishop and saint Agnellus in 560, it was rededicated to Saint Martin (though it was also known as the *Caelum Aureum* from its onetime golden roofing); it received its final consecration—to Ravenna's traditional first bishop, Apollinaris—in the ninth century; the word *Nuovo* distinguishes it from the great church of Apollinaris in Classe. The cylindrical campanile also dates from the ninth century. The

present portico and facade date from the sixteenth century, when the decaying church was overhauled.

The interior of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo is in basilican form, with a wide central nave and two side aisles. Whatever decoration was made around the apse has been lost, first in an earthquake of the sixth century and then during further replacements in the eighteenth, (The interior west wall is likewise bare, though now affixed to it is a mosaic fragment showing a crowned royal portrait decorated and labeled as Justinian, but perhaps originally Theodoric.) However, what does remain—the mosaic decoration of the nave—is spectacular in size and quality. In the lowest mosaic register on either side, directly above the (rebuilt) arches of the colonnade, are processions of saints. The procession on the southern side emerges from a representation (at the west end) of Ravenna, dominated by the portico and ceremonial portal of Theodoric's palace, but with some of the city's churches visible in the background. The twenty-five saints are all male—each identified in lettering—holding palms and martyrs' crowns. The procession concludes (at the east or altar end) at a great throne, where Christ sits in majesty, surrounded by four angelic sentinels. On the northern side is a procession of female saints— twenty-one virgin martyrs; these too are identified by name labels and are holding palms and crowns. They emerge from a representation at the west end showing Classis, through the gate of its walls, behind which are ships in the harbor. At the head of this female procession we find the three Magi (with name labels), carrying their gifts before the star of Bethlehem, as they reach the common destination at the east end, showing another throne on which sits a majestic Madonna holding the baby Jesus, while another four angels stand guard. In the register above on both sides, alternating with windows, are figures of prophets and church fathers, sixteen on each side. Above them, in bands that run the full length of each side, are mosaic compartments. Those over the heads of the figures show ceremonial throne-shrines. Alternating with them, and over the windows, are scenes, thirteen on each side, showing episodes from the life of Christ. Those on the north side, over the female saints, show miracles performed by Christ; those on the south side, over the male saints, show episodes from Christ's passion and resurrection. These magnificent mosaics were begun under the Ostro gothic regime but

were modified in mid-century after the Byzantine conquest. Revisions are particularly evident in the scene of Theodoric's palace, where certain figures were eliminated from the king's retinue.

Three important churches, of which two survive, were built directly by the Justinianic regime, with considerable financial contributions from a local official, Julianus Argentarius. The church that was lost was San Michele in Africisco (whose apse, greatly restored, was transferred to Berlin for display during the nineteenth century). One of the surviving churches is the remarkable San Vitale, begun under Bishop Ecclesius (522-532) and dedicated in 547 by Archbishop Maximian. It is octagonal in shape, and its dome is supported by eight piers in two stories linked by columned galleries. San Vitale has been linked to architectural experiments in Constantinople during Justinian's time, and its pattern was the model for Charlemagne's palace chapel (to which were transferred some decorations stripped from San Vitale). The original mosaic decoration survives only in the spectacular chancel. Under a richly decorated arch—focused on a medallion of the Lamb, arch medallions of Christ and the apostles, and scenes of Jerusalem and Bethlehem—the apse conch shows Christ triumphantly enthroned, with Saint Vitalis (to whom Christ offers a crown) and Bishop Ecclesius (holding a model of the church, as its donor) presented to him by attending archangels. On either side above the altar, symbols and figures of the evangelists frame Old Testament scenes prefiguring the eucharist: the sacrifices of Abel and Melchisidech, and Abraham's serving of the three angels and his sacrifice of Isaac. The most famous works are two panels on either side of the apse wall, showing Justinian and Theodora as contributors to the church. Backed by guards and retinue, Justinian appears in court regalia, as if in a procession, carrying a gold basin, to be received by Archbishop Maximian (whose name is explicitly given) and others (whom some scholars have tried to identify with Belisarius and Julianus). Theodora is shown in a side chamber with eunuchs and handmaids, near a fountain, carrying her gift, a chalice; her rich garb includes a representation of the three Magi.

The second of the surviving Justinian churches is Sant'Apollinare in Classe. This massive basilican structure—built, it is said, at the site of Saint Apollinaris's grave—was begun by Bishop Ursicinus (532-536) and consecrated by Archbishop Maximian (549). The marble decorations of

the nave and aisles were removed as plunder by Sigismondo Malatesta in 1449. The surviving, glorious mosaic decorations are all in the apse. Below a medallion of Christ and the symbols of the evangelists and portrayals of the Christian flocks coming forth from Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the apse conch evokes the Transfiguration, symbolized as an enormous cross mounted within a star-studded circle; it is attended on the sides by Moses and Elijah, and it dominates a paradisiacal landscape full of vegetation and populated by a flock of twelve sheep (representing the apostles). Above, the hand of God gives a blessing; below, centrally placed, is Saint Apollinaris in prayer. Between the windows are portraits of prelates of Ravenna. On the right side wall, clearly in imitation of the Justinian panel in San Vitale, the emperor Constantine IV (r. 668-685) is shown with two of his sons and attendants awarding *privilegia* (a large rolled document, so labeled, authorizing the see's autocephalous or independent status) to Archbishop Reparatus. This mosaic, though in a debased and cruder style, is the latest of the great Byzantine masterpieces in this medium in Ravenna.

A superlative work from the Justinianic era is displayed in the Archiepiscopal Museum: this is the throne of Maximianus, made in Constantinople as a gift from Justinian to Archbishop Maximianus. Over a wooden frame are mounted a network of ivory panels, showing Christian saints, the Old Testament story of Joseph, and miracles of Christ.

The latest monument of Ravenna's early medieval era is a facade wall to be seen not far from the church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. It was traditionally misidentified with the palace of Theodoric, but it is apparently the front portion (later used as a church) of the palace of the Byzantine exarchs. Excavations behind it have revealed portions of the foundations.

See also Alaric the Visigoth; Belisarius; Benevento; Byzantine Empire; Camaldoli; Charlemagne; Condottieri; Dante Alighieri; Desiderius; Exarchate of Ravenna; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Galla Placidia; Gothic Wars; Guido Novello da Polenta; Honorius, Emperor; Innocent IV, Pope; Investiture Controversy; Justinian I; Liutprand; Lombards; Milan; Mosaic;

Narses; Odovacar; Pepin III the Short; Romuald of Ravenna, Saint; Spoleto; Stephen II, Pope; Stilicho; Theodora; Theodoric; Totila; Venice; Witigis; Zacharias, Pope

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Rayniero Arsendi Da Forli

Rayniero (d. 1358) belonged to a prominent pro-imperial family in Forli and spent much of his youth in exile. He then lived in Ravenna but studied in Bologna with Bertoluccio Preti. Rayniero taught in Bologna from 1319 until 1324; he taught the *Infortiatum* and *Digestum vetus*, leaving the *Digestion novum* and the *Code* to his colleague Giacomo Bottrigari. Ricciardo Malombra was another colleague. During an interdict imposed on the city in 1338, Rayniero left for Pisa. Then he moved to Padua, where he lectured until his death. Rayniero left annotations to various passages in the *Digest* and the *Code*, plus a few brief works and legal opinions. The great Bartolo da Sassoferrato studied with Rayniero and Bottrigari.

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Re Giovanni

Re Giovanni (Jean de Brienne, c. 1180-1237) was born in France and spent several years in Italy. From the end of the First Crusade until his death, he participated in numerous military ventures; the chronicler Salimbene praises him for his physical attributes and his military prowess. Re Giovanni acquired the title of king of Jerusalem through his marriage to the daughter of Corrado di Monferrato. His own daughter Isabella married Frederick II in 1225, and Re Giovanni probably spent some time at the *magna curia*, where he familiarized himself with the Sicilian poetic language. The Vatican Codex (Lat. 3793) attributes one poem to him, but his authorship has been called into

question by some scholars. Lazzeri (1942) assumes that this poem, a rare example of the *discordo* genre, may have originally been written in French and then translated by Re Giovanni. Three French poems attributed to Re Giovanni were actually written by Jehan de Braine, count of Macon and Vienne, who died in the Holy Land in 1239.

See also Italian Prosody; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Regno, Norman

See Normans

Reliquaries

Reliquaries serve as containers of sacred Christian relics dating from the earliest cult of the martyrs. Relics are objects identified with the life of Christ or with parts of the bodies of martyrs— people who died for their religious beliefs. Reliquaries fall under a variety of types: shrines, caskets, coffers, reliquaries, tabernacles, or diptychs and triptychs.

Among the earliest containers of saints' relics, small openings were

cut into the receptacle, usually a small box, for oils to be extracted for distribution among the faithful. The earliest reliquaries date from the fifth century and have decorated covers of precious metals. They include early Christian caskets (coffers), such as the ivory *Lipsanoteca* of Brescia; a fifth-century gold cylinder from beneath the altar of the cathedral of Puli; and another gold cylinder from the cathedral of Grado. Similar small boxes, called *staurotheques*, are found in the Byzantine empire and subsequently in the west and usually contain a small cross inside of which was a relic believed to come from the actual cross of the crucifixion. The cross of Urban II (1092), preserved in the reliquary chapel of Badia della Trinità della Cava (monastery of Cava dei Tirreni, Salerno), contains such a relic.

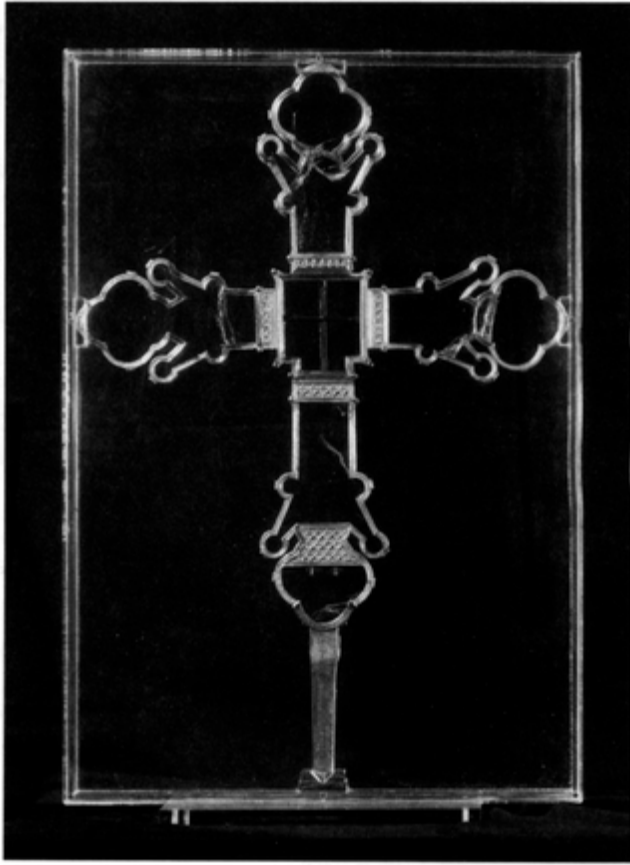
During the Romanesque period, and corresponding to the crusades to Jerusalem, there was another surge of activity, during which relics of the saints and holy sites were brought back. Reliquaries in the form of body parts of saints—such as the arm reliquary (*brachium*) of Saint Magnus or the leg reliquary of Saint Theodore (Venice, Treasury of San Marco)—are similar to those found throughout the rest of the European continent. During the age of pilgrimage (c. 1100-1300) pilgrims traveled long distances to visit shrines where sacred relics were preserved. Often these pilgrims were suffering from incurable illnesses, or they were criminals sentenced by episcopal courts to make penitential pilgrimages. Their travel to distant lands thus became a Journey for spiritual, if not physical, healing, or a way of repenting for their sins and crimes. There was a strong traditional inclination toward sympathetic magic; thus proximity to sacred relics was believed to increase the likelihood of a cure or spiritual cleansing. Some reliquaries were placed where they could be touched or kissed by the devout. Whereas monumental settings are found at major sites in France (e.g., Saint Foi at Conques, Saint Sernin at Toulouse) and in Spain (e.g., Santiago de Compostela), reliquaries in Italy did not take on monumental form until the Gothic era, when they followed models in France, Spain, and Germany. One example is a casket reliquary of unknown origin in the treasury of Pope Boniface VIII (c. 1305) in the cathedral of Anagni.

Relics represent a wide range of objects: clothing, ornaments, bodily remains of saints, images, oil from the lamps at holy sites, and soil from

sacred places. Other relics are identified with events in the life of Christ or of a saint. Relics include the wood believed to be from the True Cross, thorns believed to be from Christ's crown of thorns, the arms of Saint Blaise and Saint Magnus (in Venice), a finger of Saint Louis (in Bologna), and the foot of the tenth-century Saint Egbert (in Cologne). A monstrance or *ostensorium* held relics; monstrances, unlike other reliquaries, were sometimes carried in processions. Head reliquaries, usually in the round, were made of gold or silver, or a combination of metals; although most date from the Romanesque era, they continue to be found in the late fourteenth century. Among the reliquaries of medieval saints are those of Praxede (inscribed Pope Honorius III, 1216-1227) and Agnes (Nicholas III, 1277-1280), both in the Vatican Museum; and a late thirteenth-century head reliquary of Saint Galganus in Siena (in the cathedral museum), made for the abbey of San Galgano (near Siena). The reliquary of Saint Juliana (1376) is Umbrian in origin, and the finger reliquary of Saint Louis of Toulouse in the church of San Domenico (Bologna) was made in Italy by French artists for Charles II of Anjou. A whole bust reliquary of French origin of Saint Januarius (c. 1304-1306) is preserved in the treasury of the cathedral in Naples. A reliquary bust of Saint Agata was made for the cathedral of Catania (1376) by Giovanni di Bartolo; a silver reliquary for Saint Zenobius by Andrea Arditì survives in the cathedral in Florence (it is dated 1331). A Tuscan reliquary bust of Saint Donatus (dated 1346, by "Pietro and Paolo"):an be found in the Pieve di Santa Maria (Arezzo); another bust af this saint is found in the northern Italian town of Cividale [it is in the cathedral treasury and is signed by Donandino). Reliquary busts (now lost) of saints Peter and Paul, made for [he cathedral of Catania (1376) by Giovanni di Bartolo, were donated by Pope Urban V to Saint John Lateran. These examples attest to the proliferation of both the images and the religious practices surrounding them.

Celebration of relics of saints became widespread by the mid-thirteenth century. This is indicated by the large number of altars dedicated to a large number of saints, and by the emergence of pilgrimages to these locations. At this time, the containers for the relics began to assume monumental form. By the tenth century, portable altars usually contained relics, as did later small portable altarpieces,

both of which were commonplace in the late Middle Ages. The container holding the remains of a saint is, significantly, called a casket. Caskets had the form of a rectangular box with a base and a pedimented lid; and by the late eleventh century they were often covered with fine metalwork and enamel. The casket, or *châsse*, with a gabled roof and finials became a common form at the beginning of the Gothic period, but it was not limited to the shape of a casket. After Saint Louis purchased the "crown of thorns" from Baldwin II, the Latin emperor of Constantinople (1239), it was made into a reliquary crown (c. 1264). Saint Louis was himself canonized in 1297, after establishing the feast of Corpus Christi. His own body was then put into reliquaries, some as small as liturgical crosses and glass monstrances. As macabre as these practices may seem today, such relics were required to establish the validity and efficacy of any Christian altar. In each church, the main altar and all subaltars were required to hold the relics of a sacred event, site, or saint.



Reliquary with a splinter of the Holy Cross. Anonymous, fourteenth century. Santa Croce, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Relics were sometimes incorporated into diptychs and triptychs, because this made them more portable from altar to altar—unlike the large shrines established during the Romanesque period. Diptychs and triptychs do not appear in Italy until the fourteenth century, when smaller devotional images were more commonplace than they had been in earlier times. A notable example of this kind of monument is the beautiful enamel reliquary of the *Holy Corporal* by Ugolino di Vieri (1337-1338) in the cathedral of Orvieto. This tabernacle reliquary was a collaborative effort of three artists in Orvieto— Ugolino (a Sienese), Viva di Lando, and Bartolommeo di Tommè(also known as Pizzino)—to commemorate the "miracle of Bolsena." It is designed in the form of a

triptych in three registers; both sides of the panels present historiated scenes (from the life of Christ), terminating with gables at the top. This design creates an image similar to that of the cathedral facade, and to the *Maestà* by Duccio di Buoninsegna that once graced the high altar of the cathedral in Siena.

Other reliquary monuments also celebrate sacred objects: e.g., the reliquary of the *Tree of the Cross*, dating from c. 1360, in Lucignano (Museo Civico) in the Val di Chiana in Tuscany; the crozier in the cathedral treasury at Citta di Castello (Umbria); the reliquary of the *Holy Thorn* in San Lorenzo (Florence); and the reliquary of the *Precious Blood* (now at Montreuil-surMer, France, but Italian in origin).

Other Gothic shrines include the reliquary of Saint Chrysogonus (1326, in the treasury of the cathedral of Zara); the reliquary bust of Saint Ermagora (in the cathedral of Gori-zia); the reliquary of San Giovanni Gualberto, at the Vallombro-san monastery of Passignano; the shrine of Saint Simeon by Francesco da Sesto of Milan (1377–1380); and a shrine at Zara in the church of Saint Simeon.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the worship of reliquary objects was widespread and was often associated with miracles and miraculous cures. The fashioning of reliquaries and their placement on altars in medieval chapels and churches responded to an ancient human quest for healing and spiritual peace.

See also Ivory

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Remigio Dei Girolami

The Dominican Remigio dei Girolami (d. 1319) was a well-known teacher and preacher in Florence. He was a member of a family prominent in the wool guild and in municipal civic life. For many years, he was lector of theology in the great Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella. In addition to his fame as a preacher, he also gained renown as a welcomer of visiting kings, cardinals, and other dignitaries; as an exhorter of civic officials to promote the common good; and as an orator at funerals and commemorative occasions for local and foreign notables. There were few types of public ceremony in Florence or in his order in which he was not at least occasionally a conspicuous participant. Although some of his closest relatives were exiled after the triumph of the Black Guelf faction in 1302, Remigio's own popularity with those in power seems to have continued. In 1313, answering a query from Sienese officials about his political soundness, the Florentine government called him "a leading father to our corporation (*universitati*)."

Remigio also wrote treatises on a rich variety of theological,

philosophical, and political subjects, but these seem to have aroused little interest until the second half of the twentieth century, when a number of them were edited. Early in the century, G. Salvadori published some extracts from Remigio's public sermons and advanced the thesis that he must have been Dante's teacher at the time when Dante tells us he was frequenting the "schools of the religious." The theory remains unproved, but it has been widely accepted and is not improbable, for during this period Remigio was the principal lector of one of the two leading schools of the religious in Florence.

Whether he taught Dante or not, Remigio's teaching was important in the Florence of his own day, and it was most emphasized by the chronicle or necrology of his own convent. The entry about Remigio says that at the time of his death he had been a Dominican for fifty-one years and ten months, of which more than forty years had been spent as lector of Santa Maria Novella. Remigio was licensed in arts in Paris, entered the Dominican Order in the "first flower of his youth," and made such rapid progress, according to the necrology, that he became lector at Florence while still a deacon and before being ordained as a priest. He must have become a Dominican in Paris c. 1267-1268, since, as Panella (1982) has shown, he heard Saint Thomas Aquinas during Aquinas's last period of teaching there, from 1269 to 1272. Remigio served in many important positions in his order, and he was already preacher-general by 1281. He returned to Paris c. 1298 at the express wish of his convent to continue his theological studies and qualify for the *magisterium*. He had returned to Florence in August 1301 but soon went to Rome in the hope of receiving the *magisterium* from Pope Boniface VIII, but this ambition was frustrated by Boniface's sudden death. Remigio finally received the *magisterium* from a fellow Dominican, Pope Benedict XI, probably in 1304 at Perugia; we know that he preached and disputed there, and apparently he did not return to Florence again until 1306 or 1307. This seems to have been his last long absence from the city and the lectorate of Santa Maria Novella, though the necrology says that he gave up teaching and preaching a few years before his death (probably by 1316, when there was a new lector of theology at the convent) and devoted himself to composing and compiling religious books. This activity seems to have consisted in large part in the collecting and editing of his own works.

Remigio's works are contained in four early fourteenth-century double-columned folio volumes and a later collection of Lenten sermons in the *Conventi soppressi* manuscript collection of the National Library of Florence, plus two copies of a commentary on the Song of Songs in the Laurentian Library, also in Florence. The four *Conventi soppressi* volumes are C.4.940, Remigio's treatises; D.1.937, sermons *desanctis et festis*; G.3.465, questions; and G.4.936, sermons *de tempore*, and those for special occasions. The last includes a section of prologues that Remigio preached at the beginning of his courses. Most are on books of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* or the Bible; but two deal with Aristotle, and one of these is devoted specifically to Aristotle's *Ethics*. Together they comprise some 2,700 folio sides. The four folio volumes, except for the first seventy-four leaves of C.4.940, are all written in the same highly abbreviated hand, with additions, annotations, and corrections by a second hand, evidently that of Remigio himself. Although a few copies of particular sermons have been found in manuscripts of non-Florentine provenance, Remigio's fame was mainly local, and knowledge of his writings was confined almost entirely to his own convent. But his writings must have been important there, for they furnished a rich repository of materials for preaching and for instruction in an important, if somewhat provincial, Dominican school. The purpose of the compilation of these volumes is confirmed by an elaborate web of cross-references, both in the text and in the margins, that connect works in the same volume and in different volumes. Many of the sermons, for example, are merely outlines but often contain references to allegorical and anecdotal material in other sermons and in treatises. As for the treatises (contained in Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, MS Conventi Soppressi C.4.940), they do not cite the sermons, but they often cite and thereby reinforce each other.

Originality is not the most striking characteristic of Remigio's works. On the other hand, his concern with contemporary events and problems and his intense Florentine patriotism are often apparent. Although Remigio copied quantities of material from Aquinas in his treatise *De peccato usure*, its editor describes Remigio's analysis of the sin of usury as somewhat more flexible than Aquinas's. In a long digression in another treatise, *Contra falsos ecclesie professores*, Remigio tried valiantly, if with only partial success, to find a middle

ground between those who exalted and those who decried the claim of the papacy to universal temporal authority. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Remigio's thought was his effort to fuse the Augustinian concept of peace with the Aristotelian concept of the common good and apply them to the problem of faction in his own city, identifying them with the good of the commune. Several of his treatises and a number of his sermons are devoted to this theme. He also—like his fellow Dominican Ptolemy of Lucca—tried to inspire his fellow citizens through examples of civic virtue furnished by the heroes of the Roman republic, whose willingness to sacrifice themselves for their *patria* he (again like Ptolemy) did not hesitate to identify with the Christian virtue of *caritas*. Not to be a citizen, he affirmed with Aristotle, was not to be a man; and for Remigio, citizenship required the realization that the good of the part was subordinated to and included in the good of the whole. Of course, the common good of Christendom took precedence over the common good of Florence, and its head should be obeyed whenever possible; but if a command of the pope contravened the peace and well-being of the commune, even that command should be disregarded.

See also Dante Alighieri; Ptolemy of Lucca; Thomas Aquinas, Saint

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Revenues

This article outlines the revenues garnered by the secular church and by imperial, royal, and civic governments from the late classical period to the early fifteenth century. Regardless of the entity collecting the revenues, several factors affected the nature, imposition, and collection of revenues: the specific and general needs of the authority, the power and stability of the authority, the mechanisms for collection and the means of coercion involved, the effectiveness and efficiency of record keeping and management of funds, the availability of coins in relation to the demand for monetary payments, the "incidence" of the imposition (i.e., on whom it ultimately fell), the general economic conditions (often dependent on annual crop yields) of the people on whom the demands fell, and attitudes (often traditional) toward the authority and the imposition. Revenues could be in kind or in cash, could be collected regularly or sporadically, and could be dedicated to specific or general uses.

Local parishes in Italy relied on support from patrons (including produce of dedicated land); faithful commoners' pious bequests and donations of goods, land, and money; and a share (generally one-fourth in the north and one-third in the south) of mandatory tithes. The

Lombards practiced voluntary tithing for pious foundations, but the Franks made the tithe a virtual tax for the support of parochial and episcopal needs, including almsgiving. Though a tithe might not always have meant ten percent, nor was it always monetary, it was levied on just about everything medieval society produced, including grain, wine, oil, most farm animals, anything traded or sold, fishermen's catches, wool, wax, honey, and dairy products. Over time the portion set aside for episcopal use often fell into the hands of lay holders of church benefices or those holding mortgages of church properties, and it became a secular income flow that was soon being bequeathed, infeudated, and divided among lay and church authorities, all the while losing its sacramental purpose and nature. From early on, bishops and their cathedral chapters also enjoyed proprietary income from their estates, including rents and profits in kind and cash, gifts, and bequests. During the High Middle Ages they gained the right to a share of the property of those who died intestate, fees for certain ecclesiastical services, fines and penitential restitutions from the guilty, and customary "gifts" presented by civic authorities.

Papal revenues depended on three sources during the late classical period: subventions from the state, which dried up as Rome declined; voluntary gifts from the faithful, which included testamentary bequests and donations left on papal altars; and dues and rents from estates that had devolved to the bishops of Rome. With the creation of the papal state in the eighth century, popes adopted the Byzantine model of regalian rights (i.e., rights reserved to the sovereign) and imposed taxes, fines, tolls, and fees, especially related to judicial matters, throughout the territory they controlled. Also beginning in the eighth century, a number of monasteries gave "census" payments to the papacy, which guaranteed their freedom from lay interference or encroachment. Feudalism, developing from the ninth century on, brought with it service and in-kind dues from vassals of the papacy who held papal land as benefices. Regalian claims also expanded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to "procurations," sums that were paid when new rectors arrived in a city or province; monetary payments in lieu of military service; and the *focaticum*, or hearth tax on households. Beginning in the tenth century, payments of cash tribute also resulted from papal claims to lordship over islands such as Sicily and England;

the emerging kingdoms of Poland, Portugal, Aragon and Castile; and other regions and cities. At about the same time, England, Poland, and the Scandinavian kingdoms began paying "Peter's pence"—small sums that were collected by local priests and often skimmed from as they made their way to Rome. By the thirteenth century, Italian bankers came to be very important in facilitating these international transactions. Popes also came to rely on loans from these bankers.

Clerics also made payments that supported the papacy. Gracious gifts and voluntary subsidies for specific purposes, however, evolved into taxes and compulsory fees. A 2.5 percent tax on clerical incomes was established in 1199, initially to support a crusade. Prelates who assumed certain offices traditionally made a voluntary gift to the pope; this turned into a rigid custom that developed into a mandated "service" set at one-third of the income from the position for the first year. Later, those from whom a "service" was not required paid a similar "annate" instead; together, these sums constituted an important percentage of papal revenue. Popes also derived income from dioceses that were left without a bishop for a time ("first fruits from a vacancy"), from clergy who assumed a position for which they were not canonically qualified ("fruits wrongfully received"), and from the goods left by clerics who died intestate ("spoils"). Most of these developed during the thirteenth century as the popes' demand for revenue increased dramatically.

Both clerics and laypeople doing business with the papacy incurred chancery fees for the production of documents: a schedule from the 1250s lists eight set charges, and less than a century later 415 such fees were listed. Charges for "indulgences" began with a fee for drawing up the penitential document and were not truly abused until the Renaissance. Those seeking special favors from the head of the church—including indulgences, dispensation from certain requirements (e.g., marriage annulments), and absolution from egregious sins—paid "compositions" as a kind of pecuniary penance in addition to charges for the paperwork. Pilgrims to Rome, especially during jubilee years (beginning in 1300), contributed a good deal of cash, much of which found its way to the papal treasury. Fines and fees for judicial services, income from the seizure of heretics' property, and finally—at the end of the fourteenth century—the sale of church offices rounded out the sources of papal revenue during the medieval period. A growing

demand for funds during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries vastly expanded the revenue base of the Roman and Avignonese papacy.

In the late Roman period, taxation was plagued by high rates, inefficient collection, and uneven incidence. The Ostrogothic king Totila insisted that all payments due be made directly to him, bypassing the landlords and imperial administrators. In areas controlled by the Byzantine empire, the basic Roman pattern continued until the end of the sixth century. High taxes on land, which supported the imperial military and administration, hurt both peasants and landlords; often, the landlords forfeited their holdings to the administrators. Other imperial imposts included poll taxes, capitation taxes, various tolls and user fees, judicial fees and fines, and rents on imperial property. In Sicily, heavy agricultural dues oppressed the peasantry, though the burden was alleviated, at least in part, by the lower rates and more efficient administration of land taxes after the Muslim conquest.

Lombard rulers drew income in cash and kind from their own properties and from landlords during visitations. The effective tax on land dropped, but Roman-style exactions in the form of commercial taxes continued, as did market, port, and import duties. Churches made loans and payments of tribute, and the Byzantine state paid tribute to the Lombard king as well. In general, the incidence of payments shifted away from the landowners and peasants.

The Carolingian kings followed Frankish custom in demanding regular provision of service and in-kind payments from the conquered Lombards, as well as tribute from the south. After 990, these payments dried up as imperial assets and fiscal rights were sold, given away, or usurped. The Salian emperors received irregular payments of a hearth tax, and later emperors benefited by selling regalian rights—such as appointing notaries, granting patents of nobility, and minting coins—to the emerging communal governments in northern Italy.

Norman kings in Sicily and southern Italy received revenues from both regalian and feudal sources. They relied on produce from their demesne and personal service and in-kind payments from vassals (when the vassals were not rebelling), as well as regalian rights to taxes on non-Christians; grain exports; and the use of ports, bridges, and bathhouses. To the kings—if they could collect it—also went treasure troves, remains from shipwrecks, and the property of those who had

died intestate. The crown taxed markets and cattle, and heavily fined towns that rebelled. Under Emperor Frederick II, the state expanded monopolies to include mines and minerals, iron and steel, hemp and silk, salt, and dyes. Land, including church patrimony, was also heavily taxed at times, often as partial punishment for unrest on the part of nobles.

Urban northern Italy after 1000 gained in power and wealth as a result of a number of factors, including an impetus toward communes; a revival of Roman law, which helped expand and rationalize secular organization and administration; the weakness of imperial claims over the cities; and improvements in general demographic and economic conditions, which included a greater circulation of coins. Fiscal rights that cities either bought or usurped from the emperor or local nobility included tolls, customs duties, taxes on commerce, the salt monopoly, and guild dues. Governments of seaport cities like Genoa, Venice, and Pisa benefited first and most from expanding maritime trade. In Genoa between 1200 and 1275 the value of taxable maritime commerce doubled, and then it doubled again by 1293 to 5.5 million, about twice the revenue of the French crown. As early as the tenth century, Venice charged merchants a licence fee of 50 pounds for the right to purchase food from the Italian kingdom for sale in Venice, and payments in spices went to the doge for the privilege of operating commercially in Venice itself.

The right to levy the imperial hearth tax had been purchased or usurped by most cities by the twelfth century, but by 1250 most cities had replaced it with a tax on estimated wealth, variously known as the *estimo*, *dazio*, or *lira*. This was the main source of revenue for northern Italian cities until the early 1300s. It shifted the incidence of increasing taxation for war and administration to the wealthy, but the estimations, valuations (original cost, rental value, selling price), and collections were subject to corruption and error. By 1315, Florence had dropped this tax for citizens (though retaining it for subject communities) in favor of indirect imposts known as *gabelle*. By the later 1330s, these imposts accounted for 75 percent of state revenues, according to the chronicler Giovanni Villani. Florence had thirty *gabelle*, including four "major" ones on imports (the *porte*, or gate *gabelle*), salt, contracts, and retail wine sales. Between c. 1330 and 1380, revenue from the duties on

pigs increased by 700 percent, and revenue from those on wine, eggs, and olive oil increased by 500 percent, despite a drop in population. This general picture holds true for many Tuscan and Lombard cities. These indirect charges hurt the poor and smaller merchants most, so governments tapped the resources of the rich through loans, both voluntary and forced.

Loans to civil governments began at least by the 1160s in Genoa and Venice. Urban Jewish communities and emerging banking houses were usually approached first. The earliest known "forced loan" was in Venice in 1207, although the practice was not regularized until 1362. Florence began using these *prestanze* in 1345. The public debt fund, or *monte*, grew rapidly, and soon shares or credits became negotiable financial resources that were bought and sold, usually at high discounts. Public debt rose from a debt-to-annual-income ratio of 1:2.5 in 1315 to 5:1 in 1370. Initial annual interest rates ranged well above ten percent, but in 1380 Florence capped its rate at five percent, well below the return on most commercial investments.

Each city government composed the package of imposts that seemingly best met its needs and resources at any one time, and these varied over time. San Gimignano used a general *gabella*, a judicial tithe on civil cases, fines, forced and voluntary loans, and, after 1276, consumption taxes that came to include wills, dowries, and official salaries. Lucca set three *gabelle*: one for expensive imports, one for cheaper imports, and one on wine. The Lucchese state held monopolies on salt and gaming tables and levied taxes on grinding flour, retail sales of bread and wine, prostitutes, contracts, rents, leases, moneylenders, and innkeepers. The authority to collect the taxes on many lesser sources of income was literally auctioned off to individual entrepreneurs who might be described as "tax farmers." These individuals bought one-year contracts under which they paid monthly installments to the state. This system generally worked well.

See also **Banks and Banking**

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Rhetoric

See Liberal Arts

Rhymed Offices

In the fourteenth century, Ralph of Tongres said that all nations conformed to the Roman antiphonal with respect to the offices of the *temporale*, but that Italian churches conformed to the *tanctorale* to a greater extent because they allowed very few proper offices for saints. In making this statement, Ralph was surely referring not to the proper offices for saints that were common to all uses, early and late, but to newly composed proper offices for saints and feasts, mostly of the later Middle Ages, that characterized the Proper of Saints in most of Europe. In the majority of those offices were in poetry, giving rise to the term "rhymed office" or "versified office."

A casual perusal and even a more systematic search of Italian sources for versified offices would seem to confirm Ralph's observation. The thirteenth-century reforms of the Roman liturgy in association with the newly founded Franciscan order had brought about a briefer, concise liturgy suitable for busy Roman administrators as well as for itinerant friars. Quite quickly books within Rome, and by the fourteenth century books in other parts of Italy, were made to conform with the Roman-Franciscan use. Indeed, non-conforming manuscripts were often

destroyed. Thus the liturgical books that surface most readily in Italy are those of the Roman Curia, virtually synonymous with Franciscan use. These contain very few rhymed offices other than those of the Franciscan order itself.

Here, a misapprehension must be corrected. A relatively recent survey of rhymed offices in general stated that some 700 rhymed offices are to be associated with the Franciscans. Detailed cataloging and identification have yet to be carried out, but the most recent general work (as of this writing) on the topic—the present author's catalog of some 1,500 late medieval offices— suggests that this number is exaggerated some tenfold. But even the seventy rhymed offices probably associated with the Franciscans are hard to find. Most of course have no Italian connections and would not appear in Italian books of any kind.

Thus Ralph's statement seems to be correct. But the tools for accurate investigation have until very recently not been available. The new catalog of late offices just mentioned (although still presenting a European overview rather than local detail) allows a more accurate picture to be presented. A full accounting and inventory of liturgical manuscripts in Italy would make the task easier: some of the sources, especially the large *chorali*, are (or were) accessible only to art historians, for example.

A rhymed office consists of thirty to forty items: these are the items of the services—principally vespers, matins, and lauds—that are sung to plainsong (loosely known as Gregorian chant), namely, antiphons, invitatories, responsories, and their verses. From the twelfth century, using regularly rhymed and accentual poetry, these were widespread across the whole of Europe until the Council of Trent removed them. Before the twelfth century, new offices were usually written in prose, rhymed prose, or prose structured by rhyme, meter, and other rhetorical devices in various irregular schemes.

Deciding what is an Italian rhymed office is no easy task. The office for Francis of Assisi, for example, was written (possibly in Paris) by an official attached to the chapel of Louis IX; Anthony of Padua (whose office is modeled on that for Francis) was Portuguese by birth; the office for Catherine of Siena is modeled on that for Saint Dominic, which was probably written by a Spaniard. Yet all three are obviously saints

important for Italy and Italian liturgy. Nicholas, a universally venerated saint, was bishop of Bari. Do all offices for him qualify? Briefly, the criteria for "nationality" of an office are allusions to specific places and events in the texts; place of use of the manuscripts; and place of the cult, relics, and veneration.

On the basis of these criteria, rhymed offices, in fact, seem no less common—numerically—in Italy than elsewhere in Europe. A simple count of offices associated with Italy or Italian saints discloses more than seventy offices, including those mentioned already and a set of twenty-one written for Milan by Origo Scaccabarozzi, and some twenty saints for whom there is an office with Italian connections. A good many of the "obviously" Italian offices are for saints quite local to their community; often, such a saint is the patron of the city in question—e.g., Ansanus of Siena, Petronius of Bologna, and Zeno of Verona. This emphasis on local saints mirrors the situation elsewhere but seems more prevalent in Italy.

Nothing obvious distinguishes Italian offices from those found elsewhere: the textual and musical styles seem consistent with general late medieval poetic and musical practice. But that practice, as it applies to both liturgical poetry and music, has yet to be investigated and established in detail, and all assessments must for the moment be purely subjective and based on incomplete evidence.

There are very dated editions and discussions of the offices for Francis of Assisi and Anthony of Padua, and there is an edition of the office for the patron of Volterra, Iuvenal of Fossano (Damilano 1979). No general survey of Italian offices exists as of this writing. Much general information can, however, be extracted from the catalog of late medieval offices in Hughes (1994).

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Rialto

The Rialto in Venice is the area and market located at the first bend in the Grand Canal. *Rivoalto* ("deep water") originally referred to the entire archipelago of islands that later became Venice. The market district appropriated the name, since it was situated on the Canale de Rivo Alto, or Grand Canal. Merchants began to gather on the west shore of the canal bend as early as the late tenth century. Over the course of the next two centuries, the Rialto market became the bustling hub for Venetian export and import traffic. The first wooden bridge was probably built in the 1220s.

See also **Venice**

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Riccardo Da San Germano

The chronicler Riccardo da San Germano (c. 1165-c. 1244) was closely connected with the abbey of Monte Cassino and the court of the

emperor Frederick II. Though not a churchman, being a notary by profession, Riccardo was almost certainly educated as a lay student at the monastery of Monte Cassino under Pietro da Insula, its abbot from 1174 on.

Riccardo's chronicle survives in two versions. In its original form it was probably intended to be a continuation of *Annales casinenses*, the annals of Monte Cassino, having been commissioned by Stefano Marsicano before Stefano became abbot of the monastery in 1215. It was begun in all likelihood between 1211 and 1215, while Riccardo was at the papal court in Rome, and was later expanded during his service as an imperial administrator into a more general history of the kingdom of Sicily between 1189 and 1243. Together with his brother, Giovanni, Riccardo is recorded as an official of Frederick II's government between 1222 and 1242, but he also continued over these years to act as a notary for the abbey of Monte Cassino. Despite his employment by the emperor, Riccardo is not entirely uncritical of Frederick in his account of events: he reserves his admiration for Pope Innocent III and King William II of Sicily. Still, he is critical of attempts by the papacy to override secular authority, retaining his attachment to the traditions of the Norman kingdoms of Sicily and avoiding commitment to the pro-papal and pro-imperial parties as they emerged at the end of his life. An interesting feature of his chronicle is the interpolation of verse passages, generally dirges on the deaths of great men or laments over tragic events such as the defeat of the crusaders at Damietta.

See also **Frederick II Hohenstaufen**

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Ricciardo Da Battifolle

The poet Ricciardo da Battifolle (fourteenth century), according to the late nineteenth-century critic and poet Giosuè Carducci (1862), was also known as Roberto. He was the brother of Carlo di Poppi, and was a member of an illustrious family—the Conti Guidi from the Casentino region of Tuscany. Corsi (1969) cautiously follows Carducci's opinion and maintains that Ricciardo Roberto was a prominent military figure who corresponded with Petrarch (*Seniles*, 6 and 7) and Coluccio Salutati (*Epistolario*, 2.xv). He was friendly with Simone Serdini, who sent him a *canzone*, *Domine, né in furore tuo arguas me*. Roberto is also mentioned in Giovanni Gherardi's *Paradiso degli Alberti*. If Ricciardo is the same person as Roberto, he is renowned as the captain of the Florentine army that captured San Miniato in 1370, during the campaign against the Visconti, and he died in 1374. However, Lanza (1975) disagrees with Carducci and Corsi for chronological reasons and identifies the poet as the *conte Ricciardo come buon compagno* who is mentioned in *il Za*'s popular poem *Buca di Montemorello*.

Ricciardo is a Petrarchan poet, as can be seen in the sonnet *Benché ignorante sia, i'pur mi penso*, which he sent to Petrarch. In this poem, Ricciardo praises the courage and wisdom of the ancients and underscores his own sense of isolation and dissatisfaction with the present age. His only solace is in being a contemporary of Petrarch, whose eloquent verse provides him with spiritual guidance in the journey of life. Petrarch responded with the sonnet *Conte Ricciardo, quanto più ripenso*. All of Ricciardo's poems deal with the theme of love. Two sonnets, *Lieta finestra, avventuroso loco* and *Amor parla con meco e dice*: —*Or mira*, stand out for their lighthearted, vibrant, sincere representations of the poet's love for a woman named Filippa.

See also Petrarca, Francesco; Salutati, Coluccio; Serdini, Simone

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Ricciardo Petroni Da Siena

Ricciardo (a. 1314), a doctor of canon and civil law, is thought to have joined the papal chancery after a career teaching canon law at the University of Naples. He acted as vice-chancellor under Pietro da Piperno. In 1296, Pope Boniface VIII named him to work with Bérengar Frédol and Guillaume de Mandegout on the *Liber sextus decretalium*. Following the completion of this project, the pope named Ricciardo a cardinal. Ricciardo fled Anagni during the attack on Pope Boniface but remained active in the curia until his death. Ricciardo refused to verify any miracles attributed to Celestine V during the canonization inquiry inaugurated by Clement V.

See also **Boniface VIII, Pope**

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Riccobaldo Da Ferrara

Riccobaldo da Ferrara (b. 1245 or 1246) was a compiler of chronicles of world history. He was born in Ferrara, became a notary, and styled himself *magister* or *dominus*. As an exile in Ravenna, he read a book in the capitular library of that city; this book inspired him to undertake his own lifework: Jerome's translation of Eusebius's *Chronicle*. Riccobaldo decided not only to make Eusebius's work known but to bring its treatment of events down to his own day. He thus represented a much older tradition than that of Vincent of Beauvais, the Dominican who inspired Riccobaldo's contemporaries Benzo d'Alessandria and Giovanni Mansionario. For the rest of his life, about twenty years or so, in Ravenna, Ferrara, and finally in Padua, Riccobaldo would devote himself to his chronological labor.

The first product of his industry was *Pomerium Ravennatis ecclesie, seu Historia universalis ab anno circiter 700-1297*, written in Ravenna between 1297 and 1300. On returning to Ferrara in 1308, he wrote *Compendium Romane historie*. In the second decade of the *Trecento*, he lived in Padua and wrote a two-volume treatment of Roman history (in the broadest sense), apparently entitled *Historie*, with the break between the two volumes coming at the inception of Caesar's political life.

To many scholars, Riccobaldo is most intriguing for his influence on Dante, especially the episode in the *Inferno* (Canto 27, verses 67-111, 115) involving Guido da Montefeltro and Boniface VIII.

See also **Boniface VIII, Pope; Chronicles; Dante Alighieri; Giuido da Montefeltro**

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Richard I, Count of Aversa

Richard I, count of Aversa and prince of Capua (d. 1078), was [he nephew of Rainulf, the first count of Aversa. By the mid-tenth century, the conquests of the Normans were proceeding in all directions. Humphrey de Hauteville continued the conquests of his brothers, William and Drogo; Robert Guiscard, aided by his younger brother Roger, moved southward into Calabria; and Richard of Aversa commenced his policy of expansion into the territories of Gisulf of Salerno, the duke of Gaeta, and the count of Aquino.

After the mysterious disappearance of Herman, a minor who was the son of Rainulf II of Aversa, Richard, who had been Herman's tutor, took over control of the county. From this base he was able to expand: first he came to the assistance of Gisulf II, the heir of the murdered Guaimar V (1052), and helped him to regain the principality of Salerno; second, he moved northward to regain control of Capua and to reinforce Gisulf's authority there. In 1053, Richard was one of the military leaders

at the battle of Civitate, which resulted in the imprisonment of Pope Leo IX (r. 1049-1054); and it was as leader of this army that he moved against the usurpers of Capua. At this point, Richard, feeling that he had not been adequately compensated by Gisulf II, broke with him and joined the forces of Amalfi against Salerno. But Richard, determined to capture Capua, laid siege to the city and abandoned the siege only when Pandulf V of Capua gave him a considerable sum of money. In 1057, when Pandulf V died and was succeeded by his son Landulf VI, Richard again took up the siege of Capua and this time forced an acknowledgment of his overlordship. This conquest was formally legitimized by Pope Nicholas II (r. 1058–1061) at the synod of Melfi (1059) in gratitude for Richard's support against the antipope Benedict X (1058). Shortly afterward, Richard also obtained an acknowledgment of his overlordship over Gaeta.

Having secured a base in Capua and Gaeta, Richard was free to enter into the politics of the time. From 1061 to 1063, for example, he found himself protector of Pope Alexander II (r. 1061-1073). At this time, Richard asserted his claim of suzerainty over all the petty nobles whose lands bordered his own, and in collaboration with Desiderius of Monte Cassino he tried to build up a state powerful enough to ensure peace among the warring nobility of the south. He was becoming too powerful for Alexander II, whose fears were confirmed in 1066, when Richard invaded the papal territories. At this point, the enemies of the pope were eager to proclaim Richard emperor. Although Alexander II and Richard were reconciled, it had become clear that courting the favor of the Normans was a dangerous policy on the part of the papacy. Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085), Alexander's successor, pursued an aggressive anti-Norman policy when papal territory (Benevento) was attacked. Richard was excommunicated at the Council of Rome in March 1078 and died the next month on 5 April.

See also Aversa; Conrad II; Gregory VII, Pope; Normans; Rainulf I, Count of Aversa; Sergius IV, Duke of Naples

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Richard of Venosa

The witty and talented Richard of Venosa (early thirteenth century) is known solely from his Latin poem *De Paulino et Polla* (*On Paulinus and Polla*), dedicated to the emperor Frederick II. This poem, in elegiac distichs, has 1,140 lines and is thus the longest extant specimen of "elegiac comedy," a type of dramatically charged humorous verse narrative whose earliest and most famous exemplars are known or thought to come from twelfth-century France.

In the opening of the poem, Richard identifies himself as a judge whose town of origin is Venosa, part of the mainland portion of Frederick's kingdom of Sicily. Venosa is also the scene of the action until the very end, when the amusingly told series of increasingly serious events is resolved at an unspecified location by "Duke Rainald," governor of the kingdom. This person's identification with Rainald of Urslingen, who was imperial vicar in 1228-1229 and was formally disgraced in 1231, provides an approximate date of composition. Richard's assimilation and creative reuse of ancient and modern classics, his choice of genre, and his skill at writing quantitative Latin verse in an antique manner mark him as someone of considerable literary culture. Also apparent are his higher education generally, his legal training, and his awareness of some of the less admirable aspects of human behavior.

The poem recounts how Polla, an elderly woman, asks the lawyer Fulco to arrange a marriage between her and an even older man, his acquaintance Paulinus. After some discussion, Fulco accepts the commission, and in attempting to fulfill it he falls prey to a series of mishaps ranging from slapstick to seriocomic. In addition to damage

caused by his domestic animals (cat, dog, and pig), his misfortunes include ruining his bed by accidentally spilling oil all over the straw, falling into an open sewer and not being able to get himself out, and being tried and sentenced to death for a crime he did not commit. Two versions of the ending exist. In one of these—an abbreviated version—Fulco's future and that of the proposed marriage are left in doubt, although a two-line happy ending has been added in some manuscripts. In the other version—which is presumably the original—the duke quashes the local proceeding but forbids the marriage, since, as Fulco has admitted, no offspring can come of it; and Fulco is condemned to a severe beating for promoting an illicit union.

Embedded in the narrative and giving the work most of its length are numerous passages of dialogue. These usually take the form of relatively brief, sententious exchanges dealing with two sides of an issue. The issues themselves are pragmatic and chiefly ethical; the transitions are clever and often involve amusing situations. There is also an element of social satire. The poem's pedagogically attractive combination of moral content in an entertaining and well-written vehicle seems to have been the key to its survival. Thus quotations from it occur in the *Compendium moralium notabilium* (c. 1300–1310, an ethical florilegium) of the Paduan judge Jeremy (Hieremias, Geremia) of Montagnone; and the earliest complete manuscript (also from the first half of the fourteenth century) has thorough interlinear and marginal glosses indicative of schoolroom use. Of at least eleven later manuscripts, several are similarly glossed.

See also **Latin Literature**

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Richard I, the Lion-Heart

Richard (1157-1199), the third child of King Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, succeeded to the English throne at his father's death on 16 July 1189 and immediately began raising money for a crusade, which became the central focus of his life. Richard left England on 12 December 1189 and sailed from Marseille for the east on 7 August 1190. On his journey to the Levant, he spent the period from 13 August 1190 to 10 April 1191 in Italy and Sicily—a greater time, in fact, than he spent

in England during the ten years of his reign as its king. Richard stopped at Genoa, Portofino, Pisa, Piombino, Ostia, Naples, and Salerno, among other cities in the peninsula, but he declined an invitation from the pope to visit Rome. At Messina, Richard became involved in a confrontation with King Tancred of Sicily over property that Richard claimed belonged rightfully to his sister, Joan. In a brief campaign, Richard captured Messina and held it for ransom until Tancred finally bowed to his demands.

Arriving in the Holy Land at the beginning of June 1191, Richard soon took control of the siege of Acre. He spent sixteen months campaigning in the east and then set out for England in October 1192. On his return journey he was captured and held for ransom, first by Duke Leopold of Austria and then by Emperor Henry VI. He was released in 1194 after payment of a substantial ransom; he then spent the next five years in struggles with King Philip II of France over territories that both claimed and neither would concede to the other. Richard died, still fighting, on 6 April 1199.

See also **Crusades**

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Flavius Ricimer (Count Ricimer, d. 472), was of varied royal barbarian ancestry, being the son of a Visigothic mother and a Suevic father. He pursued a military career and served under Aetius. As a military count, he defeated a Vandal attack on Sicily in 456. During the period 456—472, acting in the capacity of patrician and supreme master of soldiers, he was the virtual ruler of the western empire, making and unmaking emperors at will. In 456, he was involved in the fall of the emperor Eparchius Avitus. In 457, he was instrumental in the accession of the energetic emperor Majorian (r. 457-461), but in 461 he had Majorian deposed and subsequently executed at Dertona. Later that year, he had the nonentity Libius Severus declared emperor in Rome; Severus occupied the throne until his unlamented death in 465.

The west then remained without an emperor, but with Ricimer effectively in control, until 467, when an easterner, Anthemius, arrived with an army and was made emperor. In an attempt to reach an accord with the new emperor, Ricimer married Anthemius's daughter Alypia. Nevertheless, quarreling soon broke out, culminating in the murder of Anthemius, in 472, by Ricimer's nephew, the Burgundian Gundobad. Ricimer then had the senator Olybrius proclaimed western emperor. Ricimer died shortly thereafter, and his influential position was then occupied by Gundobad.

Ricimer was one of several barbarians who took advantage of the troubled times in the west to attain great influence and high office, but whose pursuit of essentially personal ambitions contributed to the eventual disintegration of the west.

See also Aëtius, Flavius

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Rimini

Rimini was the ancient coastal city of Ariminum, situated on the border between Emilia and Umbria. It was the end of Via Flaminia and the beginning of Via Aemilia, marked by the Arch of Augustus, the earliest surviving Roman triumphal arch (27 B.C.). Its prehistoric background included elements of Villanovian, Umbrian, and Etruscan culture. In 268 B.C., it was consolidated as a Roman colony. From the second Punic war until the late empire, Rimini was a major Roman military and maritime base. The Christian church in Rimini can be dated to its first known bishop, Stemmio (313). After the Byzantine reconquest, the city became a part of the Exarchate (552). Following rule by the Lombards and conquest by the Franks, it was part of the Donation of Pepin to the papacy.

The earliest forms of communal government appear to date from the eleventh century, and the first consuls are documented in 1158. Frederick I Barbarossa recognized the city and its rights over its surrounding territory. In 1295, after a series of struggles between the Guelph Malatesta family and the Ghibelline Omodei and Parcitadi families, the Malatesta established their rule—or *signoria*—in the city, under Malatesta da Verrucchio (d. 1312), with the assistance of his sons Paolo Bello, Gianciotto, and Malatestino *dall'occhio* ("one-eyed"). In the *Divine Comedy*, Dante mentions these historical figures and severely criticizes them for their violent tactics. First, Dante describes the

murder of Francesca da Polenta (from Ravenna) and Paolo Malatesta by her husband Gianciotto, Paolo's brother (*Inferno*, 5.82-142). Then he condemns the premeditated murder of the Ghibelline Montagna dei Parcitadi by the Malatesta family (*Inferno*, 27.46-48) as part of their plan for consolidating their power in Rimini. Finally, Dante refers to Malatestino's treacherous drowning of two civic representatives from Fano as part of the expansionist designs of the Malatesta family on other cities in the area (*Inferno*, 28.70-90). One further note on Dante's connection with Rimini is that his strong antipapal political views, as expressed in *Monarchia*, come under harsh attack by the Dominican Guido Vernani da Rimini in the treatise *Tractatus de reprobatione Monarchiae* (1333-1334).

The Malatesta lordship was recognized anew by the city council in 1334 and received recognition from the papacy in 1355 as a vicariate over Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, and Fossombrone. The continuing Malatesta court became a center of cultural patronage, reaching a peak in the days of Sigismondo Pandolfo in the fifteenth century. The seriousness of its intellectual interests may be measured by the fact that Pandolfo Malatesta was a friend and patron of Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca) and that a century later, in the early Renaissance, Sigismondo commissioned Leon Battista Alberti to design the celebrated Tempio Malatestiano.

The splendor of the Tempio tends to distract attention from the medieval edifices in Rimini, which include the Palazzo dell'-Arengo (Palatium Communis), a Romanesque-Gothic structure begun in 1204; and the Palazzo del Podesta (Palatium Novum), built in the 1330s. There are also several fine medieval churches, such as Sant'Agostino (1247), with its fourteenth-century fresco cycle, and the church of the Senates (Santa Maria dei Servi, 1317); the latter, however, has been greatly altered over the centuries.

See also **Rimini, School of**

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Rimini, School of

In the late Middle Ages, Rimini was a major center for the production of fresco and panel painting. Although the output of the school of Rimini came largely during the first half of the fourteenth century, its artists are recorded in local archives from 1292 until the late *Trecento*. Modern scholars have attempted to arrange the substantial body of surviving work, most of which is anonymous, into stylistic groups, each group representing a separate artistic personality; a few signed and dated works make it possible to attach names to some of these personalities and to establish approximate dates for their activity. The task of organizing the material is complicated by its homogeneity, and there is considerable disagreement among the critics.

The most important artists whose names are known today are Giuliano da Rimini, Pietro da Rimini, Giovanni da Rimini, and Giovanni Baronzio. Giuliano signed an altarpiece that was once in the

duomo at Urbania, near Urbino, and is now in the Gardner Museum in Boston; this panel also carries the date 1307 and is the earliest dated work from the school. Giuliano was dead by 1346; it is likely that he is the same Giuliano da Rimini who worked in Padua in 1324, along with Pietro da Rimini. They signed and dated an altarpiece (now lost) that was once in the church of the Eremitani in Padua. Some detached frescoes in the civic museum come from the Eremitani and may be attributed to this team of artists. There is a signed crucifix by Pietro da Rimini at Urbania. A painter named Giovanni signed and dated another crucifix at Mercatello. The date, which is indistinct, is now read as 1309 or 1314 (not 1345, as it was previously read). This Giovanni is apparently the same artist whose name appears on Riminese archival documents of 1292 and 1300, but he is not the Giovanni Baronzio who signed the dated polyptych of 1345 in the National Gallery of the Marches at Urbino. Little more is known of Baronzio, except that he had died by 1362. Baronzio is the last major artist of the Riminese school whose name is known—if indeed he is a major artist, for by his time the school appears to have entered into a decline.

Approximately 100 paintings on panel by the Riminese artists have been identified. Among the best and most characteristic are rectangular altarpieces and small portable diptychs, divided into zones most often decorated with scenes of Christ's passion, and frequently now dismembered. In addition, there are numerous fresco cycles. Of these, the most extensive are stories of Joachim, the Virgin, and the infancy of Christ, in the Cappella del Campanile, Sant'Agostino, Rimini (heavily damaged); scenes from the legend of Saint John the Evangelist and other subjects, in the choir of the same church (also in poor condition, particularly in the lower registers); and scenes from the lives of Christ, Mary, and Saint Nicholas of Tolentino in the Cappellone di San Nicola at Tolentino. Another major fresco decoration, at Santa Maria in Porto Fuori in Ravenna, was destroyed during World War II.

The painters of Rimini drew their inspiration from a variety of sources. At first, local Romanesque and Byzantine styles were combined with the new manner which was created around the turn of the century from Roman and Florentine elements at the basilica of San Francesco at Assisi, particularly the celebrated series of frescoes from the legend of Saint Francis in the upper church. Riminese artists also

may have been influenced by Pietro Cavallini, although he did not work at Assisi. Frescoes by close early followers of Giotto in the lower church at Assisi left their imprint on the school, especially those in the Saint Nicholas Chapel and the right transept. Works in Florence by Giotto and his contemporaries, especially those of a less monumental and more episodic tendency than Giotto—such as the Saint Cecilia Master who also worked at Assisi—were known to the Riminese. Reflections of Pietro Lorenzetti's frescoes of the passion in the lower church at Assisi can be seen in Riminese *Trecento* art; and occasional resemblances to works by other Sienese artists of the first half of the fourteenth century, particularly Duccio, may be due to direct influence and not to Byzantine or other common sources. Direct borrowings from Giotto's decoration of the Arena Chapel also appear. And finally, in a passage probably written in 1312 or 1313, the chronicler Riccobaldo da Ferrara mentioned work by Giotto in San Francesco at Rimini. A dismembered crucifix is in that church today, and it was surely painted by Giotto himself, although it is often not considered autograph. This type of crucifix became popular with local painters, and there are many examples, including those by Pietro da Rimini and Giovanni mentioned above, that show its influence. It is often suggested that Riccobaldo was referring not to the crucifix but to some frescoes in San Francesco when he mentioned Giotto's work there. According to this claim, which unfortunately cannot be substantiated, the frescoes were destroyed when the church was remodeled in the mid-fifteenth century. Proponents of this theory hold that indications of Giotto's lost frescoes appear in the native school.

Generally, the Riminese school achieved a synthesis of the measured gravity of its Roman and Florentine sources and the less restrained emotion of the Sienese, while at the same time exceeding them in its popular realism. The school was an important vehicle for the transmission of Roman and Tuscan style and iconography to the great centers of northern Italy. Riminese influence was widespread throughout the Marches, Emilia, Romagna, and the Veneto.

See also Cavallini, Pietro; Giotto di Bondone; Padua; Rimini

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Rinaldo D'Aquino

The poet Rinaldo d Aquino (thirteenth century) has the title *messere* in the ancient codices. He was descended from a prominent aristocratic family, but during his time there were several families of the same name, so that a precise identification is virtually impossible. It has been suggested that Rinaldo was a brother of Saint Thomas Aquinas (Tommaso d' Aquino). In 1243 or 1244, Rinaldo assisted Pier delia Vigna in organizing the forced return of Thomas Aquinas to his castle at San Giovanni. Some scholars believe that it is the same Rinaldo who served as Emperor Frederick II's falconer in February 1240, Chronological considerations tend to rule out identifying Rinaldo with the lord of Roccasecca, who was a partisan of Charles dAnjou in 1275 and was accused by his vassals of seducing their wives. However, Torraca (1902) considers the falconer of 1240 to be the same person who, years later, betrayed Manfred and swore allegiance to the house of Anjou. Internal evidence, such as a brief mention of the town of Montella and a vague reference to a crusade, has no biographical implications.

Whatever his identity, Rinaldo d'Aquino ranks among the earliest and most prominent poets of the Sicilian school. He engaged in a poetic correspondence with Giacomo da Lentini; and Rinaldo's *canzorti*, second in number only to Giacomo's, have a conspicuous place in the

Vatican Codex (Lat. 3793). Rinaldo is mentioned twice by Dante, who quotes his poem *Per fin' amore vao sì allegramente* among the examples of *cantiones illustres*. Rinaldo is noted for his rhetorical skills but is a close follower of troubadour themes and styles rather than an innovator. He was praised during the Romantic era for what seemed to be a popularizing vein in his lament *Già mai non mi conforto*; however, the theme of a girl abandoned by her lover, who is departing on a crusade, is strictly conventional, hailing back to the Gascon troubadour Marcabru (fl. c. 1130-1148), and the poem contains many lexical items that are refined and Provençalizing.

See also Giacomo da Lentini; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Ristoro D'Arezzo

What little information we have about the life of Ristoro d'Arezzo (thirteenth century) is obtained from his only work, *Composizione del mondo colle sue cascioni*, which has come down to us in five manuscripts. He was an adult in 1239, when he viewed a total eclipse of the sun. He was apparently a monk, and he compiled his treatise in 1282, in the dialect of Arezzo.

Ristoro's treatise is divided into two books: the first book consists of twenty-four chapters; the second is subdivided into eight divisions (*distinzioni*) that are in turn subdivided into chapters. The expansion into eight divisions shows Ristoro's attempt at proportion; however, the symmetry of the outer sections contrasts with the lack of form of the inner chapters. Ristoro's cosmological compilation is easily assignable to the category of encyclopedias; indeed, Ristoro states as his purpose in writing the treatise that human beings, the most noble creatures in the world, may "know, understand, comprehend, hear, and see the marvelous works of this world" and, further, that they may recognize in all these works the hand of God, their creator (1.1.4). This programmatic beginning manifests itself in two recurrent ideas: first, that the world should be described as it is; and second, that this description should be tied to the question of why the world is as it is. Ristoro chooses to follow the classical path leading from macrocosm to microcosm. The first book describes only the visible manifestations of divine creation, in a process that moves from the heavenly spheres to the culmination of creation, mankind; the second book treats, through causal analysis, the phenomena that have already been described.

Ristoro does not always name his many sources. Moreover, his knowledge of Aristotle, Ptolemy, Abdumaser, Averroes, Avicenna, and Alfraganus does not necessarily derive from a reading of the original texts (or from their Latin translations); he may have had recourse to florilegia and compendiums. The dissemination of Ristoro's text was restricted to narrow geographical limits, but influences on Dante and later on Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci can be demonstrated.

Ristoro's work occupies a middle position in the development of the

encyclopedia, which had Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede as its first medieval representatives and continued to develop through the rediscovery of ancient Greek knowledge until it eventually emerged in the great *Specula* of Vincent of Beauvais and the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas.

RALF LÜTZELSCHWAB *Translated by Z. Philip Ambrose*

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The *Ritmo cassinese* is the work of a jongleur who describes in allegorical terms an encounter between two men, one from the west and one from the east. The work is contained in an eleventh-century manuscript (552-32) in the abbey of Monte Cassino but is written in a later hand, of either the late twelfth or the early thirteenth century. The poem is in what can be generally called a central-southern Italian dialect; it has ninety-six verses, which are divided into twelve strophes of different lengths. Each stanza is based on two rhymes; a varying number of shorter monorhymed verses (usually *ottonari*) and a concluding couplet (or sometimes three verses) of longer monorhymed verses (generally *endecasillabi*). The text of the *Ritmo* is fraught with metrical, linguistic, and interpretive problems, all bearing on its ultimate interpretation, which can in no sense be said to be resolved.

The poet begins with an exordium to his audience—*Eo, siniuri, s'eo fabello, llo bostru audire compello* ("If I speak, my lords, I ask for your attention")—and proceeds to speak, in general terms, about his subject: *de questa bita interpello / e ddell'altra bene spello* ("I pose questions about this life and speak well of the other [life]"). In the first three stanzas, the poet sets the stage for his presentation of the two kinds of "life" by using phrases such as *por vebe luminaria factio* ("I will shed light for you," i.e., "I will illuminate you") and terms such as *scriptura* (scripture, i.e., his Latin source, perhaps the Bible) and *fegura* (figure, allegory, or possibly "picture" or "drawing," which has given rise to speculation about the possible use of visual aids by the jongleur). The bulk of the third stanza focuses on the attractions of "this" life and assumes a sermon-like quality: *Ai, dumque pentia null'omo fare / questa bita reguare, / deducere, deportare ... / Mort'è, non guita gustare, / cunqua de questa sia pare. / Ma tantu quistu mundu è gaudebele, / ke l'unu e ll'altru face mescredebele* ("Ah, no one thinks to lead a regulated life, [but] to amuse and enjoy oneself. ... It is death, not life, to enjoy whatever may be similar to this [life]. But this world is so pleasurable that it causes people to not believe the one and the other"—i.e., not to see what is truly good in this life and consequently not to believe in the other life, for which this life is a preparation).

In the fourth stanza the poet presents the two protagonists: the man from the east (*sse mosse d'Orientel unu magnu vir prudente*) and the man from the west (*d'Occidente*). The last eight stanzas contain the

conversation between these two figures, which concentrates almost exclusively on what sort of food the man from the east enjoys. The man from the west asks: *Poi ke 'n tale destuttu state, / quale bita bui menate? / Que bidande mandicate? / Abete bidande cuscì amorse, / como queste nostre saporose?* ("Since you are in such a state of delight, what sort of life do you lead? What foods do you eat? Do you have such delicious and attractive foods as we have?"). And the man of the east responds: *Ei, parabola dissensata! . . . Bidand' abemo purgata, / d'ab enitiupreparata: /perfecta binja plantata / de tuttu tempu fructata. / En qualecumqua causa delectamo, / tutt' a quella bijna lo trobamo, / e ppuru de bedere ni satiamo* ("Ah, senseless word! We have pure food prepared from the beginning of time: a perfect vine, planted and constantly bearing fruit. Whatever we desire we find at that vine, and we are satisfied only by gazing upon it"). The man from the west concludes that they do not eat (*Ergo non mandicate?*) and goes on to say that anyone who does not eat or drink cannot have any pleasure whatsoever (*Homo ki nnim bebe ni manducal non sactio com'unqua se deduca*). The man from the east responds by noting that if one is not hungry or thirsty, there is no need to eat or drink (*Homo ki fame unqua non sentel(non è sitiente) / qued à besonju, tebe saccente, / de mandicare, de bibere niente?*). In the twelfth and final strophe, the man from the west—and therefore also the audience—finally understands the hidden meaning when he says: *Poi ke'n tanta gloria sedete, / nullu necessu v'abete, / ma quantumqu'a Deu petite, / tuttu lo 'm balia tenete, / et em quella forma bui gaudete, / angeli de celu sete!* ("Since you are seated in such glory, you need nothing, but whatever you ask from God, you receive, and in that condition you rejoice; truly you are angels from heaven!").

On a very basic level, the poem is about the difference between life on earth and life in heaven, or between secular and monastic life on earth, but it also lends itself to several other interpretations. Given their identification with spatial locations—the east and the west—the two protagonists may be interpreted as representatives of two monastic orders, the Basilians and the Benedictines; or perhaps of two divisions within the Benedictine order: those who follow the rule and those who observe it less strictly. In the tradition of medieval debate poems, the *Ritmo cassinese* could also be a contrast between personifications of

"body" and "soul" or between representatives of the "active life" (*vita pratical attiva*) and the "contemplative life" (*vita contemplativa*). Given the didactic tone of the poem, the dialogue could also be between a "mystic" (from the east) and a "neophyte" (from the west). However that may be, one thing is obvious: the man from the east has the upper hand in the discussion; and thus whatever his significance is, that is what the poet is attempting to impart to the audience. The lesson of the *Ritmo*, then, is that one should rise above the material world and its illusory temptations to embrace what is true in the spiritual world; that earthly pleasures are insufficient and lead not to life but to death; and that one can attain an angelic state by observing certain ascetic practices (e.g., monastic fasting).

See also Allegory; Italian Prosody; Ritmo di Sant'Alessio

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Ritmo Di Sant'Alessio

The *Ritmo di Sant'Alessio* is a metric life of Saint Alexis, composed by a religious jongleur, probably at the end of the twelfth century, and meant to be recited in public. The legend of Saint Alexis originated as early as the first half of the fifth century in Edessa (now Urfa, Turkey), the former capital of the Aramaic kingdom of Osroene, where Christianity had spread since the beginning of the third century. From there the legend moved on to Byzantium and finally reached Italy and western Europe, where the Benedictine order promoted and appropriated the Cult of the saint. A Latin prose life of the tenth century, adapted from Greek, became the source of all Latin and vernacular accounts composed thereafter in the west, including a famous French poem (*Vie de Saint Alexis*, eleventh century) and Bonvesin's *De vita Beati Alexii* in Lombard verse (thirteenth century).

The *Ritmo*, which has come down to us in an incomplete form, is preserved in a manuscript (now in the Civic Library of Ascoli Piceno, XXV A. 51, c. 130 f.) originally belonging to the Benedictine convent of Santa Vittoria in Matenano, a Farfa foundation near Fermo, also in the southern Marches. The narrative tempo is quite slow: after 257 lines the story breaks off at Edessa, before the arrival of Euphernian's servants. The lines are divided into twenty-seven stanzas in which an indefinite number (from four to thirteen) of shorter verses (octo- or novenaries) echoing the same rhyme are normally followed by a couplet of deca- or hendecasyllabic verses featuring a different rhyme, tendentiously

equivocal (i.e., rich or even homonymic). The metric measures can be traced back to the octosyllables and decasyllabics of Occitan and Old French poetry.

Linguistically, the *Ritmo* belongs to "a koiné of East Central Italy, whose cultural capital was undoubtedly Montecassino" (Contini 1960). Because of their geographic and chronological proximity, their metric and linguistic affinities, and the fact that they were produced in the same Benedictine milieu, the *Ritmo di Sant'Alessio* and the *Ritmo Cassinese* are to be considered strictly related; they are both monastic texts written in a jongleuresque form for purposes of popularization.

See also Italian Prosody; Ritmo Cassinese

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Ritmo Laurenziano

See Texts, Early Italian: Ritmo Laurenziano

Robert Guiscard

When Robert Guiscard (Robert de Hauteville, c. 1015-1085) rode into southern Italy in 1047, Norman mercenaries had been playing Lombards against Byzantines there for at least thirty years. Robert's half brothers, older sons of Tancred of Hauteville, had already claimed lands around Aversa, where the eldest, William, had earned the name "Iron-Arm" and had become the first Norman Italian count. William did not welcome Robert's arrival. Eventually another brother, Drogo, gave Robert a miserable outpost in Calabria, which he could control only by ousting the Byzantines. Yet this offered him a base from which to launch ambitious conquests, achieved with prodigious energy. Robert used terror and bloodshed, but his signature strategy was the ruse, as when he allegedly feigned death and penetrated a monastic stronghold inside a coffin, lying on a bed of swords. So wily was this trickster that the name Guiscard ("the clever") was used in the eleventh-century histories featuring his exploits.

Robert also proved his mettle on the battlefield. In 1053, a formidable coalition of Germans from the Holy Roman Empire and their Italian allies, led by Pope Leo IX, engaged the Normans at Civitate, hoping to dislodge them from Italy. Robert distinguished himself in this Norman victory, and soon he was challenging his brother Humphrey for hegemony among the Normans of Italy. Before Humphrey died in 1057, he commended his son Abelard to Robert's care, but Robert promptly claimed his nephew's lands. The boy would grow up to foment insurrections against his uncle but eventually sought asylum in Byzantium after yet another unsuccessful resistance in 1080. Such rebellions punctuated Robert's reign, even as he expanded his domination, seizing Capua from the Lombards and finally—in 1071, after a three-year siege—taking Bari, the last Byzantine foothold in Italy.

Along Robert's path to power, two events of 1059 enhanced his prestige and legitimized his authority. First, having repudiated his wife (the mother of his son, Bohemond), Robert compelled Prince Gisulf II of Salerno to surrender his sister Sichel gaita in marriage. Now linked to a venerable Lombard princely family, Robert also allied himself with the

papacy, which sought the support of the Normans in the investiture conflict against the Holy Roman emperor and the imperial antipope. Thus at the synod of Melfi, Robert—who had been thrice excommunicated—acquired a papal blessing and the title of duke of Apulia and Calabria and Sicily.

Before this, Robert had not even visited Muslim Sicily. Yet he now engineered a reconquest increasingly dominated by his younger brother, Roger. Messina fell in 1061, followed by Palermo in 1072. But rebellions in Italy forced Robert to return there, effectively leaving Sicily to Roger. Robert, meanwhile, trained his eye on Byzantium, made enticingly vulnerable by dynastic struggles and the advance of the Seljuk Turks. Emperor Michael VII, desperate for aid from the Normans, had even betrothed his son to Robert's daughter. After Michael was dethroned in a coup in 1078, Robert invoked kinship as a pretext for invading Byzantium. Yet once again Italy drew him back from the campaign, this time to rescue Pope Gregory VII from the Holy Roman emperor Henry IV, who had seized Rome and deposed Gregory. In a mission notorious for its violence and for the alleged burning of Rome, Robert retrieved the pope and took him to Salerno, where he died in May 1085. Robert resumed his Byzantine offensive, taking Corfu while his younger son Roger accompanied Norman forces to the mainland. But Robert died suddenly, on 17 July 1085, when an epidemic of typhoid fever swept through his army. Roger's army promptly deserted, while Sichelgaita took Robert's body to Venosa for burial next to his older brothers in the church of the Holy Trinity. In the twelfth century, his grave attracted a suitable epitaph, which began: "Here lies the terror of the world, Guiscard."

See also Bohemond of Taranto; Gregory VII, Pope; Leo IX, Pope; Lombards; Melfi, Synod of; Normans; Roger I; Roger Borsa; Tancred of Hauteville, Sons of

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Robert of Anjou

Robert of Anjou, king of Naples ("the Wise," 1278-1343; r. 1309-1343)

was the third son of Charles II of Anjou. Robert was held hostage by the Aragonese from 1285 to 1295. He was created duke of Calabria and vicar of the Regno for his father in 1297, and he became prince of Salerno in 1304. Robert succeeded as king of Sicily and count of Piedmont, Provence, and Forcalquier in 1309, despite the claims of his eldest brother's son, Carobert. Robert's two wives were Violante of Aragon, sister of James II; and Sancia of Aragon, daughter of James II. Robert was survived by two daughters, Joanna and Maria; the former succeeded him, becoming Queen Joanna I of Naples.

Robert became king as Emperor Henry VII was preparing an expedition to Italy to be crowned. The Guelf party, which opposed Henry's plans, looked to Robert for leadership, but initially he supported Pope Clement V, who hoped to form a partnership with Henry to bring peace to Italy. Clement, recognizing Robert's support, made him rector of the Romagna (excluding Bologna) in 1310 and supported a marriage alliance between Robert's heir and Henry's daughter. This alliance was never achieved, and relations worsened when Robert refused to do homage to Henry in person for Piedmont, Provence, and Forcalquier. Robert did not prevent Henry from reaching Rome and being crowned; but as the Guelfs' opposition to Henry grew, an army sent by Robert hastened the emperor's withdrawal. Robert became captain of the Guelf league in February 1313 and soon afterward accepted the lordship of numerous communes. In April 1313 he became lord of Florence for five years. Henry responded by condemning Robert, but Henry died in 1313 while marching on Florence, where an army sent by Robert was preparing to oppose him.



Simone Martini (1284-1344), *Saint Louis of Toulouse Conferring on His Brother Robert of Anjou the Crown of the Kingdom of Naples*; and scenes from the *Life of Saint Louis*, c. 1317. Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Meanwhile Frederick of Sicily, supporting Henry in this quarrel (which he had helped to precipitate), invaded Calabria, thereby breaking the peace of Caltabellotta. Robert repulsed him and thereafter made several unsuccessful attempts (in 1314, 1316, 1325-1326, 1335, and 1339-1342) to recover Sicily; these attempts further impoverished his already troubled realm, and despite his sincere efforts to impose good justice and administration, Robert perpetuated corruption and disorder.

The degree of Robert's failure to impose his ideal of good government is disputed, but that he failed is not in question.

Robert continued throughout his reign to be involved in politics farther north. In 1317, the Florentines renewed his lordship for four years. In 1325, he sanctioned an offer to make his son Charles of Calabria lord of Florence. Both Charles and Robert opposed the expedition by Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, not least because an alliance between Lewis and Frederick of Sicily posed a threat to the Regno.

Robert was religious to the point of bigotry and was detested by the northern Ghibellines, but in his own kingdom he was the most popular of the Angevin kings—a reputation for which his public works, especially in Naples, and his patronage of the arts and literature may have been partly responsible. Among those whom he patronized were Petrarch and Boccaccio. Simone Martini's picture of Robert worshipping his brother Louis is reputedly the first painted portrait in European art.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Caltabellotta, Treaty of; Clement V, Pope; Florence; Frederick III, King of Sicily; Guelfs; Henry VII of Luxembourg; James II, King of Aragon; Lewis of Bavaria; Martini, Simone; Naples; Paolo da Perugia; Petrarca, Francesco

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Roger I

Roger I, count of Sicily (1031–1101, r. 1085-1101), was the brother of Robert Guiscard and was largely responsible for the Norman conquest of Sicily. Roger had been campaigning there since at least 1061, when Messina had fallen, and he took the last Muslim stronghold, Noto, in 1091. He is said to have had only a handful of soldiers (just 130 knights at the battle of Cerami in 1063), but he became the most powerful figure in the south after his brother's death in 1085. Most scholars agree that Roger I laid the foundations for the later cohesion and wealth of the kingdom of Sicily.

Roger's comital activities can be partially reconstructed from evidence in surviving charters, most of which is published. At a meeting at Mazara in 1093, Roger and his followers divided up the conquered Muslims among their new lords using long lists known as *jara'ida*. One such list in favor of the cathedral at Catania in 1095 is extant in its original form, containing 345 names including fifty-three

widows. A grant of peasants made to Guiscard's son, Duke Roger, was confirmed by his uncle to the cathedral of Palermo in the same year. Another element of Roger's documented activity was granting the monks of Saint Philip at Fragala judicial rights over their peasants, a technique of local government that would be taken up and repeated by Roger II. Roger I's activities were not confined to the island of Sicily: his foundation of the monastery of the Holy Trinity at Mileto in Calabria in 1080-1081, including endowing the house with property and churches in Calabria and Sicily, is recorded in a surviving copy of the original charter. Some judicial rights also appear to have been granted to the abbot in 1093, and Roger confirmed further privileges in a surviving but undated charter. Indeed, Mileto remained his chief residence throughout his life. In 1093, he also clarified a grant and presided over a court case in the Calabrian town of Stilo, and he is recorded as the patron of Greek monks there in 1094 and 1097.

Roger had a mostly cordial relationship with Pope Urban II, and the two cooperated, though sometimes uneasily, regarding the reorganization of the church in Sicily, with the see of Troina transferred to Messina, and Syracuse and Catania given bishops. In an unusual concession, Roger was given responsibility for many of the duties that a papal legate would have undertaken on the island, after he had objected to Urban's appointment of the bishop of Messina to that dignity.

Roger married three times. His first wife, in 1061, was Judith (d. 1080), daughter of William d'Evreux, who is said to have commanded the defense of Troina. His second wife was Eremburga, daughter of William de Mortain. His third wife was Adelasia (d. 1118), daughter of the marquis Manfred of Savona; his and Adelasia's sons were Simon (d. 1105) and Roger II. In addition, Roger I had two illegitimate sons: Jordan, who predeceased his father in 1089; and Geoffrey, who suffered from leprosy. Roger died in 1101, and after a period of minority during which Adelasia governed, Simon and Roger II succeeded him as counts of Sicily.

See also Normans; Robert Guiscard; Roger II

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Roger II

Roger II (1095-1154) created the twelfth-century kingdom of southern Italy and Sicily, known as the Regno. He was the son of Count Roger I of Sicily and his third wife, Adelaide (Adelasia) of Savona, later queen of Jerusalem. Roger I died in 1101, and Roger II succeeded his elder brother, Simon, in 1105. Once he reached his majority, Roger II pursued a clear objective—to accumulate mainland territories in southern Italy. He conquered Calabria in 1122; he succeeded his childless cousin William to the duchy of Apulia in 1127 and was formally recognized as duke of Apulia on 23 August 1128; he acquired the principality of Capua in 1129. Finally, in Palermo, on Christmas day 1130, Roger was crowned king of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia. The title was conferred, however, by the antipope Anacletus II, following a papal schism. On 25 July 1139, Pope Innocent II made Roger's title official, crowning him king of Sicily, duke of Apulia, and prince of Capua.

According to one chronicler, the celebrations and ceremony for Roger's coronation in Palermo in 1130 were so spectacular that "it was as if the whole city were being crowned." Many scholars have considered Roger's reign equally extraordinary. He ruled over all of Italy south of the Garigliano River, down through Sicily. Although he did not inherit a unified kingdom, accustomed to monarchical rule, he created something resembling one. Roger's rule is impossible to describe easily, for it did not conform to contemporary models of medieval kingship. He bound together the disparate ethnic groups who populated the region. Their coexistence was a practical necessity. He constructed a central government in Palermo that borrowed from the economic, administrative, and legal traditions of his Arab, Norman, Greek, and Italian-Lombard subjects. Roger was the leading feudal lord among feudal lords. He laid the groundwork for *Catalogus baronum*, the list of financial and military obligations owed to the crown by many of his barons. Arab-inspired offices were created to manage finances. A French-inspired chancery, overseen by a chamberlain, issued official court documents in Greek, Arabic, and Latin. A permanent Greek-style bureaucracy or civil service, based in Palermo, helped to manage the vast kingdom. Finally, the king himself, no doubt drawing inspiration from the Byzantium of Justinian, presented himself as a divinely appointed ruler. (Like Justinian, Roger may also have been a lawgiver. A law code, erroneously called the *Assises of Ariano*, has been attributed to him, but more recent scholarship disputes this.)

However one chooses to characterize the kingship of Roger II, he was undeniably successful. Periodic opposition to his rule—in particular, vassal rebellions led by his brother-in-law Rainulf— never lasted long. His foreign policy revealed ambitions, perhaps to expand his kingdom but more likely to safeguard it against external attack. He added much of North Africa to his kingdom while holding off threats from the Greeks, the northern Italians, and the German empire. He maintained a considerable war chest to support his army and navy. Roger's accomplishments did not go unnoticed: a contemporary observed that Roger "did more asleep than others did awake."

Roger II's personality and lineage should not be ignored in assessing his reign. He was described as the fairly stereotypical "Viking" warrior: tall, loud, regal, ruthless, and skilled from childhood on. Roger's

upbringing was anything but standard: he was probably raised in the royal court at Mileto in Calabria, where he was schooled in Greek and Arabic. When he was king, his court at Palermo was famous for its eclectic group of western and eastern intellectuals. This tradition continued in Sicily long after Roger's death.

When Roger died, at age fifty-eight, he was survived by his third wife, Beatrice of Rethel, and their new daughter, Constance. Constance would eventually marry the son of Frederick I Barbarossa, Henry VI, thereby uniting the Norman and Hohenstaufen lines. In 1151, before his death, Roger had ensured the succession by naming and crowning as his heir his fourth son (his oldest surviving son), William I. William's mother was Roger's first wife, Elvira, daughter of Alfonso VI of Castille. A modern historian summed up Roger's reign by noting, "From his father he had inherited a county; to his son he bequeathed a kingdom." This kingdom would endure, largely intact, under the guidance of his son and grandson, William I and William II. They inherited the tradition of a strong, centralized monarchical rule established by their illustrious forebear.

Older scholarship proclaimed that Roger II had created the "first modern state." More recent work has suggested that the kingdom was not so unified as had previously been thought, and that Roger's apparent acceptance of the different cultures over which he ruled was motivated more by political expediency than by laudable tolerance. Roger's reign was an "absolute" monarchy that recognized the weaknesses of this unique kingdom and harnessed its strengths: a large geographic territory, surrounded by ambitious and watchful neighbors, and populated by people of vastly different religious, cultural, and administrative backgrounds. Roger II encouraged tolerance in this multiethnic state when it was politically necessary; overall, he expected strict obedience to his rule.

Roger's last wish, to be buried in the cathedral of Cefalù, which he had founded in 1131 outside Palermo, was not granted; he rests in the cathedral at Palermo. Nevertheless, the fusion of eastern and western architectural and artistic elements at Cefalù reflects the character of Roger's reign: innovative and intimidating political authority set against a glittering backdrop of cultural assimilation and coexistence.

See also Cefalù; Normans; Roger I; William I; William II

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Roger Borsa

Roger Borsa (r. 1085-1111) succeeded his father, Robert Guiscard (r. 1047-1085), as duke of Apulia when Robert, who was about to embark on his conquest of the Byzantine empire, died on 17 July 1085. Roger's mother, Sykelgaita (Sichelgaita), did everything she could to sustain Roger, having always favored him over his half brother Bohemond (d. 1111). However, no sooner had Robert died than the nobles of Apulia and Calabria, always restive under Guiscard, initiated a period of

complete anarchy. Nor was Roger's succession unchallenged by Bohemond. As a result, Roger was very weak, though he was still able, with the assistance of the prince of Capua in 1086, to restore Rome to Pope Victor III (r. 1086-1087). A few years later, Pope Urban II (r. 1088-1099) would lend a hand to Roger Borsa in restoring some order in Apulia. Roger Borsa was also able to count on his uncle, Roger (Guiscard's brother), count of Sicily (d. 1101), to assist him—for a price—in controlling the conflicts in southern Italy. Through clever negotiation, the count of Sicily was able to extort from Roger Borsa many of the strongholds they held in common, a legacy of Robert Guiscard's earlier agreements with his brother. The only other triumph of Roger Borsa was his success in restoring Richard, son of Jordan of Capua (d. 1090), to his paternal inheritance. Roger Borsa died on 22 February 1111; he is buried in the cathedral of Salerno.

See also **Bohemond of Taranto; Normans; Robert Guiscard; Roger I; Roger II**

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Rolandino De' Passaggeri

Rolandino de' Passaggeri (c. 1217-c. 1300) was the son of an inn-keeper and tax collector (*passaggero*). Rolandino matriculated in Bologna's guild of notaries in 1234. As communal notary (by 1238), he recorded council meetings and later composed official correspondence. Between 1245 and 1262, he was notaiy for the bankers' guild and guided the

reform of its statutes. In 1256, he was instrumental in drafting legislation to free the serfs in Bologna's countryside. Rolandino was strongly against the magnates, and by 1278 he controlled the pro-*popolo* Company of the Cross. This 2,000-man force was directed against the noble Lambertazzi faction that had attempted a coup in Bologna in 1274. In December 1279, the Company of the Cross thwarted a second coup, and Rolandino was elected communal rector for the first time. In 1284, he played a major role in the revision of the Bolognese laws, many of which now purposely disadvantaged nobles.

From at least 1281 on, Rolandino taught the notarial arts, and he is best-known for his magisterial *Summa totius artis notariae* (*Summa of the Entire Notarial Art*, 1255-1256). This compendium of customs, laws, terms, cases, and illustrations for notarial training and practice was neither the earliest nor the last of its genre but is the best. (As late as 1627, it was translated for use in Piedmont.) Rolandino was also the author of an important work on wills and inheritance, *Flos ultimum voluntatum*. Rolandino made his own will in 1297 and had died by 1301.

See also **Bologna**; **Notaries**

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Rolandino of Padua

Rolandino, the great historian of thirteenth-century Padua, was born in

that city early in that century. He was the son of a notary and took up that profession himself, after studying *dictamen* under Boncompagno da Signa in Bologna. Late in life, Rolandino became a professor of grammar and rhetoric at the University of Padua. Like his father before him, he had the habit of recording the significant events of each year. His fellow Paduans thus considered him the natural choice to write the history of the turbulent events involving their city and Ezzelino da Romano, the *signore* of Verona.

Not only did Rolandino profit from being an eyewitness of the principal events he would narrate; he also had the benefit of a model, the *Siege of Ancona* by his master Boncompagno. Rolandino's *Chronicles of the Trevisan March* are broader in scope than his predecessor's work, with regard to both time and geography. The real hero of his story is the entire Paduan people. His intention was to blame no Paduan but to praise the steadfastness of all the citizens. The commune accepted his work and endorsed its condemnation of tyranny and its heroic depiction of Padua. Albertino Mussato would base his own *Ecerinis*, written in the second decade of the fourteenth century, on these *Chronicles* of Rolandino.

See also Albertino Mussato; Chronicles; Ezzelino III da Romano; Padua

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Rome

History and Development

The city of Rome was once the capital of an empire. At the end of antiquity, it underwent a revolution in its urban and conceptual identity more complete than that of almost any other European city. After the emperor Constantine the Great (d. 337) had granted toleration to Christians in 313 at Milan, and after the emperor Theodosius (d. 395) had raised Christianity to its position as the state religion of the Roman empire in 380, Christianity finally prevailed in Rome at the end of the fourth century and was even accepted by the powerful senatorial families. A significant factor in this was the defeat of the Symmachus, prefect of the city, when he opposed Ambrose (d. 397), archbishop of Milan, in a dispute over the return of the altar of the goddess Victory to the *curia senatus* (senate house). Christian apologists and theologians such as Eusebius (d. 339), Augustine (d. 430), and Jerome (d. 420) reevaluated the history of the Roman empire as a necessary stage in the history of the church and thereby laid the basis for the myth of Rome. That myth continued to have an effect through the entire Roman Middle Ages and soon developed a life of its own, quite in contrast to the city's actual condition. Specifically, the departure of the emperor to the new capital at Constantinople deprived Rome of its central political importance for the Roman empire as a whole and led to a decline in

trade as well as to problems with the grain supply and the ability of the city to defend herself. Rome was captured and plundered by Alaric and the western Goths in 410 (the damage to the aqueducts being especially serious) and by Gaiseric and the Vandals in 455; this made a great impression on contemporaries, Jerome and Augustine among them, and dealt a severe blow to the ideal concept of Rome in late antiquity.

In 489-493, Theodoric (d. 526), king of the Ostrogoths, conquered Italy, but he lived at Ravenna and made it his capital. Indeed, the king, fearing the senatorial party, which was friendly to Byzantium, remained distrustful of Rome. After the Gothic Wars (536-552), Rome again fell under the rule of the eastern Roman emperor. A few years after the Lombards began their invasions of Italy in 568, only the exarchate of Ravenna and Rome itself were left to the Byzantines, a situation that isolated Rome even more. By the end of the sixth century, the Roman senate no longer met. The popes, who had spiritual authority, gradually stepped into the resulting vacuum of power; for humanitarian motives, they first saw to the grain supply and the repair of the dilapidated aqueducts, but they soon took over wider administrative responsibilities. Among these popes, Gregory I (the Great, r. 590-604) was especially distinguished; he was a descendant of the Roman nobility and was the *praefectus urbis* (prefect or chief administrator of the city) at the time of his election to the papacy by the people and clergy of Rome.

The brilliance of the ancient metropolis, which had a million inhabitants in the third century, yielded with the passage of time to general desolation and a progressive loss of population. Floods damaged the city, and there were outbreaks of pestilence (such as those of 1348, after which the Romans erected the monumental steps of the Franciscan church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli). As a result, during the High and late Middle Ages, the city numbered only 30,000 inhabitants and presented a landscape of ruins. In the High Middle Ages, the Roman forum lost its purpose as a political and commercial center. The Quirinal, Es-quiline, Caelian, and Aventine hills were abandoned, and thereafter the residential areas were concentrated within the large bends of the Tiber and thus extended mainly from the Capitol to Castel Sant'Angelo (Castle of the Holy Angel), formerly the mausoleum of Hadrian. In this process, the districts of Trastevere and Borgo became

more densely populated. This area is referred to as the *abitato* ("inhabited ground"). The remainder of the city within the Aurelian walls was, for the most part, not built on and consisted of fields and meadows; in this *disabitato* ("uninhabited ground") only the great basilicas such as San Giovanni in Laterano and Santa Maria Maggiore stood out. The sites of the temples had long been taken over by churches and cloisters, founded primarily by the popes after the new Constantinian epoch. Among these were some ancient buildings rededicated as churches. Thus the Pantheon was transformed in 609 by Pope Boniface IV (r. 608-615) into the church of Santa Maria ad Martyres (later renamed Santa Maria Rotonda).

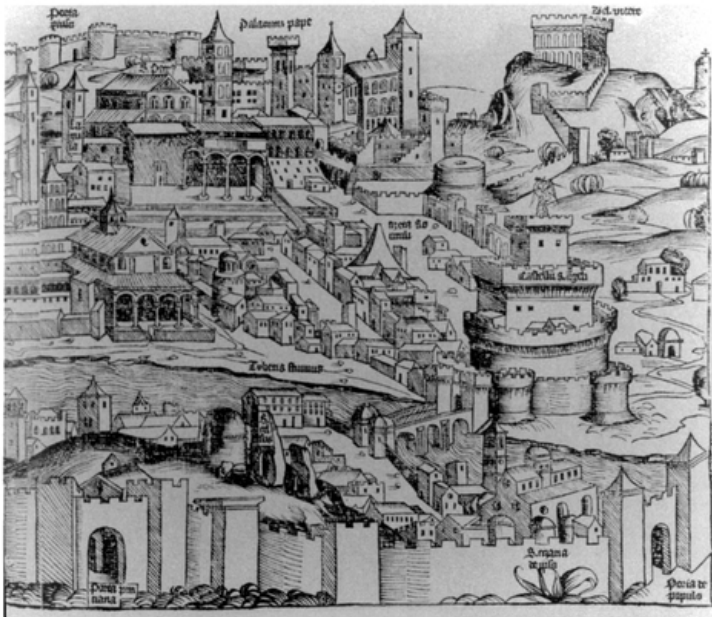
The new role of Rome as the seat of the papacy, and thus as the center of Christianity, gave the city a new identity. The ecclesiastical organization of Rome goes back in principle to the first centuries of Christianity. In the Middle Ages, the location of many churches in open land was associated with the decline in population, which separated them from the *abitato*. The so-called *tituli*, chapels in private houses that retained the names of their owners, formed the basis of the ecclesiastical structure of the city until the eleventh century. The deaconries (*diaconiae*) came into being for the support of poor pilgrims and can be traced back to the time of Gregory I. Archaeological discoveries indicate a continuity of use from the granaries of late antiquity. Prominent among the churches of Rome were the "patriarchal churches," especially venerated and sought out by pilgrims. These included the churches that contained the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul; San Giovanni in Laterano, properly the church of the bishop of Rome, with the seat of the papacy in the Lateran Palace attached to it; Santa Maria Maggiore (Saint Mary Major); Santa Croce in Gerusalemme; and churches (besides the church of Saint Paul) located outside the city walls: San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano. Especially around the churches of Saint Peter, Saint John, and Saint Mary Major lay a ring of cloisters and hospices (*scholae* and *xenodochia*—schools and inns) that were intended, among other purposes, for pilgrims of a particular origin (Greeks, Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Frisians, etc.). The term "basilical monastery" (Ferrari 1957) refers to a monastery that was responsible for the choirs in the more important basilicas of Rome. From the seventh through the ninth centuries, the basilicas of Saint

Peter, Saint John, and Saint Mary Major each acquired four such monasteries. By the eleventh century, these monastic communities were transformed into communities of canons (chapters). From the early twelfth century, the chapter at Saint John Lateran consisted of regular canons who followed the rule of Saint Augustine. Not until the reform of the chapters by Pope Boniface VIII (d. 1303) in 1299 was the chapter at the Lateran opened to secular canons. The ambitions of the clergy from the Roman elite were concentrated on the chapters of these three churches for at least two reasons: first, unlike other episcopal cities, Rome had no cathedral chapter; and second, the Romans played an ever smaller role in the workings of the Roman curia. A symbolic connection between Saint Peter's and the Lateran was established after every papal coronation by the procession of the newly crowned pope from Saint Peter's to Saint John Lateran, where he took personal possession of his bishopric.

All Roman priests belonged at first to the *presbyterium* of the bishop of Rome, the pope. Among them, however, those priests and deacons who took over duties in the principal basilicas gained special importance, and c. 500 they were for the first time called *cardinales*. Later, a distinction would be made between *diaconi cardinales* and *presbyteri cardinales*. In the eighth century, the bishops of the so-called suburban bishoprics around Rome—Albano, Ostia, Palestrina, Sabina, Tusculum—were included as *episcopi cardinales* with the Roman urban clergy. The Roman cardinals, however, were transformed in the eleventh century from a primarily local and city institution into an institution of the church as a whole, in that now foreigners could become cardinals. In the time of Pope Gregory VII (d. 1085), there was a considerable controversy over the rights of this *collegium* in the election of the popes; the controversy persisted until the legal formation of the college of cardinals c. 1100. During the eleventh century, and probably in reaction to the formation of the college of cardinals, the secular clergy of Rome had organized themselves into the *Romana fraternitas*, which had originally, in 984, been the Fraternity of Prayer. Its responsibilities, set down by papal privilege, were centered mainly on church jurisdiction and the control of divine services and processions. Around 1330, Rome had 414 churches and monasteries with 785 secular clergy and 1,018 monks, religious, nuns, and *hospitalarii*.

Because the number of clergy was so large, discipline was by no means perfect. As late as c. 1300, there was still significant church construction and significant production of sacred art and painting, but many churches were in decay at the end of the Middle Ages.

Religious life in Rome, however, was far-ranging. The offerings of the Romans especially benefited the large hospitals— Santo Spirito in Sassia in the Borgo and Sant'Angelo or San Giovanni in Laterano. San Giovanni was under the direction of an influential Roman fraternity, the Fraternity for the Holy Redeemer (*Societas raccomandatorum imaginis Salvatoris nostri ad Sancta Sanctorum*), which was founded probably c. 1300 to honor the image of the redeemer in the church of Saint Lawrence (Sancta Sanctorum) near the Lateran.



Rome. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber cbronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 58r.

The civic architecture of the Middle Ages has left few traces. For centuries it had been the custom to draw on the abundant remains of building materials from antiquity (the spoils). Limekilns were used to transform ancient marble into lime. Some ancient monuments such as

Trajan's Column and the statue of Marcus Aurelius at the Lateran (now on the Capitoline), which had been mistaken for an image of the emperor Constantine, received special protection and escaped destruction. Around the mid-eleventh century, the nobility transformed numerous buildings into fortresses—for example, the Colosseum, the theaters of Marcellus and Pompey, and the tomb of Augustus—and erected the family towers typical of medieval cities (in 1257 alone, supposedly 140 of these towers were destroyed). The arena of the stadium of Domitian became a marketplace, while the stands were used for the foundations of adjacent houses. Although as a rule builders made do with what material was available, the extension of the *borgo* around Saint Peter's into a new walled suburb—the *civitas Leoniana* or "Leonine City," named after Pope Leo IV (r. 847-855)—was a rare example of new urban construction in medieval Rome. This project had become necessary because of the Saracen attack on Rome in 846 and, significantly, was under the direction of the popes. The mausoleum of Hadrian was rebuilt as the Castel Sant'Angelo, which protected the most important crossing of the Tiber, the equally ancient Bridge of Angels; other important bridges were those to the Tiber island and the Ponte Emilio (today Ponte Rotto, the "broken bridge"). Via Papalis, also used as a street for processions between Saint Peter's and the Lateran church, was one of the main traffic arteries of medieval Rome. Other important arteries included Via Recta (now Via dei Coronari) and Via Lata (now Via del Corso), leading to the Porta del Popolo, both of which follow the ancient street plan. According to relatively recent studies, wealthy monasteries like San Silvestro in Capite and San Ciriaco played a significant role in the determination of land for development on the perimeter of the *abitato*, in that they donated monastery property for the construction of residential building in return for an annual income. From the ninth through the twelfth centuries, the city was divided into twelve quarters (*rioni*), of which only seven corresponded to the fourteen *regiones* of the Augustan period. Around 1300, the populous Trastevere area on the far bank of the Tiber also gained the status of a *rione*, the thirteenth; however, the Borgo did not become an independent quarter until the sixteenth century.

Rome's attraction as an ideal and as a religious power was not diminished. Roman history in the Middle Ages is replete with

renovationes that always sought a link—however tenuous— to the grandeur of antiquity. The Romans themselves cultivated the memory of their city's former significance, even though its constitution had long since lost any tie to the ancient context. Thus the leaders of the city administration liked to give themselves archaizing titles such as *proconsules Romanorum* and *senatores*. The emperor, the pope, and the Romans seeking their own role (from the thirteenth century on one can refer to them as a city commune) formed a trichotomy that—with occasional interruptions and in differing degrees—determined the city's destiny.

The emperor was certainly the first major power to suffer a loss of significance. However, he did not cease to base his legitimacy on a connection to the ancient Roman empire. In the eighth century, the eastern Roman empire lost most of its control over Rome as the Roman aristocracy undertook the defense of the city on its own. When the Lombards repeatedly attempted to storm Rome, Pope Zacharias (r. 741-752) asked King Pepin III for help and once and for all turned his back on powerless Byzantium. The battles between the Franks and the Lombards continued until 774, when Charlemagne came to Rome for the first time and, supported by his use of the Byzantine rank of *patricius*, established a Frankish protectorate. On Christmas day 800, he received the emperor's crown from the hands of Pope Leo III. In 824, Emperor Lothar I, in the constitution *Romana Lotharii*, established the administration of justice in Rome under both imperial and papal control. Obedience to the pope was required of the Romans, and the election of the pope was reserved to them; but the pope-elect had to swear an oath of allegiance to the emperor before being consecrated. There remained continual turmoil in Rome, but with the popes at its center the city exercised considerable magnetic force as the ideological center of the restored western *imperium Romanum*. Not even the Saxon successors to the Frankish kings could evade this force. Thus, with the coronation of Otto I in 962, there began the series of expeditions to Rome by the German kings, who came there to receive the imperial crown and, as a consequence, allowed the Roman empire to live on (*renovatio imperii Romanorum*). The influence of the Germans in Rome, however, remained on the whole marginal and usually disappeared immediately when they withdrew. The city prefect (*praefectus urbis*)

functioned in the name of the emperor and of the pope as the highest judicial authority, particularly in criminal jurisdiction, for only he could deliver a sentence of death. The city prefect could also appoint notaries and was the protector of public order. From the thirteenth century on, this office was held hereditarily by the Di Vico family, located in the north of Rome. The judicial system was otherwise in the hands of the two panels of judges: the *iudices palatini* and the *iudices dativi*.

Turmoil in the Carolingian empire weakened Rome's ability to defend itself, and the city was plundered by the Saracens in 846. Later, however, the Roman *magister militum et vestiarius, dux et senator* Theophylact (died c. 924)—with the help of Pope John X (r. 914–928) and supported by a coalition of the cities of Campania, the dukes of Spoleto, and the Byzantines in southern Italy—would defeat the Saracens at Garigliano in 915. Theophylact's much-maligned daughter Marozia led his regiment until 932; she was followed by Alberic (d. 954), her son through a marriage with the margrave Alberic of Spoleto. Alberic ruled with the programmatic title *princeps ac senator omnium Roma-norum*. When his son Octavianus became Pope John XII (r. 955–963, d. 964), secular power and ecclesiastical power in Rome were said to be united. John XII invited Otto I to Rome to be crowned, but John was himself deposed because of his intrigues against the emperor. In 963, Otto I granted the Romans a privilege that essentially reiterated the *constitutio Lotharii* of 824. The Ottonians sought to free the papacy from the grip of the Roman aristocrats, who were now headed by the so-called Crescentii. Crescentius I *de Theodora* was probably a grandson of Theophylact on his mother's side. In 974, he brought about the fall of Pope Benedict VI. Benedict had been elected in the preceding year, but through the machinations of his rival, the antipope Boniface VII (d. 985), he was strangled in July in Castel Sant'Angelo, the fortress of the Crescentii. In the end, Crescentius I had to submit to Otto II (r. 973–983). Crescentius II Nomentanus (also known in the historical sources as Johannes Crescentii) created and banished popes at will. Otto III, putting an end to this practice, had his own maternal cousin elevated to the papacy as Gregory V (r. 996–999), beginning a series of foreign popes. Crescentius II was finally held captive in the Castel Sant'Angelo and was cruelly executed in 998. This act of violence exposed the extent of the ambitious renovation plans of the young Otto

III, although he would die in 1002, too soon to realize them; Otto III had wanted to erect his own permanent residence in Rome.



Church of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura, Rome. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Soon after the death of Otto III, Rome became involved in the strife between the Crescentii and the Tusculans—the lords of Tusculum, a small city in the Alban hills near Rome. Both sides turned to the German king Henry II (r. 1002-1024), who decided in favor of the Tusculans and had himself crowned by Pope Benedict VIII (a member of the Tusculan house). The series of Tusculans under the protection of the German kings from the Salian family came to an end in 1054 with Pope Benedict IX, who had to defend himself against one of the antipopes supported by the Crescentii (Sylvester III). Ironically, only Benedict's resignation, purchased with money, made it possible for a reformer, Johannes Gratianus to become pope (as Gregory VI, r. 1045-1046). The next year, at Sutri, King Henry III (r. 1039-1056) had Gregory VI, Sylvester, and Benedict IX deposed by a synod. The new pope—a German, Clemens II (r. 1046-1047)—crowned Henry on Christmas day of the same year. The next three popes also came from Germany. Their rule, though open to reforms, did not always turn out happily, especially when the arrival of the Normans in southern Italy introduced a new source of unrest. Most of the Roman nobility was

hostile to the reformers, whose most prominent figure was Archdeacon Hildebrand (later Pope Gregory VII, r. 1073-1085); the reformers' demands for freedom in papal elections and their opposition to simony and to the marriage of priests threatened the interests of the nobles. But the reformers received support from the head of the Pierleoni family, Leo, whose father, Benedict, was a Jew, though probably a convert to Christianity. (Throughout the Middle Ages, the Jewish community in Rome had its center in Trastevere.) At the Lateran Council of 1059, Pope Nicholas II (r. 1058-1061) won approval of the *statutum de electione pontificis*, which established that the cardinal bishops (who now came from all over Europe and were favorable to the reforms) would designate the new pope, who then would be approved by the two other orders (priests and deacons). The clergy and people of Rome retained only the legally irrevocable right of acclamation. Because the decree of 1059 concerning papal elections also threatened the prerogatives of the emperor, a party in Rome favorable to the emperor was supported by the empress Agnes, who was regent for her son Henry IV, a minor.



Colosseum, Rome. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

When Nicholas II died in 1061, the regent designated Cada-lus, bishop of Parma, as the new pope (the antipope Honorius II), while the reformers elected Anselm, the bishop of Lucca, as Alexander II (d. 1073). Open strife broke out during Christmastime 1075, when the aristocrat Cencio fell on Pope Gregory VII as the pope celebrated mass in Santa Maria Maggiore and hauled him off to one of the Cencio towers. The people, however, freed Gregory immediately. On other occasions, the lower and middle classes were to give proof of their loyalty to the reform movement, but they were united in their

opposition to the city nobility and were inclined to favor the emperor. In 1076-1077, the investiture controversy, a dispute between the popes and the German king Henry IV, reached its first crisis. The mutual excommunication of pope and emperor also must have created a division among the Romans. After a failed siege in 1081, Henry IV was able to take the Leonine City (Borgo) and establish his antipope Clement III (Wibertus of Ravenna) in Saint Peter's, while Gregory was imprisoned in Castel Sant'-Angelo. In 1084, Henry had himself crowned in the Lateran church. Finally, Gregory VII called on the Normans for help; the Normans did conquer the Germans but also wreaked devastation on Rome, recalling the catastrophes of 410 and 455. The areas near the Porta del Popolo and between the Lateran and the Colosseum were especially affected. The people, embittered, turned away from Gregory VII, who was forced to follow the Normans to Salerno, where he died.

Around 1100, the Frangipani (originally of modest circumstances) and the Pierleoni became the most powerful families of Rome, because of their early association with the reform popes. Although together they supported Pope Urban II (r. 1088-1099), rivalry between them soon broke out. Pope Paschal II (r. 1099-1118) was especially close to the Pierleoni. The imperial party was able to count on the abbot Berardo of Farfa and Tolomeo of Tusculum. When Emperor Henry V (r. 1106-1125) stood before the gates of Rome, the Pierleoni headed the deliberations. Paschal, who had been taken prisoner by imperial forces not long before, had the support of the people and was finally able to end the controversy over investiture. But there was no end to unrest in Rome. In 1117, the Frangipani went over to the side of the emperor and to Ptolemy of Tusculum; they prosecuted Gelasius II (d. 1119), who had been elected pope in 1118; and they disturbed the election of Pope Honorius II (d. 1130) in 1124. In 1130, there was again a double papal election; this time, however, the emperor was not a participant, and both contenders were from Roman families. On 14 February, both Gregorio Papareschi (Innocent II, d. 1143) and Pietro Pierleoni (antipope Anacletus II, d. 1138) were elected. Innocent had the support of the Frangipani and the French cardinals, but the majority of the Romans favored Anacletus. Innocent II owed his ultimate victory in no small part to the decisive partisanship of Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153).



Pons Rotto and Isola Tiberina, Rome. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Amid the turmoil of the first half of the twelfth century, Rome developed the kind of communal self-consciousness that in other cities in central and northern Italy had already led to the establishment of independent communes. In 1143, the Romans stormed the capitol, installed senators there for the first time (*renovatio senatus*), and named the brother of Anacletus II, Giordano Pierleoni, *patricius*. They thus shook off the temporal rule exercised by their bishop. But because he had meanwhile become the head of a worldwide church, he could not remain outside the conflict, especially since Rome, like the other Italian communes, was seeking to have its own *contado* (*districtus*) in Latium. The leaders of the communal movement came mostly from the middle levels of society; they were small landowners, farm owners, merchants, judges, notaries, and artisans. But Rome, unlike other Italian cities, had little economic strength: it was not a large center of trade, and its economic structure was still primarily agrarian.

In 1144, another uprising took place, directed against Giordano Pierleoni, who had been forced out of office, and against the nobility. The young commune found its center on the Capitol, where the palace of the senators was built in 1150. Because the commune had powerful opponents in the pope and his ally, King Roger II of Sicily, as well as in

the Roman nobility, it attempted to draw the German kings—Conrad III and Frederick I Barbarossa—to its side. In letters sent to the commune between 1144 and 1155, these kings developed a political ideology based on the model of antiquity. The commune conceived of itself again as *senatus populusque Romanus* (S.P.Q.R.). After the instability in Rome had endangered the conclave, the commune and the new pope Eugenius III (r. 1145-1153) finally reached a compromise: The commune recognized the pope as supreme sovereign, and the pope in return affirmed the Roman magistrates and was prepared to provide subsidies. In the *renovatio sacri senatus*, the Romans saw hope for a reform of the empire (*restauratio imperii Romani*); they offered Conrad a coronation and invited him to live in Rome as his capital. The chronicler Otto of Freising (d. 1158) assigned responsibility for the antipapal and anticlerical elements in the Roman revolution to Arnold of Brescia (d. 1154), although Arnold did not come to the city until 1145 or 1146. Arnold, who lived as an ascetic, was first and foremost a religious reformer. "But in Rome, protest against the laxity of priesthood and hierarchy inevitably entailed antipapalism" (Benson and Constable 1982). Arnold quickly assumed the archaizing vocabulary of the Romans. In 1152, a disciple of Arnold, Wezel (probably a German), rejected for the first time the Donation of Constantine. In contrast to the Hohenstaufen kings, the Romans took the position of late antiquity that the essential factor in the elevation to emperor was the act of election or acclamation—not the coronation, with its religious embellishments, by the pope. There was no agreement with Frederick Barbarossa on this point, and so his coronation in Rome in 1155 took place amid an uproar, during which the Romans finally forced the withdrawal of the German troops.

In 1188, the commune made an additional agreement with Pope Clement III (r. 1187-1191), a native Roman, extending its authority over coinage. In 1191, the pope and Emperor Henry VI allowed the Romans to destroy their rival, Tusculum. Also in 1191, Benedictus Carus homo took over leadership of the city as sole senator. In the future, there would be only one or two senators. Under Benedictus the commune began to dispatch its own *iustitiiarii* as magistrates to its territory in Latium. Benedictus was driven from office in 1193; there followed a series of short-lived transitional governments.

Under the power-conscious Innocent III (r. 1198—1216) and the popes who succeeded him, conflicts with the Roman commune became more frequent. Some of these, mainly regarding control over the election of the senators, were resolved with force. In addition, the Romans laid claim to territory stretching from grain-rich Tarquinia in the north to Terracina in the south. Their expansionism aroused opposition not only from the popes but from other communes in Latium. In 1199, the inhabitants of Viterbo, 56 miles (90 kilometers) north of Rome, attacked the small castle of Vitorchiano, setting off the first armed conflict between Viterbo and Rome; in 1201, this was settled to Rome's advantage. In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, there would be further wars with Viterbo and other cities of Latium (Tivoli, Tarquinia, Velletri). These conflicts indicate that communal Rome had a strong sense of identity; they were also economically necessary, for they concerned control over the access roads and the grain-growing lands north of Rome.



Church of San Paolo Fuori le Mura, Rome. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The situation in Rome in the years after 1201 was characterized by internal friction between pro- and antipapal factions among the nobility. To understand these conflicts, it is necessary to consider the social changes occurring in Rome at that time. The popes saw that strengthening their own families was a way to check the Roman commune and the enticements that the emperor was making to the Roman nobility. The popes increased the power of their families by making over to them ecclesiastical fiefs in Latium as well as offices in the church. In an electoral monarchy like the papacy, this method of ruling, though in itself lawful, nonetheless raised the problem of how

the relatives of a given pope, after his death, should act toward the nephews of his successor, who were now themselves seeking pride of place in the curia and in Rome. Conflicts here were often unavoidable, and in the coming centuries they affected many a pontifical change. Innocent III and his family finally emerged victorious, and in the following years Innocent named only senators devoted to him. With Honorius III (d. 1227), an exponent of the Roman Capocci family (and not of the Savelli, as has been generally supposed), became pope. In 1222, Matteo Rosso Orsini became senator of Rome for the first time.

Under Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227-1241), who was a distant relative of Innocent III, the Roman commune was once again drawn into the conflicts between pope and emperor, as it had been earlier, in the mid-twelfth century. Frederick II Hohenstaufen had been crowned in Rome in 1220, and the papacy had initially been inclined toward him but had then become alienated. In September 1227, Frederick II was excommunicated and went in search of allies. He first appealed to the traditionally pro-imperial Roman noble families, and in the case of the Frangipani he was successful. He also found adherents among families that had recently risen socially, such as the Conti and the Colonna. In 1234, a virulent conflict between pope and commune broke out, as the senator Luca Savelli demanded free senatorial elections and the right of coinage, calling into question the agreement of 1188 between the Roman senate and Clement III. The pope responded with an excommunication and even mobilized the emperor against Rome; imperial troops attacked northern Latium in support of the pope. In 1235, after the military defeat of the Romans, a new senator (Angelo Malabranca) and the people's assembly submitted completely to papal sovereignty as regards the city. The Romans also had to give up their expansionist policy in Latium and grant to the clergy judicial immunity and freedom from taxation.

From 1236 on, as a result of a dispute with the league of Lombard cities, Frederick II drew the city of Rome into his concept of empire; in repeated declarations, he celebrated Rome as the ideal center of the *imperium Romanum*. In 1236, a revolt by the Frangipani, who were loyal to the emperor, had led to the destruction of their fortress in Rome; afterward, however, the emperor was still able to count on several partisans among the Romans. When, on 27 November 1237, he

won a victory over the Milanese and the Lombards at Cortenuova, he sent the Milanese *carroccio* bearing Milan's standard, the symbol of the free commune, to Rome; there, in 1238, it was ceremoniously installed in the capitol. The leadership of the commune was divided in 1238, and from then on it consisted of one imperial and one papal senator, serving in office simultaneously. When Cardinal Giovanni Colonna—with his nephew Oddone, who was serving as senator with a member of the Annibaldi family— openly took the emperor's side, the situation again became dangerous for the pope. With Matteo Rosso, Pope Gregory won the support of the Orsini, and this led to the first great conflict between the Orsini and Colonna families. Their rivalry would long remain a factor in the political history of the city of Rome; but Gregory's death in August ended the struggle for a time. Matteo Rosso Orsini, ruling as sole senator, compelled the cardinals to hold the first conclave in the history of the church.

The pact through which Orsini, on 12 March 1242, concluded an alliance between Rome and the communes of Perugia and Narni permits insight into the social and constitutional structure of Rome. The pact was confirmed by the oaths of eighty-five *consilarii* of the Roman commune, who are mentioned by name. This document is all the more important because the archive of the commune was destroyed (probably in 1527) and after 1204 there are few sources for the constitutional organs operative for the next 150 years in the Roman commune. Little is known, therefore, about how the city council was elected. Family lines are known for about three-quarters of the eighty-five councilors in 1242. Although three classes in the population are distinguished, it must be kept in mind that the social classes in Rome were always in flux. The upper class of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries did not, of course, consist of exactly the same families, even though there were families that did maintain their status for an astonishingly long time. In 1242, then, there were among the *consilarii* the exponents of the so-called baronial families being formed at the time: the Annibaldi, Bonaventura-Romani, Capocci, Conti, Malabranca, and Stefaneschi-Raynerii, to which must be added the Orsini, Colonna, Normanni, Savelli, de Sant'Eustachio, and, at the end of the century, the d'Anguillara, Boccamazza, and Caetani. From these circles came most of the sole senators and cosenators who, at the

beginning of the thirteenth century, had dissolved the polycephalous senate. The other aristocrats in Rome distinguished themselves by owning numerous castles in Latium and by having influential representatives in the college of cardinals. The clergy from these families received incomes from sinecures all over Europe, especially from the prebendary benefices in the rich cathedral chapters of France and England.

The majority of the *consilarii* of 1242 came from families who by c. 1250 would already belong to the Roman upper class and who could, in contrast to the baronial nobility with its property mostly in Latium, be called an urban aristocracy: among them Astalli, Boboni, Bulgamini, Cenci (Cinthii), Crescentii, Frangipani, Grassi, Gregori, Ilperini, Judei (Foschi dei Giudei), Lombardi, Magalotti, Mannetti, Mardoni, Pantaleoni, Papa(reschi), Rossi (Rubei), Sordi, and Stati. The families represented here—to which must be added some prominent names like the Pierleoni, Arcioni, and Papazurri—were of varied background. Some sprang from the nobility—for example, the Frangipani, who still owned castles in Latium but no longer belonged to the circle of the barons. Others had risen in the city administration (e.g., as jurists and judges). Still others had been established by the founding fathers of the Roman commune in 1143. Most, however, were commoners who had become rich through commerce and real estate; among these, some can be identified as bankers (*mercatores*). Rome, as the destination of pilgrims and the seat of the curia into which flowed money from all Europe, had become an important financial center. Roman bankers lent money to many prelates and even to monarchs. Not until the second half of the thirteenth century would they be dislodged by Sienese and Florentine bankers. The characteristic activity of the Roman upper class was investment in the agrarian sector and the cattle market, although funds did not begin to flow more abundantly into these until the fourteenth century. In the city militia, this class, accessible from below and socially mobile, formed the cavalry (for which reason the class is called *cavallerocti* in fourteenth-century statutes). Moreover, the families in these circles also traditionally possessed—as we have seen—the most sought-after positions in the church (i.e., the prebendary benefices in the great church chapters in Rome) and could expect, as well, sinecures abroad and high positions in the curia.

Additional names among the *consilarii* of 1242—such as Aldibrandi, Angeleri, Cesarini, Leni, Malaspina, Migliari, and Rogerii—bring us to the milieu of the middle class, the commoners proper. They were often notaries; but artisans, as smaller merchants, property owners, and agricultural merchants, were usually dominant in this class. In Rome, however, true popular organizations like those known in other Italian cities would not form until later.

After the mid-thirteenth century, there were important meetings of the council in the neighboring Franciscan church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Later (probably under Brancaleone degli Andalò), the *consilium* was divided into a *consilium generale* and a *consilium speciale*, but for all practical purposes the two bodies met together. The *consilium* increasingly replaced the people's assembly (*parlamentum*), which continued to meet in the capitol only for special occasions. In the communal administration, besides the judges (*iudices*), we should mention especially the magistracies of the *camerarii* (for the administration of finance), the *marescalci* (in charge of the police), and the *magistri aedificiorum urbis* (in charge of construction). The *magistri aedificiorum urbis* concerned themselves especially with keeping the streets free of intrusive additions to buildings, so that, at certain points in the city, the flow of pilgrims would be unobstructed. The financial independence of the Roman commune was a persistent point of contention between the Romans and the popes; nevertheless, the commune had won its own import duties and a district house and salt tax. The salt tax was very significant for the property of the Saini of Ostia. In 1339, under a pair of Orsini-Colonna senators, *gabelle* (taxes) on the Florentine model were introduced; they led to strong protests from the curia, which was anxious to guard its prerogatives.

We must now return to the political events of the mid-thirteenth century. Relations between the Romans and Frederick II remained tense. When Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254), in fear of the emperor, decided to retire to France and maintained a residence abroad for almost eight years, the Roman commune had more room for political maneuvering. The dominance of the baronial nobility in the office of senator, however, increasingly caused displeasure among the middle and urban aristocracy, which in 1252 stormed the capitol and appointed the earl of Casalechio, Brancaleone degli Andalò (originally from

Bologna), the new senator and captain of the people (*capitano del popolo*). The Roman castle-owning nobility was required to supply hostages, who were sent to Bologna to ensure the safety of Brancalone. The pope himself must have felt provoked by the arbitrariness of the people and Brancalone to establish relations with the Sicilian regent of Hohenstaufen blood, Manfred (d. 1266). Brancalone succeeded in passing legislation against magnates and introduced to Rome the council of elders and *boni homines* as well as the office of captain of the people, held by himself, in connection with the people's militia; he thus obtained, for the first time, popular organizations and commissions. Under Brancalone's regime, the Roman guilds first gained a firm organization. The guilds had emerged from the professional organizations (*scholae*) already attested to in the tenth century. In Rome, unlike the rest of Italy, the most distinguished guild was not that of the drapers and bankers but the *communitas boum* (later *ars bobacteriorum*), that is, the guild of the large cattle dealers, whose *consules* came from the leading families.

The fickle populace joined with the nobility in 1255 to put an end to the austere regime of Brancalone but, in opposition to the barons, continued to install captains of the people. In 1257, Brancalone was able to return to Rome, where he took cruel vengeance on those responsible for his fall two years earlier. In 1258, he placed Corneto (Tarquinia), which was important for the grain supply, under the sovereignty of the Roman commune. Soon thereafter, Brancalone died in Rome. He was followed by his uncle, Castellano degli Andalò, whose fall in 1258 ended the rule of the people; the double senate consisting of two nobles was reintroduced. A new element was added to the latent internal antagonisms that kept the city in a state of unrest. Whereas heretofore the lines of conflict had been drawn between the castle-owning baronial nobility and the "people" (including the urban elite not represented among the senators), a division now emerged within the baronial nobility. The precipitous course of events after the death of Frederick II in December 1250, which divided the Italian cities into Guelfs loyal to the pope and Ghibellines loyal to the emperor, did not leave the Roman barons untouched. The Conti, Malabranca, and Savelli could be considered Guelf. Among the Ghibellines from the baronial nobility were the Sant'Eustachio and the Normanni and, from the urban

aristocracy, the Arlotti, the Sordi, and sometimes the Papareschi. Other families, such as the Orsini and the Annibaldi, were divided politically. Thus the descendants of Matteo Rosso Orsini were Guelf, whereas those of his brother Napoleone were disposed to be Ghibelline.

Eventually, Charles I of Anjou conceived of Rome as the ideal base for the conquest of Sicily with which he had been entrusted by Pope Urban IV (r. 1261-1264)—who, like Charles, was French. With Charles's election as senator by the Roman Guelfs, Rome was drawn into the final battle against the last Hohenstaufen, Conradin. Charles ruled most of the time through vicars from French territories. The Ghibelline nobles were forced into exile, but that did not stop their resistance. On 23 May 1265, Charles I made his entrance into Rome; there, on 6 January 1266, he was crowned king of Sicily by five cardinals. In the battles of Benevento (26 February 1266) and Taglia cozzo (28 August 1268), in which Charles defeated Manfred and Conradin, the last Hohenstaufen pretender to the kingdom of Sicily, Roman nobles fell on both sides. Conradin's Roman partisans were led by Henry of Castille (d. 1303), who had become senator in Rome in 1267. After the defeat of Conradin, Charles again took over the office of senator until 1278. It was the Orsini pope Nicholas III (r. 1277-1280) who solemnly confirmed papal sovereignty over Rome and took the office of senator from Anjou. Although Nicholas transferred it to himself, he passed it on *de facto* to vicars from the Roman baronial nobility. This constitutional model was dominant for the next seventy-years. However, after a renewed period of officeholding by the king from 1281 to 1284 under Pope Martin IV (r. 1281-1285), from France, the control of the senatorship increasingly became a cause of discord for the great families. Among these families, who were also prominent in the college of cardinals, the Colonna and the Orsini quickly became leaders of two opposing groups of clients that can be called "parties." The Orsini were known as pro-papal Guelfs, whereas the Colonna family had the reputation of being Ghibellines, loyal to the emperor. In fact, the real issue was power, although ideological differences concerning the position of pope and emperor should not be underestimated. The Colonna came into conflict with the power-conscious pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303), who invoked a crusade against them. Of course, with the proclamation of the first Holy Year in 1300, the pope also wanted to raise his own esteem. The influx

of pilgrims brought the Romans considerable benefit, so that the jubilee was repeated in 1350 and 1390. Several building and restoration projects in Rome are connected to the Holy Year of 1300.

The "Babylonian captivity" of the papacy in Avignon was another factor in these political conflicts. The conflicts climaxed when the German kings came to Rome for their coronation as emperor. This was the case in 1312 with Henry VII of Luxembourg and in 1328 with Lewis of Bavaria (Louis, Ludwig; d. 1347). On both occasions, the emperor received support from the Colonna (who, however, were by no means politically united among themselves), whereas the Orsini and their followers sided with Angevins of Naples. Henry's journey to Rome was preceded by the regime of the Ghibelline Louis of Savoy as senator from 1310 to 1312. The power vacuum in Rome after the departure of Henry VII could not be filled even by King Robert of Naples, who had been installed by the pope as vicar in Rome and ruled through proxies. From 1320 on, the king chose these almost entirely from the Roman baronial nobility—an indication that there were limits to his own rule in Rome.

The power of the barons, however, did not remain unchallenged. For example, there was the so-called populist regime of Giovanni d'Ignano, who in 1305 was (like Brancaloneone degli Andalo) summoned from Bologna as captain of the people. Under this regime there was a new edition of the city statutes, the participants having included *statutarii* from all thirteen city quarters, elected primarily from the upper and middle bourgeois. These statutes (which are preserved only in fragmentary form) affirmed that the baronial families must submit to the communal government, but in a codicil came to the defense of the Colonna family (now returned from exile) against the Caetani.

In 1312, after the withdrawal of Henry VII, Giacomo Arlotti-Stefaneschi became captain of the people. Giacomo was hardly of a simple background; he was a member of the Roman urban aristocracy and was related by marriage to the Orsini family—a fact that suggests the weakness of the popular party. In the ensuing years, the popular party seemed in danger of being ground down between the large noble parties. The baronial nobility knew how to keep the popular party in check; for example, in 1321 Stefano Colonna and Poncello Orsini took upon themselves the official position of "plenipotentiaries and

protectors of the people" (*syndici et defensores populi*). Both were thereby assigned the highest jurisdictional control over the vicars of King Robert. From time to time they themselves fulfilled the duties of senators. In January 1327, both *syndici* were knighted by the people as they were bathed in rosewater by the representatives of the city districts, the *buoni homines*. This is the first mention of the consecration to knighthood with ritual bath by the people, an event that would later serve Cola di Rienzo as a model.

In 1327, the dissatisfaction in Rome with the pope in Avignon exploded beyond party limits. A new popular regime of fifty-two *electi viri* and of the guild consuls drove out both *syndici* and, in a sharply worded letter of 6 June 1327, demanded the return of the pope to Rome. The leaders of the Roman Ghibel-lines, above all Sciarra Colonna, to whom the office of captain of the people had been entrusted, aroused the indignation of the people and used the opportunity to invite Lewis of Bavaria, who had been excommunicated by the pope, for his coronation. On 17 January, Lewis was crowned emperor in Saint Peter's in a ceremony which was probably influenced by the ideas of Mar-silius of Padua (died c. 1343) and during which Sciarra Colonna is said to have placed the crown on Lewis's head. Assemblies of the people accompanied two further clever moves by the new emperor: on 18 April Pope John XXII was deposed, and on 12 April the Franciscan Pietro of Corvaro was elected as Pope Nicholas V by acclamation. This escalation went too far even for many of the popular party. On the day after the emperor left Rome on 4 August, Bertoldo Orsini and Stefano Colonna, as new senators and with the consent of King Robert of Naples, had already begun to reestablish a government of nobles. The popes, strengthened in this way, sought over the next two decades to contribute to the pacification of the city. The rivalry between the Colonna and the Orsini, however, did not allow the city any tranquillity, a fact that hastened its steady economic decline.

Following the events of 1327-1328, the populace did not gain another leader until the advent of the notary Cola di Rienzo, who became a danger to the barons. Cola is first heard of at the close of 1342, when he was dispatched by popular circles to Avignon, although a legation of prominent Romans was already there working for the return of the pope to Rome and for the declaration of 1350 as a Holy Year. Cola, who

was a talented orator, gained the attention of Pope Clement VI (r. 1342-1352), who on 13 April 1344 named him notary of the capitoline chamber. Subsequently, Cola backed the interests of the popular party. The economic importance of that party—and particularly the importance of agrarian entrepreneurs (*bovatieri*)—had increased toward mid-century, partly as a result of forced sales of the property of impoverished churches and nobles, and partly as a result of new reforms in farm management among the large landowners (*casali*) in the countryside around Rome. Cola's speeches in the *assectamentum*, the council of the senators, and in the Lateran Church (on the *Vespasian lex regia*), as well as his propagandistic paintings in the palace of the senators at the capitol and in the church of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, were intended to attract attention. Cola was already known in the city when, on 19 May 1347, he set himself up for his own downfall and opposed the "tribunes." He was aware that in struggling against the arbitrary power of the barons he would confront not a single social class but a network of clientage that bridged all classes. Cola's own adherents also came from all social classes. He cultivated allies among the baronial nobility, especially the Orsini. Supported by this wide-ranging coalition, he was able on 20 November to deliver a bloody defeat to the Colonna. Cola's ambitious plans, including the recovery of the Romans' ancient ruling rights over Italy and the *imperium Romanum*, and his richly symbolic ceremonies met their end when he lost the support of the papal legate and the pope, who saw his own authority as ruler of Rome threatened. On 15 December, Cola fled under protection of the Orsini to Castel Sant'Angelo and from there to the Abruzzi mountains.

After Cola's fall, the government was again led by a pair of senators from the Orsini and Colonna families and their respective clients. Their rule was interrupted, however, in 1352 and 1353-1354 by short-lived popular regimes under the leadership of Giovanni Cerroni, who belonged to an upper-class Roman family, and the notary Francesco Baroncelli and the noble Guido Patrizi dell'Isola, both former friends of Cola di Rienzo. Finally, in August 1354, Cola di Rienzo, who was imprisoned in Avignon, received another chance, but on 8 October 1354 he was murdered by a Roman mob, spurred on by the Colonna family. The inglorious coronation of Charles IV in 1355, on the other hand, no

longer provoked the internal unrest that had broken out during the coronations of his predecessors even while they were still present in Rome. The popular *interregna* mentioned above received papal approval and the backing of the cardinal legate Aegidius Albornoz (who was cardinal from 1350 to 1367), to whom the pope had entrusted the reconquest of the papal states. Pope Innocent VI (r. 1352-1362) was annoyed with the escapades of the Roman baronial nobility and often favored the popular party. In 1358, the barons installed a senator for the last time; thereafter the pope drew senators from abroad (among them should be mentioned Raimondo Tolomei from Siena, Hugo of Lusignano, and Bindo Bardi from Florence). Also in 1358, one encounters for the first time the seven *reformatores rei publice*, the title of their magistracy alluding to the planned constitutional changes. They, with the approval of the cardinal-legate, formed the real government in Rome. Perhaps as early as 1258–1259, the Società dei Balestrieri e dei Pavesati was founded. This was a militia consisting of crossbowmen (*balestrieri*) and bearers of the long shield (*pavesati*); as a kind of police force, it was supposed to protect the popular regime in the district and in the city. Each of the two units, 1,500 men strong, was preceded by a flag bearer (*bandarese*), flanked by two leaders (*anteposti*). The new statutes, dated in recent scholarly literature to 1360, formally excluded the Roman barons from the city government and prohibited the Romans from serving as their vassals and bearing arms for them. The following years were characterized by collaboration, but also by dualism, between the Roman commune and the papacy that began to take hold in Rome. The commune profited from the investments in its capital made by popes Urban V (r. 1362-1370) and Gregory XI (r. 1370-1378); but when the question again arose how far the commune might pursue its interests within its own district, there was discord and conflict with the administration of the papal state. From 1367 to 1370, Urban V brought the curia back to Rome, or rather to Latium. It is significant that he took up residence in the restored Vatican Palace next to Saint Peter's rather than in the Lateran Palace next to Rome's real episcopal church, San Giovanni in Laterano. Under his rule, the seven *reformatores* were made distinct from the three *conservatores ca-mere urbis*, who were in charge of public finance. The new administrators came from the old city aristocracy and from

families that had recently become prominent. With the permanent return to Rome of Gregory XI at the beginning of 1377, an era of church history and Roman city history came to an end.

However, new trouble lay ahead when Gregory died on 27 March. The election of his successor, Urban VI, from Naples, on 8 April proceeded amid tumultuous circumstances, with the Roman masses loudly demanding a Roman, or at least an Italian, as pope—something the continued presence of the curia in Rome should have guaranteed. The hostility of the Romans toward the French cardinals finally gave the latter a reason to move toward the election of Clement VII as antipope on 20 September 1378. Urban VI and his successors, Boniface IX (r. 1389-1404) and Innocent VII (r. 1404-1406)—all three of whom were Neapolitans—increasingly suppressed the independence of the Roman commune. The financial distress of the popes became so acute that they did not shrink from exacting war contributions from the churches, a measure that further diminished their well-being. The Holy Year of 1390, which had itself been declared for financial reasons, revealed to pilgrims the full extent of the decay and neglect in Rome. The end of the free Roman commune is generally dated to 1398, when Boniface IX, recognized as supreme sovereign, received absolute freedom to choose senators and magistrates.

After the success in Rome of the popes of the Council of Pisa—antipopes Alexander V (r. 1409-1410) and John XXIII (1410-1415)—Martin VI (r. 1417-1431), who was also from the Roman baronial nobility, was recognized as pope. Under the Renaissance popes who were not from Rome, the city enjoyed an economic and cultural upswing, but the Roman communal and urban elements declined in significance because of the influx of foreign members of the curia and papal nephews.

Cultural Development

In 524, when Theodoric executed the philosopher Boethius, in whose career and philosophical work the cultural tradition of late antiquity experienced another triumph, people said that the last Roman had died. The *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great are filled with miracles and, despite

their cultivated Latin, already reveal the distance from the educational resources of antiquity. Still, the popes did much for the educational institutions (especially for the *schola cantorum* and the law school of the Lateran). Because of the decline of Rome in the early Middle Ages, the city lost, successively to Byzantium, Ravenna, Bologna, and Paris, the position as an educational center that it had possessed in late antiquity. If Rome was nevertheless seen as a cultural center, it was above all thanks to the popes and to the Frankish and German emperors—only temporarily dwelling within the city walls—who attracted leading men of learning to their courts. This idea of Rome was quickly promoted by such non-Romans as the Lombard Paul the Deacon (d. 799) in his *Historia romana*. One after another, the schools discontinued their activity, although especially at the Lateran, the seat of the papacy, there would for a long time still be education for the clergy and the growing papal administration. There may have also arisen a papal library at the Lateran, but since the first catalog of the books of the papal library is known only from the year 1295, little can be said about its holdings. Otherwise, the protectors of valuable manuscripts were the monasteries and the writing schools (*scriptoria*) that were formed in some of them, at least in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods. From the seventh to the tenth centuries those monasteries especially stood out those whose monks had come to Rome from the Greek-speaking eastern regions of the Byzantine empire when their homeland was threatened or conquered by the Persians and Arabs. From 678 to 751, there was a long series of popes from Greece, the near east, and Sicily, whereas afterward most came from Rome. However, the literary output of the Greek hagiographers working in Rome is of rather mediocre quality. The Greek language was cultivated through the influence of the Theophylact family, which was interested in ties to Byzantium. At the end of the tenth century, the decline of the Greek monasteries could no longer be prevented. Most fell into the hands of Latinists, and their monks were replaced by canons.

Although the presence of the Carolingians in Rome was not strong, they did see to the revival of the *schola cantorum*, which had fallen into decay, and to the schools that taught law and rhetoric. With regard to paleography, in the vicinity of Rome as far as Umbria a kind of Carolingian minuscule had spread that can be characterized as "Roman-

Romanesca" and can be found from the second half of the tenth century to the mid-twelfth century. Its origin is probably to be sought in the *scriptorium* of the monastery of Farfa, near Rome, which had been founded c. 700 and was closely connected with the Carolingian Anastasius Bibliothecarius (Anastasius the Librarian), who was probably educated by Greek monks in Rome, took part in the eighth ecumenical council in Constantinople in 869 and translated its *acta*. He also translated Greek lives of saints and theological works and was a champion of Roman primacy. Furthermore, he made contributions to *Liber pontificalis*, which was edited or expanded by a succession of authors (increasingly from abroad). After 870, *Liber pontificalis* breaks off, not to be continued until the time of Pope Gregory VII.

Ecclesiastical abuses and the sometimes scandalous events surrounding the papacy during the ninth and tenth centuries nourished a literary genre of "criticism of Rome." Such criticism, which would continue to develop during the following centuries, focused on the papacy and especially on the greed of the curia. Pope Formosus (r. 891-896) was condemned as a heretic by his successor, Stephen VII, who was then himself murdered in 897; Formosus was tried posthumously in the "synod of the corpse," an episode that damaged not only the prestige of the papacy but also that of the city of Rome and its residents. Evidence of this damage is found in the anonymous *Invectiva in Romam*. It was also bruited about in the west that Rome was dangerous for pilgrims and that there was trafficking in false relics. There were, however, moments of light in the so-called *saeculum obscurum*. The *princeps* Alberic called Oddo of Cluny (d. 942) to Rome to reform several monasteries (including San Lorenzo and Sant'-Agnese) on the model of Cluny. Alberic himself founded the monastery of Santa Maria on the Aventine.

The Ortonian period brought positive impulses. Bishop Adalbert of Prague (who would be murdered in 997 by the Prussians) entered the Greek and Latin community of the monks of Santi Bonifazio e Alessio on the Aventine. After having returned for a while to his episcopal see, he came to Rome again with Otto III in 994-995. Adalbert's biographer, Johannes Canaparius (d. 1004), came from Rome; late in life he became a monk and finally, in 1002, abbot of Santi Bonifazio e Alessio. His *Life* was commissioned by Otto III and offers insight into the education of a

rich Roman layman.

Along with the schools of the Lateran, which produced later popes and upper clergy, the cloisters, especially in the eleventh century, became centers for the growth and cultivation of classical literature. With the support of Count Gregory of Tusculum, Saint Nilus of Rossano founded the cloister of Grottaferrata about 12 miles (20 kilometers) south of Rome. Like Nilus, his monks also came from Greek-speaking southern Italy. A *scriptorium* flourished at Grottaferrata.

The young Hildebrand received his education not only at the Lateran but also in a circle, devoted to classical studies, around Johannes Gratianus and Laurentius of Amalfi (d. 1049) in San Giovanni a Porta Latina, where Johannes was archpriest. Laurentius was at first a monk at Monte Cassino and later archbishop of Amalfi; he compiled a florilegium with texts on grammar, rhetoric, poetry, dialectic, music, and arithmetic. Elsewhere, the period of the Gregorian reform and the investiture controversy brought forth a literature of learned polemic, but little evidence remains of this genre in Rome. The *Annates romani* presented the viewpoints of a group of pro-imperial laymen in Rome who arose at the time of Henry IV. Much more important, however, was the contribution of the abbey at Monte Cassino, which had, since 1058 at the latest, its own colony in Rome in the monastery of Santa Maria in Pallara (in the vicinity of the arch of Titus). The old imperial abbey at Farfa was prominent in representing the side of the emperor. Rome itself hardly participated in the flourishing study of Roman and canon law that began in the eleventh century. Significantly, Cardinal Deusdedit (d. 1098 or 1099) was not from Rome but from Aquitaine; yet it was he who compiled a collection of canons of primarily Roman character, using the *Ordines Romani* and the papal archives. The papal mandates themselves created new laws from the twelfth century on, as *decreta* and *constitutiones*. The papal chancellor Aimeric (in office from 1123 to 1141) finally established ties to the law school of Bologna. To what extent such exchanges benefited law in the city of Rome has not been thoroughly studied. Also, how much, if at all, Roman law continued to be cultivated and practiced in Rome is a matter of controversy among specialists.

The turmoil of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, particularly the

plundering of Rome by the Normans, was probably (though not certainly, owing to a paucity of sources) the reason for the destruction and dispersal of the libraries in the large Roman basilicas and monasteries. Whether these institutions then possessed their own writing schools (*scriptoria*) remains unclear. But, significantly, *scriptoria* are attested to for smaller cloisters and clerical communities such as Sand Andrea e Gregorio al Celio (the present-day San Gregorio Magno) and Santa Maria in Tras-tevere, which were closely connected to the reforms of the tenth and eleventh centuries (the reform of Cluny; the reform of the *vita comunis* of the secular clergy). The schism of 1130-1138 confirmed the criticisms aimed against the Roman curia and the city of Rome. Only Peter the Deacon (1107 or 1110-after 1159), who was probably from a Tusculum family and in 1131 was the archivist and librarian of Monte Cassino, emerges in Rome as a literary figure. Peter continued the *Chronica monaste-rii Casinensis* of Leo of Ostia, falsified numerous works, and showed an uncommon interest in antiquity.

Not until the time of the revolutions of 1143-1144 may one speak of medieval "Roman" literature as such; this was the period when the young Roman commune sought with enthusiasm to build its program on the greatness of the ancient city. For the first time, the preservation of ancient monuments, such as the city walls and the column of Trajan, became a public program. Such monuments, through myths and legends, had long been associated with the people's conscious intention of making a connection between the pagan past and Christian Rome. *Mirabilia urbis Romae* had its earliest edition probably by the time of Benedict, the canon of Saint Peter's from c. 1140 to 1143. This Benedict was also the author of *Ordo Romanus*, a kind of manual of the ceremonies and administration of the curia, which since mid-century had been enlarged by the addition of other texts from the city of Rome to form the *Liberpoliticus*. *Mirabilia urbis Romae* describes the walls, city gates, bridges, baths, temples, and theaters of ancient Rome and several of the monuments. Benedict's sources are ancient descriptions of the *regiones* of Rome, lives of the martyrs, the *Fasti* of Ovid, and *Liber ponti-ficalis*. Around 1155, *Mirabilia urbis Romae* was attached to *Grapia aureae urbis Romae*, together with two other works: a short history of the region of Rome, from Noah to Romulus; and the anonymous treatise *Libellus de cerimoniis aule impera-toris*, drawn up

by a Roman layman (perhaps a judge) before 1050. *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, like *Graphia aureae urbis Romae*, was translated in the thirteenth century into the Roman vernacular (*romanesco*). *Mirabilia urbis Romae* became the basis for all guidebooks to Rome until the end of the Middle Ages. Moreover, c. 1200 it was the model for the text, perhaps of an Englishman, *De mirabilibus urbis Romae*, in which the observation of antiquity follows very precise aesthetic criteria. Also to be mentioned are the descriptions by two canons, Petrus Mallius and Johannes, of their basilicas—respectively, Saint Peter and San Giovanni in Laterano. They had been encouraged in this undertaking by Pope Alexander III (r. 1159-1181).

The presence of the papacy in Rome attracted scholars from all over the world, especially when Innocent IV, during the Council of Lyon of 1244-1245, founded a separate *studium curiae* for theological and legal studies, which changed its location in tandem with that of the curia. Thus in 1261 no less a scholar than Thomas Aquinas was teaching in Rome. The scholars and men of letters at the papal court could be found in the monasteries' libraries of Rome, even though many of these were generally neglected and had been decimated during the turmoil of the preceding centuries. Thus Rome's reputation in the world was enhanced once more by the glory of ages past. It is significant that Paravicini Bagliani calls the circle of scholars at the curia the *circolo di Viterbo* after the city in Latium that was for many years the site of the curia's retreats. In the curia, however, the cultural leaders were by no means only Roman cardinals and their *familiae*. The greatest patrons were from outside the city; they included the powerful Fieschi family from Genoa, which in the thirteenth century produced two popes (Innocent IV and Hadrian V) and two cardinals. Among the members of the cosmopolitan curia was also the papal scribe, Saba Malaspina (d. 1297 or 1298), who wrote the history of the rulers of Sicily during his time (1250-1285) from the Roman and curial point of view, devoting considerable space to events in Rome. The fact that his work, completed in 1285, was not really a city chronicle is a reminder that until then Rome had no chronicle tradition independent of the curia, although chronicles were flourishing in other cities. For this reason, there was still little cultural self-awareness in Rome. It was foreign chroniclers (e.g., in the thirteenth century, the English Benedictine Matthew Paris

and Richard of San Germano, in the service of Frederick II) who took an interest in Roman events because of their general political significance. Also active in the milieu of the curia was the great scholastic thinker Aegidius Romanus (Giles of Rome, d. 1316), who—contrary to general opinion—was no exponent of the Colonna family. Another figure was Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi (d. 1343), who was a member of the Roman baronial nobility and was educated in Paris. His three-volume *Opus metricum*, completed in 1315, gives an eyewitness account of events from the death of Nicholas IV to the end of the papacy of Clement V (1292–1314).

Not much is known about the educational institutions open to those not of the curia. From the twelfth century on, in any case, the Roman baronial nobles sent their sons to Bologna and Paris to study. In 1265, Charles of Anjou, as Roman senator, held out the prospect of founding a university. On 20 April 1303, Pope Boniface VIII founded the *studium urbis*, a city university independent of the curia; this may not have been welcomed by the not-so-wealthy upper and middle classes. Oversight and administration of the university as well as the appointment of teachers lay with the rectors of the *Romana fraternitas* and the papal vicar *in spiritualibus*. Unfortunately, little is known about the instructional activities of the *studium urbis*. From the circumstances surrounding a faculty position in 1319 we may infer that the university was located in Trastevere and that it played no significant role in the education of the clergy or even the ranks of notaries and jurists in Rome. Those who could continued to send their sons to the recognized great universities of Italy and France.

The general cultural decline in Rome grew worse during the residence of the popes in France after 1305. Early humanistic studies found fertile soil in Avignon. There, however, it was the circle of cardinals Colonna and Orsini from Rome that offered incentives for the new interests. Thus ancient Rome and classical literature stand at the center of the works of Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304–1374), who was a client of the Colonna and in 1341, under their patronage, was crowned poet laureate in Rome. It is indicative of the cultural milieu in Rome that Petrarch took his exam as *poeta* not at, say, the *studium urbis* in Rome but rather before King Robert in Naples. The coronation itself was performed at the capitol by the king's regent, Senator Orso

dell'Anguillara, son-in-law of Stefano Colonna. In his letters, Petrarch did not close his eyes to the decay of Rome. His complaint about this general decline was joined to criticism of the Avignonese popes, whom he admonished to return to Rome, their ancient seat. Three Romans associated with Petrarch's circle, directly or indirectly, were prominent authors: Landolfo Colonna (died c. 1331) and his nephew Giovanni (d. 1343 or 1344), as well as Giovanni Cavallini (died c. 1348) of the Cerroni family. Landolfo wrote mostly chronicles; Giovanni Cavallini wrote *Polistoria*, a topographical-encyclopedia description of the city. All three authors, despite their knowledge of the classics and their contacts with the Avignonese curia, followed traditional models (in the case of Cerroni, especially the *Mirabilia*); this implies that there was little impetus from Rome itself to pursue the new cultural currents. Only Cola di Rienzo stands in contrast: he was familiar with classical writings and knew how to draw his enthusiasm for Rome into his everyday political actions. He read ancient authors and inscriptions, and his knowledge and interpretations made a deep impression on his contemporaries, as the *Cronica* of the "Anonimo Romano" attests.

The chronicle of the Anonimo Romano, compiled in the Roman vernacular (*romanesco*), but not fully preserved, is unique in the medieval literature of Rome. It is the first chronicle by a Roman, who, without departing entirely from traditional narrative patterns, places the history of Rome at the center of his account. Writings in the vernacular were circulating in Rome from the thirteenth century on, and finally *Liber historiarum Romanorum* was translated under the title *Storie de Troia et de Roma*. Despite recent attempts to determine its authorship, there is no agreement about this. Some of the autobiographical details, however, suggest that the author was a doctor, and in describing his times he takes particular interest in the physical appearance of the protagonists. The cultural impulses that Rome could expect from the return of the popes from the "Babylonian captivity" once again disappeared as the Great Schism developed. Not until the schism ended and the Roman pope Martin V was elected in 1417 were the conditions created for the arrival of humanism and the Renaissance at Rome.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Avignonese Papacy; Boniface VIII, Pope;

Caetani Family; Charles I of Anjou; Clement V, Pope; Cola di Rienzo; Colonna Family; Crescentii Family; Fieschi Family; Frangipani Family; Frankish Kingdom; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Gregory I, Pope; Gregory VII, Pope; Gregory XI, Pope; Henry IV, Emperor; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Hohenstaufen Dynasty; Honorius III, Pope; Innocent III, Pope; Jubilee; Liber Pontificalis; Mirabilia Urbis Romae; Normans; Orsini Family; Papacy; Petrarca, Francesco; Pier-leoni Family; Robert Guiscard; Robert of Anjou; Rome: Guidebooks; Urban V, Pope

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Rome: Guidebooks

During the Middle Ages, Rome was seen as one of the three *peregrinationes maiores*—the most important places of pilgrimage (the other two were Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela). Pilgrims' guides for Rome often include descriptions of the routes to Rome. The ruins of the antique buildings distinctly reminded those visiting Rome of the fact that this city had been the capital of the ancient Roman empire. Thus three traditions of medieval guidebooks for Rome can be distinguished (although they are often combined within one manuscript): itineraries, descriptions of the antique monuments, and guidebooks for Christian Rome.

Itineraries, transmitted throughout the Middle Ages, served those who had to find their way to Rome from England, Germany, Iceland, or elsewhere. They list the names of places on the road or roads to Rome and the number of miles separating these places; the people who used these itineraries probably asked their way from one place to the next. Although different routes were possible, a few main roads (such as the Via Francigena) can be discerned. Some itineraries also describe sanctuaries that could be visited during the journey to Rome or give other practical information—for example, the condition of the roads, inns that should be avoided or favored, and currencies needed en route.

The earliest examples of descriptions of the ancient city of Rome, which were probably composed in the fourth century and have survived in a small number of manuscripts, divide the city into the fourteen antique districts and list the ancient monuments according to district. The most famous medieval description of the beauty of ancient Rome, *Mirabilia urbis romae*, was very popular from the twelfth century on. It was written in the tradition of the ancient *descriptiones*

urbium and lists the antique buildings (city gates, palaces, temples, etc.) systematically; but it was not originally designed as a guidebook, although it was often misinterpreted as such.

Most medieval *Romipetae* were more interested in Christian buildings than pagan buildings and even showed a certain fear of the ancient monuments, which were often associated with stories about witchcraft and sorcery; thus guidebooks for the catacombs and churches of Rome outnumber books listing the antique buildings. The oldest calendar of Roman martyrs that lists the places where they were buried, and thus can be regarded as a guidebook for the catacombs, dates from the fourth century. Another calendar-like text is the *Stationes ecclesiarum urbis Romae* (*The Stations of the Churches of Rome*); a first manuscript was written in the eighth or ninth century. This work lists the "stational" churches in Rome according to the liturgical year. Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590-604) is believed to have instituted this system: on each feast day, mass was said in a different Roman stational church.

From the thirteenth century on, the main focus of those visiting Rome seems to have shifted from veneration of the tombs of the martyrs to the acquisition of indulgences. Accordingly, from the thirteenth century until the sixteenth, the *Stati on?.* ecclesiarum urbis Romae* was often combined with the immensely popular *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae* (*The Indulgences of the Churches of Rome*), in which the Roman churches with their altars, relics, indulgences, foundation legends, etc., were described. The institution of the first jubilee year (1300) by Pope Boniface VIII—a year during which all pilgrims to Rome could obtain special indulgences—very likely contributed to the enormous spread of this text during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Most copies of the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae* first treat the seven principal churches of Rome (those of saints Crux, Johannes Lateranensis, Laurentius et Stephanus, Maria Maior, Paulus, Petrus in Vati-cano, and Sebastianus et Fabianus) and then offer a random selection of smaller churches; however, the copies that arrange the churches according to the topography of Rome were more practical for pilgrims. The relatively large number of (easily transportable) parchment scrolls in which this text is transmitted suggests its practical utility. The differences among descriptions of the churches in the medieval manuscripts still extant are

considerable, not only regarding the number of churches mentioned, but also regarding the wording of the individual descriptions, but information came to be more standardized when printing was developed. The early printed versions combining the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae* with the *Stationes ecclesiarum urbis Romae* and a history of the Roman emperors were given the misleading modern title *Mirabilia Romae vel potius historia et descriptio urbis Romae*. No English translations of this text were printed during the Middle Ages, but the large number of Latin, German, Italian, French, and Spanish editions shows that it can be regarded as the standard pilgrims' guide in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The eight Middle English manuscripts of the so-called *Stacyons of Rome* (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) transmit a version of the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae* in verse (the only verse adaptation of the text), and two further manuscripts transmit a description of the Roman churches in prose. Again, the title of the text is misleading, as both versions contain the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, not the calendar-like *Stationes ecclesi-arum urbis Romae*.

Guidebooks to Rome could also serve the purpose of a "pilgrimage in the spirit": a meditative journey that allowed the "pilgrim" to visit the churches of Rome without having to leave home. This form of devotional exercise, which became popular in the fifteenth century mainly among nobles, may have developed because of widespread criticism of real pilgrimages. Some of the manuscripts for "pilgrimages in the spirit" were lavishly illustrated with miniatures of the Roman churches; however, they depicted not church buildings that could actually be seen in Rome but rather general, stylized churches.

Additional information on the monuments that pilgrims visited and on their experiences in Rome can be gained from pilgrims' reports, especially from the early and High Middle Ages, when guidebooks were still relatively rare; examples include the texts written by Sigeric of Canterbury, who visited Rome in 990, and Nikolas of Munkathvera (c. 1150). Pilgrims in the late medieval period such as John Capgrave (c. 1450), William Brewyn (c. 1470-1477), and Arnold von Harff (c. 1496-1499) tended to copy the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, merely adding a few personal remarks.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Catacombs; Jubilee; Mirabilia Urbis Romae; Rome

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Romuald of Ravenna, Saint

Saint Romuald of Ravenna (c. 952-1027) was a monastic reformer and the founder of the Camaldolese order and is considered one of the founders of the Italian eremitical movement of the eleventh century.

Romuald was born into the ducal Onesti family at Ravenna. When he was twenty, his father killed a kinsman in a duel, and Romuald entered the Benedictine monastery of Sant'Apollinare in Classe to perform a forty-day penance for this act. The monastery had a profound effect on him. At the end of the penance he decided to stay, took monastic vows, and entered enthusiastically into a rigorous observance of the Benedictine rule. However, reading the lives of the desert fathers led Romuald to criticize what he considered laxity at Sant'Apollinare, and he soon left the monastery to live as an anchorite in the marshes surrounding Ravenna. About 975, Romuald became the disciple of the hermit Marino and followed him to the vicinity of Venice.

Through Marino, Romuald was drawn into the circle of Venice's doge, Pietro Orseolo, who was then undergoing a religious conversion. When Orseolo abdicated to join the monastery at Cuxa in the Pyrenees, Romuald and Marino went with him. Romuald remained at Cuxa for ten years, studying the works in its library in order to refine his understanding of the monastic ideal. Although the final shape of his reform was the product of many years of experimentation, the basic notions seem to have been formulated at Cuxa. Romuald's foundations would be among the first expressions of an eleventh-century monastic reform movement that sought to revive the primitive rigor of early Egyptian eremitism.

Romuald returned to Italy on the death of Orseolo in 988. He spent the next ten years based in Pereum, a hermitage in Ravenna's marshes, while he wandered the Apennines seeking followers, founding monasteries, and experimenting with monastic organization. Like a number of other reformers of his time, Romuald was determined to develop a greater spirit of contemplation in monastic houses; accordingly, he established hermitages and cenobitic communities together. But unlike other reformers, Romuald did not believe that a cenobitic life was a necessary prerequisite for an eremitic life. At his foundations, promising candidates were immediately introduced to the life of the hermit. Moreover, he did not subordinate the hermitage to the abbot of the monastery but rather put the cenobites under the moral authority of an experienced hermit. The monastery and hermitage were supposed to complement each other in drawing all monks toward the eremitical ideal of fasting, silence, and solitude.

In 998 Emperor Otto III appointed Romuald abbot of Sant'-Apollinare in Classe, but the monks' resistance to his austerity led to his resignation within a year. He then moved to the environs of Rome, near the imperial court, and soon attracted the patronage of several of the emperor's courtiers. When civil unrest at Rome drove the court to Ravenna in 1001, Romuald followed, again settling in Pereum. Romuald now had significant support from the empire. Followers flocked to him. Many, including the imperial chaplain Bruno of Querfurt, went as missionaries to convert the Slavs, inspired by Romuald's insistence that preaching and conversion were the ultimate role of the monk and hermit.

After the death of Otto III in 1002, Romuald left Pereum to wander again in the Apennines. Sometime between 1010 and 1020, he founded a small monastery and hermitage at Camaldoli near Arezzo. This influential institution, famous for its rigor, proved to be his most lasting contribution to eremitical reform. Romuald died at Val di Castro in 1027. By then, his other foundations were already looking to Camaldoli for leadership, and other monastic reformers were drawing inspiration from it.

Romuald had not intended to establish an order separate from the Benedictines. However, after his death the thirty-odd monasteries he had founded drew together around Camaldoli, in part to protect the

peculiar customs Romuald had established for them. By the late eleventh century, the Gregorian popes were treating them as an order. The most famous Camaldolese monk, Peter Damian, drew many of his reforming ideals from Romuald. Peter wrote a very influential biography of Romuald in 1042.

See also **Camaldoli; Damian, Peter; Monasticism; Orseolo Family**

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Romulus Augustulus

Romulus Augustulus (r. October 475-September 476) is generally considered the last western Roman emperor, although he ruled as a figurehead and his power was never formally recognized in the east. His father, Orestes, overthrew Emperor Julius Nepos and placed Romulus Augustulus on the throne. Subsequently, Orestes's troops, led by Flavius Odoavcar (Odoacer), rebelled against Orestes and Romulus. Orestes was executed in August 476 at Piacenza (Placentia). Odovacar forced Romulus Augustulus to abdicate, gave him an annual allowance of 6,000 gold pieces, and sent him to live at Misenum in Campania.

See also **Odovacar**; **Orestes**

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Rothari

Rothari (d. 652, r. 636-652) was duke of Brescia before becoming king of the Lombards. His selection as king was legitimized by his marriage with Gundeberga, who was a sister of one former -dng (Adaloald) and the widow of another (Arioald). Rothari is sne of the few Lombard

kings who is known with certainty to have been Arian Christian rather than Catholic. Like Alboin, Rothari became a hero—Rother—in medieval epics.

Rothari is best-known for the law book issued from his court and known as *Rothari's Edict*. This is a compilation of customary Lombard law, a law that applied only to Lombards. Non-Lombards in the Lombard kingdom continued to use their own law, whether Gothic or Roman, as is apparent from the content of the Lombard laws and from the survival of eighth- and ninth-century charters and court records in which individuals identify themselves as living by Lombard, Gothic, or Roman law.

Rothari is usually identified with the pro-Lombard faction in the Lombard kingdom, and his *Edict* is mainly a codification of Germanic custom—one of the best-organized of the barbarian law codes. However, the *Edict* does reflect considerable Roman influence. Royal legislation is itself a Roman act, the language of the *Edict* is Latin, and the clear-cut organization of the code into separate categories is almost certainly based on the Roman model. Although we do not know the legal personnel who served Rothari, they were almost certainly Roman or trained by Romans.

Rothari was succeeded by a son who was killed after a very-brief reign.

See also Lombard Law; Lombards

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Rudolf II of Burgandy

Rudolf II (d. 937, r. 911 or 912-937) was a duke and king of Burgundy and a king (922-926) of Italy. Burgundy was one of several petty kingdoms emerging in the turbulent years after 887 as Charlemagne's empire broke up. It roughly corresponded with what later became the Franche-Comté, or "free county," of Burgundy. In December 921 or January 922, disgruntled nobles led by Adalbert of Ivrea called on Rudolf to overthrow Berengar of Friuli, who had been the Lombard king and emperor since 915 (however, the western emperorship by now meant little). Berengar was defeated by Rudolf in 922 and 923 and was murdered in 924. The Lombard nobles, as treacherous as ever, invited Hugh of Arles into Italy in 926. Hugh drove Rudolf back to Burgundy but evidently surrendered Provence in return for Rudolf's promise never again to invade Italy.

See also **Berengar I of Friuli; Frankish Kingdom; Hugh of Arles; Lombards**

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Rufinus of Assisi

Rufinus (d. before 1192) was born outside Assisi in the first quarter of the twelfth century. He studied theology and canon law at Bologna under Gratian and first appears as a master there c. 1150. His known students included Stephen of Tournai and John of Faenza.

Rufinus's most important contribution was his commentary on canon law, *Summa decretorum*, published between 1157 and 1159. This was the first full-length commentary on Gratian's *Decretum* and was highly influential through the early thirteenth century (the third part of John of Faenza's *Summa* merely copies Rufinus). The work was also original in applying the current exegetical methods of the civil lawyers and the most recent scholarship (including Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, 1155-1158).

Rufinus was consecrated bishop of Assisi sometime before 1179. At this time he wrote *De bono pacis*, an exposition of Augustine's *De civitate dei*. In 1179, Rufinus delivered a sermon at the opening of Lateran III. In this sermon, as in his *Summa*, he urged ecclesiastical reform according to canon law. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as Rufinus understood it, was divided between the *auctoritas* of the pope and the *administratio* of the emperor. This strong assertion of papal supremacy would greatly influence later decretists. Between 1180 and 1186, Rufinus was elevated to the archbishopric of Sorrento.

See also Gratian

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Ruggeri Apugliese

Ruggeri Apugliese (thirteenth century) was from Siena, and it is generally assumed that he was a *giullare* (a jongleur or minstrel), though of a relatively high social rank. There is little reason to follow Torraca (1902) in doubting his existence. Ruggeri is recorded in the Vatican Codex (Lat. 3793) as the author of a poem known as the *Canzone de oppositis: Umile sono ed orgoglioso*. His play on oppositions is directly inspired by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's poem *Savis e folles, humils et orgulbos*. Ruggeri's *can-zoniere* is limited in scope but quite diversified, comprising, in addition to the *Canzone de oppositis*, a sermon, *L'amore di questo mondo è da fugire*; a parody of Christ's passion, *Genti, intendete questo sermone*; and a political *tenzone* exchanged with Provenzan Salvani.

See also **Italian Prosody**; Raimbaut de Vaqueiras

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Ruggero D'Amici

Ruggero d'Amici (thirteenth century) was from Messina and owned feudal lands in Calabria. As one of the highest dignitaries at Frederick's court, he was *giustiziere* of Sicily in 1239 and 1240 and then *capitano* of Sicily and Calabria until the end of 1241, at which time he was sent as ambassador to Sultan Malek-Saleh in Egypt, where he remained until the following year. Ruggero was accused of participation in a conspiracy against the emperor and was imprisoned in 1246. It is not clear whether he died in prison or was executed. Two *canzoni*—*Sovente Amore n'ha ric- cuto manti* and *Lo meo core che si stava*—are attributed to Ruggero in the Vatican Codex (Lat. 3793), and a few others are of dubious attribution.

See also **Italian Prosody; Scuola Poetica Siciliana**

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Ruggerone Da Palermo

Ruggerone da Palermo (thirteenth century) remains virtually unknown. Some scholars have identified him with a *frate* Ruggero who was sent to the king of Tunisia by Frederick II to obtain the *Book of Sidrac*. Scandone (1904) identifies him with a judge from Palermo, Ruggero de Panormo. Only one poem— the *canzone Ben mi deggio alegrare*—is

unquestionably his; the crusade poem *Oi lasso non pensai*, though attributed to him in the Vatican Codex (Lat. 3793), was more probably written by Frederick, as asserted in the Florentine manuscript (Laurenziano Rediano 9). In *Ben mi deggio alegrare*, the poet sings of the joy that love has finally brought him after a long period of torment. The poem ends on a moralizing note, urging lovers to endure suffering in order to reap the reward that is waiting at the end: *dolci è lo male ond'omo aspetta bene!*

See also Italian Poetry: Lyric; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Rural Life

See Peasants

Rustico Filippi

The Florentine poet Rustico Filippi (Rustico di Filippo, c. 1230-c. 1280 or 1285) is credited with initiating the comic style in the medieval Italian lyric. Rustico wrote fifty-seven sonnets transmitted by the Vaticano manuscript Latino 3793, and a *tenzone* with Bondie Dietaiuti found in three other codices. Half of his sonnets were written in the serious style of courtly love; the other half provide one of the earliest examples of the comic, or jocular, style in Italian literature. Brunetto Latini, who considered Rustico one of his closest friends and an accomplished poet,

dedicated the *Favolello* to him. Rustico was also the acknowledged teacher of Jacopo da Lèona and is the protagonist of a comic sonnet by Jacopo. Rustico was an ardent Ghibelline.

Rustico's comic sonnets fall into two categories: personal invective, and caricature directed against Florentines of all ages and social conditions. Among the figures he caricatured are warriors who inspire laughter rather than awe, a miser, a cuckolded husband, a man who is the paradigm of laziness, people with offensive body odors, libertines on the prowl, and prostitutes. Rustico displays a great talent for euphemism and uses a plethora of creative metaphors, similes, paraphrases, and hyperbole to describe his characters, the sexual act, and certain parts of the human anatomy. Several of the comic sonnets are linked. For example, there is a three-sonnet group that begins with *Poi che guerito son de le mascelle*, recounting the implausible proposals made by a matchmaker to a poor father with two daughters; and there is a two-sonnet group beginning with *Su, donna Gemma, co la farinata*, which ponders the suspicious reasons behind the sudden loss of weight of a young girl named Mita. The best-known of Rustico's comic sonnets, *Quando Dio messer Messerin fece*, describes Albizzo de' Caponsacchi as a unique combination of bird, beast, and man—a miracle of God's creation.

In the sonnet describing "*messer Messerin*," and in other sonnets, Rustico frequently compares the targets of his caricatures to animals, at a time when such comparisons were in vogue in the serious courtly love lyric. Whereas in his comic poetry Rustico mocked the overuse of animal comparisons, he avoided them altogether in his twenty-eight sonnets and the *tenzone* in the traditional courtly style. In these compositions, he experimented with various rhetorical devices in order to achieve more drama and more narrative flexibility. Among his innovations, he broke the unity of address, extended personification from the conventional god of love to other items involved in the *psychomachia* of courtly love (the heart, the eyes), and abandoned the extended simile. One sonnet that illustrates all these elements is *Amor fa nel mio cor fermo soggiorno*. The integration of dramatic techniques into the lyric, and the cultivation of a kinetic rather than a descriptive style, reached a culmination in the poetry of the *dolce stil nuovo*. Thus Rustico was an innovator in introducing comic poetry to Italian

literature and, to a lesser extent, in the development of the love lyric.

See also Italian Poetry: Comic

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S

Sacchetti, Franco

Franco Sacchetti (c. 1330-1400) was born to a noble Florentine Guelf family, perhaps in Ragusa, where his father did business. Sacchetti spent many years as a merchant. By 1352, he was also composing traditional love poems. In 1354, he married Felice di Nicolòzi. In honor of the Strozzi women, he composed, probably shortly before his marriage, *The Battle of Women*, consisting of 272 mediocre octaves describing the victory of young, beautiful, virtuous ladies over old, ugly, vice-ridden hags. In the early 1360s, during the war between Florence and Pisa, Sacchetti began to be involved in the city's politics and as an administrator of Florentine territories. In 1376 he was sent as ambassador to Bologna; in 1383, when he married for the second time, he was a member of the *otto di balia*; in 1384 he became a prior for the San Giovanni area; during the wars with the Visconti in 1388–1392, he served as counselor to the Florentine government; and throughout the late 1380s and the 1390s he was governor over a series of Florentine territories outside the city.

The 1370s brought a series of sorrows, both personal and public. Sacchetti was in Florence during the plague of 1374. That year and the next saw the deaths of Petrarch and Boccaccio, whom he lamented in sonnets expressing his admiration and sense of loss. Two years later, his first wife died, mourned affectionately in his verse. Meanwhile Florence was threatened by the expansionism of the Milanese and by papal agents who sought to restrict Florentine trade routes across papal territories. To fend off the latter, Sacchetti became involved in the "war of the eight saints" (1375), but hard times and high wartime taxes contributed to the revolt of the *ciompi* (1378). Some of Sacchetti's poems express his views on current political events. "The world is full of false prophets," begins one; another starts, "Wherever virtue is lacking, there all worldly power must soon fail and come to a painful end"; and one

ends, "Tell the pope, where he is awaited, that all the limbs fare ill when the head is obstinate in evil."

At the same time, Sacchetti was composing song lyrics, combining a popular immediacy of content with a technical interest in various forms for music. One *caccia* describes how girls, gathering flowers and mushrooms in the woods, are scattered by a thunderstorm while the poet, watching them entranced, gets soaked by the rain. "Blessed be the summertime," begins another song. In 1389, during a moment when tension had relaxed, he took part in the garden conversations and entertainments described in *Il paradiso degli Alberti*. He married for a third time in 1396.

During his later years, Sacchetti began to write in prose. His unfinished *Commentary on the New Testament*, perhaps written in 1381, seeks to apply the evangelists' words to problems and issues of daily life. The use of contemporary moral examples in his biblical commentary led to his writing the *Trecentonovelle* (*Three Hundred Stories*, 1385-1397), accounts of recent events or jokes, unframed but surrounded by personal and moral reflections. The work includes serious issues, despite the frequent stories about pranks and witticisms. Although Sacchetti refers to himself in the preface as "unschooled," his life experiences had made him sensitive to the importance of peace and to the prevalence of injustice. A number of *novelle* comment on how degenerate nobles live by plunder taken from the less fortunate and get away with crimes while the poor, persecuted for minor offenses, have no recourse against the rich and powerful. On the other hand, Sacchetti opposed the presumption of ignorant folk, and several tales present Giotto or Dante wittily putting down ambitious fools. With a clear eye for details of food, dress, and behavior, and with a conversational style, Sacchetti delightfully captured aspects of contemporary life: the difficulty of enforcing dress codes, a chase after a runaway pig, a quarrel between husband and wife, the embarrassment of a youth who trips and falls while eyeing girls, a wet soldier's refuge from his own bare hovel in the warm and well-stocked kitchen of a neighboring ecclesiast. This period also saw the composition of some moral and political *canzoni*, with pleas for peace and moderation. Sacchetti himself collected his poetry over the years into one volume, of which the autograph is preserved in the Laurentian Library in Florence. He

compiled his collection of tales in the 1380s and 1390s. Of the 300 stories, 223 survive, a few with gaps or in fragments. Besides these writings, we have sixteen of his letters and a notebook, never intended for publication.

Sacchetti died at San Miniato, where he was governor. His tales went unappreciated by the humanists of the following century, but two sixteenth-century manuscripts survived. The first printed edition of a selection of tales appeared in 1724.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Florence; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Novella**

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Sacchetti, Giannozzo

The Florentine poet Giannozzo Sacchetti (c. 1340-15 October 1379) was a member of an aristocratic Guelf family. He was the younger brother of Franco Sacchetti, who was a renowned poet, the author of *Trecentonovelle*, and a successful merchant and political figure. Unlike his prudent older brother, Giannozzo led a dissolute life, and he argued constantly with his brothers and sisters about his share of the family's inheritance. However, he was a skilled jewel cutter, and he also served as Florentine ambassador. In the capacity of ambassador he traveled in 1369 to Milan (where he met Bernabò Visconti, duke of Milan), and in 1377 to Chiusi and Siena (where he became a follower of Saint Catherine of Siena, whom he had met in Florence in 1374). As his financial situation deteriorated, Giannozzo was besieged by creditors; in April 1379 he was sent to the Stinche, the debtors' prison. He was released a month later and fled to the camp of Charles of Durazzo, near Treviso. Giannozzo plotted with Florentine exiles to overthrow the republic and was arrested soon after his return to Florence. Having been found guilty of treason, he was executed on 15 October 1379.

His small poetic production of only nine poems—five *can-zoni*, two sonnets, and two *laude*—perhaps indicates that, unlike his more famous brother, Giannozzo did not consider himself a literary figure. Yet several of the poems demonstrate Giannozzo's artistry. For example, in the melancholic *canzone* *Chi non è meco a rinovare il pianto*, the poet represents the conflict between body and soul, discoursing with his deceased lover and contrasting the memory of her physical beauty to her present state of decay. In this poem, Giannozzo reminds us of Guido Cavalcanti. However, Giannozzo never reaches the level of philosophical abstraction of the *stilnovista*; rather, he distorts elements of the *stilnovo* in order to vent his sense of desperation, (*The schietti piè leggieri e bianchi become consumati e stanchi* spartite l'ossa e le midolla spentel che fanno gran paura a chi gli vede, 15-17).

Thematic variety and originality of expression can also be seen in the sonnets *Mettete dentro gli spezzati remi* and *Ristretto tra levante e 'l mar remoto*. The first sonnet expresses the poet's admission of failure in this life and the awareness that only death can lead him to a better one: *ch'i' vo' tornare al creator divino/ con nova barca e con novo timone,/ lasciando a voi la trista vita mia* (12-14). In the second sonnet, Giannozzo gives voice to the classical theme of humankind's passivity and lack of self-determination; yet by refashioning the myth of the Fates, he breathes new life into an old theme. Cloto is a shipbuilder; Lachesis guides the vessels at sea and, like Eolus, *A l'ultimo Antropòs ciascuna sprona/ove forza non val, prego né grida/che non l'affondi e rompa a grande stento* (12-14). The idiosyncratic depiction of the Fates is perhaps intended as a critique of bourgeois optimism. Whatever Giannozzo's intentions, the emotional intensity of the final lines underscores the poet's pessimistic outlook on life.

Unfortunately, two sonnets and a handful of poems cannot provide us with a detailed portrait of this complex figure. We know for certain only that Sacchetti was a troubled man whose poems reveal a tragic sensibility, similar to that of other *poètes maudits*.

See also Italian Poetry: Lyric; Sacchetti, Franco

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Sacraments

From its earliest existence the Christian church has considered certain rituals and ceremonies particularly sacred and significant, and vehicles of divine grace. These were called sacraments.

In the beginning, two rituals were recognized as sacraments: baptism, a ritual of initiation and cleansing with water, usually through immersion; and the eucharist, a sacred meal of bread and wine, recalling Christ's last meal with his disciples. These underwent much expansion and theological definition in the late antique and early medieval periods. Baptism became an elaborate rite of passage with elements of renunciation of the past, cleansing from sin, and transformation through ritual identification (in the immersion in water) with Christ's death and resurrection. Sites for baptism (pools for immersion) might be located within the church building or in a separate structure (usually centralized in plan, circular, square, or octagonal).

Most medieval churches in Europe incorporated within the nave of the church a font for baptizing infants. Italy remained different, however, for it generally kept the tradition of a separate building: Florence, Cremona, Pisa, and Parma erected significant examples of separate baptisteries during the twelfth century; and earlier examples were to be found in Nocera, Ravenna, and Lo mello.

The eucharist consisted of a service of the word" (scripture readings, hymns, prayers, and a sermon) and the sacred meal: prayers; the offertory (bringing the wine and bread to be consecrated); the words of institution and consecration repeating Christ's words at the Last Supper, "This is my body . . and "This is my blood ..."; communion; postcommunion prayers; and almsgiving. This ritual came to be known as the mass and became a sacred drama which realized a divine presence, increasingly focused on the bread and wine, and related to Christ's sacrificial death.

During the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, the formal theological definitions of the sacraments and their qualities were clearly articulated, and the number of sacraments was designated as seven. Much of this was accomplished by Hugh of Saint-Victor, in *De sacramentis christinae fidei*; and by Peter Lombard, in *Sententiae*. The classic scholastic expression was offered in Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*. In the twelfth century, Gratian's *Concordantia discordantium canonum* (*Decretum Gra-tiani*), written in Bologna and used by Peter Lombard, gathered numerous patristic texts concerning the sacraments and sought a coherent interpretation, with emphasis on behavior and on the juridical aspect.

What would become the third of the seven sacraments was a ceremony of anointing with oil, originally associated with baptism. In the western church, this became an independent ritual known as confirmation and was reserved for celebration by the bishop. When infant baptism, rather than adult baptism on conversion, became the norm, people usually received confirmation as young adults.

A fourth sacrament was extreme unction. This was derived from the ritual anointing of the sick for purposes of exorcism in the early church. It became a rite of passage for the dying and could be associated with a final ministration of communion.



Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*. Duaci: Sumptibus Marci Wyon, Typographi Iurati, 1614. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

The fifth sacrament was penance, or confession. In the early church, this was a sacramental act of public confession of sin and public penance, assigned by priests or bishops and including excommunication and gradual readmission to the community of worshipers. In the early Middle Ages, under the influence of Irish missionaries and the penitential handbooks they brought to the continent, the practice of

private confession by individuals to priests emerged, with the consequent private assignment of penance and priestly absolution. This sacrament became increasingly important in the lives of individual Christians and the overall "economy" of salvation, since confession, penance, and absolution removed the guilt and consequent punishment resulting from sins. Penance was concerned with sin, punishment, and the continuation of that punishment after death for those who were not immediately admitted to heaven (i.e., all who were not saints). This concern can be seen in the elaboration of the doctrine of Purgatory (and hell) in the twelfth century, building on concepts of the afterlife that had been present from the earliest Christian centuries. Indulgences (forgiveness of punishment for sins) also played an important role in the spiritual dynamics of the sacrament of penance, and the fate of Christians after death. A development of fundamental import for medieval sacramental practice occurred at the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome in 1215. The council required yearly communion by each adult; furthermore, individuals were also required to confess their sins to a priest and to receive penance and absolution before communing (usually at Easter). This inaugurated a vast literature of pastoral care (*summae confessorum*, in particular) to give the priests resources for properly carrying out the task of hearing private confessions. Moreover, confession, which had been voluntary for laypeople, now became a yearly religious obligation. Ideas of penitential acts, especially asceticism and self-flagellation, influenced at least two striking developments in lay piety. One development was the roaming bands of flagellants that appeared in Italy c. 1260 and spread throughout Europe. A second development was the urban phenomenon of confraternities of penitential flagellation (*battuti* and *disciplinati*), which assumed central roles in cities such as Florence and Venice in the late Middle Ages.

The sixth and seventh sacraments were priestly ordination and marriage. Each of these was reserved for a single cohort in the medieval population, because in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the priesthood came to presuppose celibacy. It was during these centuries that the church began to insist on marriage as a sacrament and, accordingly, to assume that the church should administer marriage law, deciding what constituted valid and invalid marriages. Ivo (bishop of Chartres), Hugh of Saint-Victor, Peter Lombard, and Gratian were especially important

in defining the sacramental nature of marriage, its theological significance, and the practical issues to be negotiated in regulating marriage through church law.

Between the ninth century and the thirteenth century, the eucharist (or mass) received special attention from theologians intent on examining the nature of the divine presence. In the Carolingian period, the Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus, abbot and monk of Corbie, respectively, engaged in a dispute about the presence of the divine in the elements of the eucharists. Radbertus argued that the bread and wine appeared to be bread and wine but in truth were Christ's body and blood—body and blood from Christ's mother Mary, crucified, resurrected, ascended, and now miraculously present to the believer in the mass. Ratramnus replied that the bread and wine remained bread and wine in truth; symbolically, they represented to the believer the spiritual presence of the body and blood. Radbertus's position, which reflected the piety already present in texts and in the devotion of the people, became the received opinion in his day and afterward. The condemnation in 1050 of the views of Berengar of Tours with regard to the eucharistic presence showed the strength of support for a theology of "real presence" in the eucharist.

In the twelfth century, Hugh of Saint-Victor, Gratian, and Peter Lombard worked out precise definitions of the sacraments, carefully delineating the relation of the "material" of the sacrament (such as water for baptism), the sacred action, the word spoken, and the spiritual presence. The list of seven sacraments was recognized, along with numerous sacred rituals that came to be known as sacramentals. With the theological synthesis of Thomas Aquinas, and the application of the Aristotelian distinction between substance and accidents, the nature of divine presence ("real presence") in the eucharist was formulated with greater precision. The accidents of bread and wine (taste, color, etc.) remain in the consecrated elements of bread and wine; however, the substance of the bread and wine is miraculously transformed into the body and blood of Christ. This doctrine is known as "transubstantiation"—a word given official sanction through its use by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, before Aquinas's more precise theological explication. Transubstantiation became the received eucharistic theology of the later Middle Ages. Any number of

miraculous occurrences in which the host (the wafer of unleavened bread used in the liturgy) bled or was transformed in visionary experiences into Christ's bodily appearance served to underscore for the pious the reality of the divine presence in the consecrated sacred bread. The feast of Corpus Christi, dedicated to the veneration and exhibition in processions of the consecrated host (the bodily presence of Christ), was established through the efforts of Julianna of Mont-Cornillon (d. 1258) after visionary experiences. Pope Urban IV promulgated its observance in the bull *Transiturus* (1264), and Thomas Aquinas composed its liturgy (including the hymn *Pange lingua glo riosa*).

See also Bolsena; Councils, Ecclesiastical; Florence; Gratian; Liturgy; Peter Lombard; Pisa; Thomas Aquinas, Saint

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Saint Cecilia Master

The current name "Saint Cecilia Master" was inspired by a large panel painting (now in the Uffizi in Florence) that was created as an altarpiece for the titular saint of one of the earliest Florentine churches. The painting represents Saint Cecilia enthroned, flanked by eight scenes from her legend. The narratives are populated by attenuated figures whose tiny heads perch on unusually long necks. The idiosyncratic style of the artist is marked by a taste for richly embellished surface patterns: intricately detailed fabrics, marble revetments, and intarsia decorate elaborate architectural environments that he frames with meticulously tooled gold leaf. The compositions also reveal a profound interest in spatial concerns. Wedged between the orthogonals of splayed walls, barrel vaults and ceiling panels shape the perception of recessional space that is defined further by raked floors, balconies, and the darkened planes of antechambers. The diminutive scale of the figures enhances the illusion that they occupy interiors of measurable depth. The altarpiece serves primarily to gauge the formal preoccupations of its maker and in fact is rarely studied for its intrinsic value. Instead, its resemblance to frescoes in the upper church of San Francesco in Assisi first attracted the attention of connoisseurs, who began to assemble a body of related works that they attributed to the Saint Cecilia Master. The relationship between the Florentine altarpiece and the Franciscan murals continues to dominate art-historical literature, in which the former assumes a secondary role.



Master of Saint Cecilia (fourteenth century), *Saint Cecilia and Stories from Her Life*. Uffizi, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Of central concern is the contribution of the Saint Cecilia Master to *The Legend of Saint Francis*, a narrative cycle that begins at the crossing on the north wall of the upper church and encircles the entire length of the nave. This cycle was traditionally attributed to Giotto and was considered a youthful work; Giotto was supposed to have reworked many of its motifs and compositions in Padua and later in Florence. A number of contemporary scholars still adhere to this tradition; they are reluctant to remove a commission of this magnitude from the career of the most celebrated artist of the early *Trecento*—and the successor to Cimabue, who had just completed work in the choir and the vaults of the upper church. Yet by 1875, when Crowe and Cavalcaselle published the Italian edition of their history of Italian painting, distinctly different styles were being recognized in the cycle, and certain scenes were associated with the panel from Santa Cecilia in Florence. Eventually, the major portion of the fresco program was assigned to the Saint Francis Master or to a follower, who worked during the final decade of the thirteenth century. Offner and Steinweg (1986) provide a comprehensive inventory of the literature and a bibliography, amplified by Boskovits. The catalog reflects the consensus of many art historians, who assign the first and final three of the twenty-eight compositions to the painter of the Saint Cecilia altarpiece.

Among those who accept this attribution, debate centers on the relationship of the scenes by the Saint Cecilia Master to the remainder

of the fresco program. The relatively limited number of compositions and their location at the western end of an "occidented" nave suggest that they were added sometime after the completion of the intervening scenes. Most difficult to resolve is the idea that the *Recognition of the Saint*, the scene that inaugurates the cycle, was postponed, especially since it is part of the gradual conversion of the saint that unfolds in a series of six interrelated compositions filling the first two bays of the nave. Many scholars assume that the Saint Cecilia Master simply conformed to a design established by his predecessor, but Smart (1960) claims that this master was the innovative force behind the design of the entire program and commanded a more refined style that was carried on by a lesser talent, the Saint Francis Master. Smart argues that the inventive compositions indicate the influence of Giotto—not that Giotto introduced ideas here which he advanced at later sites. This argument compels Smart to date the cycle to the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the unknown master would have been able to respond to Giotto's ongoing work in the Arena Chapel. Parrochini (1994) proposes a similar scenario, describing the Saint Cecilia Master as a disciple of Giotto but also identifying him as Pietro Cavallini, a Roman muralist whose frescoes in the convent of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere survive only in fragmentary form. Other scholars suggest Buffalmacco, whom Boccaccio, Sacchetti, and Vasari placed in the tradition of Florentine art.

One of the most striking aspects of the work of the Saint Cecilia Master in San Francesco is the role of architecture in the compositions. The first scene takes place on the streets of Assisi. Here, the artist connects the world of pictorial representation and the world of the viewer by depicting local buildings, including the Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo and the temple of Minerva. These references are not exact imitations, however. For example, the pediment of the ancient temple has been transformed into the tympanum of a medieval church, foreshadowing the spiritual transformation of the youthful saint, who is still unaware of his fate. It also serves as a compositional bridge, connecting Saint Francis to the man who recognizes his holiness. Across the nave, in the final scene, the spiraling relief above a prison evokes Trajan's Column. The appearance of ancient monuments in these works is often interpreted as a type of classicism, the triumphal

column suggesting that the artist had journeyed to Rome. However, the white bands that wind around the terra-cotta column in the final scene are also a fanciful variation on Roman imperial prototypes; the colors are reminiscent of the marble and brick used for the Byzantine column that once stood before Hagia Sophia.

The Saint Cecilia Master seems to have worked primarily on a smaller scale, judging from a very small group of panel paintings made for churches in Florence and the nearby town of Montici at the beginning of the fourteenth century. An inscribed image of Saint Peter dates to 1307 and is associated with one of two panels that Giuseppe Richa saw in the important Benedictine convent of San Pier Maggiore. This gabled dossal is joined by two others from Santa Margherita at Montici: an enthroned Madonna, and a wider panel that represents the titular saint flanked by six scenes from her legend. The latter joins the work of the Saint Cecilia Master as an example of a *vita* panel, a type of hagiographic image that surrounds the cultic central effigy with narratives from the life and miracles of the saint. Although *vita* panels are associated primarily with the Franciscans, they played a long role in Florence during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In describing the altarpiece of Saint Cecilia, Giuseppe Richa (1775) was fascinated by the relationship between the cult image—which he described as "a relic of art"—and relics of the legendary martyr. The narratives on the panel present Saint Cecilia as she appears in late medieval preachers' manuals: an exemplar of wifely virtue whose piety inspired the conversion of her husband, family, and community. The shape of the work suggests that it was used as an altar frontal, erected before the altar to face the men and women of the parish it once served.

See also Assisi; Cavallini, Pietro; Francis of Assisi; Giotto di Bondone; Master of the Saint Francis Cycle; Painting: Panel.

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Saints' Lives: Italian Hagiography in the Vernacular

Hagiographic literature in Italian is abundantly represented in prose and poetic texts in the Middle Ages and continuing through the Renaissance; indeed, folklorists have collected poems relating events connected with saints and recited in various parts of Italy until the present day. This should come as no surprise, given that the genre is well represented in other traditions (e.g., in French, German, and English), yet these texts have often been overlooked—so often, in fact, as to give the mistaken impression that very few texts from the medieval period exist. The reason is not difficult to understand: hagiographic texts in verse and prose were written alongside other works—most notably by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio—that had a profound impact on Italian literature in particular and European

literature in general. The generally modest hagiographies pale in comparison with these.

In more recent times, when their religious relevance was minimized, hagiographic texts were seen as representative of backward thinking. They were collected principally as modest examples of *Trecento* style, and when they were studied, the focus was often on language instead of content. When they were examined as folklore, they were considered difficult to compare with Italian literary masterpieces and difficult to appreciate in the context of such masterpieces. Moreover, the nature of textual production and transmission of hagiographic works had made knowledge of them difficult to attain.

The earliest hagiographic works in verse or prose were largely to be found in isolated manuscripts. Since many of these individual works did not attract the interest of literary scholars, the effort of transmitting them by modern editions was not viewed as particularly rewarding. Of course, prose collections (e.g., those of Jacobus da Voragine and Domenico Cavalca) were read and appreciated, and they represent a valuable and worthy dimension of hagiographic literature that had significant resonances; for one thing, they were used as the subject of *exempla*, and as illustrative material for sermons. But isolated lives did not fare so well.

Furthermore, in European literature there is the problem of assigning chronological boundaries to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In Italy, the Renaissance is seen as beginning in the fourteenth century; but in France, for example, it seems to appear in the early sixteenth century, and the end of the medieval period is often arbitrarily assigned the date of 1500. Such demarcations are problematical for hagiography. It is by no means true that hagiographic works were occasionally written down in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and then promptly vanished from the scene; on the contrary, the spirit animating these texts continued to live on into the sixteenth century and beyond. Thus to fix a date of, say, 1500, runs the risk of misrepresenting the extent and richness of the genre: texts which may have been written before 1500 and reprinted many years thereafter, and for which we no longer have manuscripts earlier than 1500, would automatically be eliminated from consideration. In the opinion of the present writer, such later versions should be taken into account if they appear to be

connected to earlier times. Why exclude a printed text from the early 1500s that says *ristampata* ("reprinted"), if the original is lost?

In considering why hagiographic literature in the vernacular has not been more extensively studied, although hagiography in Italy was certainly of general interest, one more point may be made. In many cases, when studies on Italian hagiography were announced, attention was given mainly to texts in the Latin language; as a result, the vernacular dimension was difficult to isolate

In our context, verse and prose texts were, to a great extent, directed to different audiences, and this has also been the case in other traditions. Useful bibliographical aids that are not too difficult to find treat one genre or the other. In Italian, poetic texts have chiefly been identified and cataloged; only recently have prose texts received this treatment.

Hagiographic works need not be grouped only in terms of whether they are in verse or prose. A different grouping, made by students of vernacular hagiography, involves considering separately works existing in manuscripts and those transmitted in printed texts. Manuscripts are seen as representing the medieval period; printed texts are seen as part and parcel of the new age and for this reason are more easily excluded from the medieval domain. Although this division may seem artificial, the medium of production does imply a different approach to the diffusion of texts. Early printed texts in Italy were produced in multiple copies, and they were offered for sale, perhaps after an oral presentation in a public square, to a public that may have been more interested in the curative powers of the saints than in the possibility of repeated readings and recitations. That distinction is also made here, even though there may be some overlapping (e.g., a late manuscript copy might have been the model of a printed text, and thus the same text may appear in both categories).

By first considering manuscript versions of poetic texts, we can identify, among the several dozen lives that have come down to us, those of saints who lived in the first centuries of the Christian era: Catherine of Alexandria, Marguerite of Antioch (considered from the point of view of the quantity of versions transmitted, these two, along with the Alexis poems, are the most popular), Agatha, Christina, Helen, Euphrosina, Lucy, Mary the Egyptian, Ursula, Andrew, Anthony,

Bartholomew, Christopher, Eustace, George, John the Baptist, John Chrysostom, John the Evangelist, Julian, Gregory the Great, Laurence, Nicholas of Bari. From more modern times there are Bernardino of Siena, Francis, Roch, Silvester of Carnaldoli, and Torpete.

Different categories of saints can be identified here. One category is the traditional group of virgins and martyrs, frequently mentioned in the Bible (e.g., the apostles) and during the early centuries of Christianity. A second group is of special interest to Italians in general or because these saints are venerated locally: Francis, Bernardino, etc. A third group consists of apocryphal saints: Julian, George, Mary the Egyptian, etc. The best-known lives, those from early Christianity, often illustrate abnegation, sacrifice, determination, and valor. Because of their convictions, these saints, when confronting diabolical pagans of evil intent, often suffer torture administered with shocking cruelty; but through their valor and divine aid, they prevail and take on the role of intermediaries. The local saints do not necessarily undergo torture, but they nevertheless display courage and can inspire patriotism. Lives of saints in the third group—the apocryphal saints—are characterized by the great imagination the anonymous authors bring to these works, relating incidents that can scarcely be believed. Examples are Mary the Egyptian, beloved by many in many countries, a beautiful pagan but ugly Christian, who lived for decades in the desert; Julian, who killed his parents; and George, who slayed a dragon. In this group are saints of both sexes who belonged to a legendary or mythical world that was not necessarily Christian but who had enough of a Christian dimension to inspire veneration, at least in the medieval period.

The forms of these works vary. Some are composed in epic-type stanzas early on (Alexis is a case in point), then in four-line stanzas or rhymed couplets, or more frequently in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in stanzas of six or eight lines. As a whole, a work can be long (one life of Saint Catherine has 1,769 verses) or short (perhaps several dozen eight-line stanzas).

One life (the first in Italian), that of Alexis, will illustrate the diversity in the development of a single legend. The *Ritmo di Sant'Alessio* (early thirteenth century) begins:

Dolce, nova consonanza

*facta l'aio per mastranza
et ore odite certanza
da qual mo mostre semblanza
per memoria retenanza
Lu decitore se non cansa
se nne avete dubitanza
mon vo mostra la claranza
a li dubitanti per privanza
poi li disi per usanza
tansi in altitudine et finivi, co ...,
et dussi et poi complevi. (verses 1-12)*

Some elements—*odite, per memoria retenanza, lu decitore, din*— may indicate that this story was transmitted orally, by recitation to a group, and that it was to be committed to memory. The outline of the story is as follows: a powerful Roman, Eufemiano, and his wife are childless. Through much prayer, they produce Alessio, who is dedicated to God. He spends his youthful years in study. When he reaches the age of marriage, his father provides him with a spouse. On the wedding night, in the bridal chamber, Alexis beholds his beautiful bride, sees the bed, and his thoughts **turn** to God. He flees from Rome and spends seventeen years in the Middle East as a beggar. His mortification has made him unrecognizable; and finally he dies in a state of sanctity: *ket rnultu plaque ad Deu lu so servitiu* (257).

The second version of the tale, that of Bonvesin da la Riva (fourteenth century), has 524 lines arranged in alexandrine stanzas. With Bonvesin, we have a more elaborate narration, which is closer to the one transmitted in an eleventh-century French version. The beginning is the same as that in the *Ritmo*; but after his seventeen years as a beggar, Alexis returns to Rome, where he spends another seventeen years—still unrecognized— under the staircase in his father's house. Just before dying, Alexis writes his life story. The readers of this document learn who this saintly man really is; and with his help the city of Rome is saved—as we all will be saved if we imitate his way of living.

In a manuscript dated 1439, we have a tale that is more elaborate still, and unusual in that the form blends verse and prose. Additional narrative elements have been grafted onto the tale, turning it into a type of chivalric story quite different from the earlier versions. In this

version, which had much success in Italy, as Alexis leaves home, he runs into the devil, who gives him false information and attempts to dissuade him from carrying out his journey. The devil then speaks to Alexis's wife and later tells Alexis that his wife has betrayed him. Fortunately, an angel helps Alexis distinguish truth from falsehood. After a fifteen-year absence, Alexis returns home (again unrecognized); he dies seven years later. A few miracles occur, and the poem concludes with an exclamation by Alexis's mother: "Why did you do this to your family, staying with us without revealing who you are?" Afterward, four saints in the region are saved.

A great change has occurred from the first version of this story to the third: spiritual elements recede into the background, and adventurous episodes are tacked onto the original framework. As noted above, the third version had great success in Italy. It was recast in stanzas of six or eight lines, and it also provides us with a great number of printed texts—almost a dozen separate renderings before 1600. The original, sparse tale was still told, however, since we have an early printed text dated 1495.

The story of Alexis illustrates what could be done in this genre. It was originally written in Italian in a certain form for a certain purpose. It was then expanded to a version that can be seen as better balanced and more carefully structured. Finally, extraneous elements were inserted in order to appeal to the popular imagination and reflect what was in vogue at the time. The overriding purpose, though, is to portray the virtues of abnegation and self-sacrifice, in the best and most striking way possible. Other very popular texts—the stories of Catherine and of Saint Marguerite, whose lives were retold many times throughout the Italian Middle Ages—would also illustrate such changes in taste over the centuries.

This same tendency to produce a fashionable text can be seen in other works in this genre. Moreover, with the advent of printing, different means of bringing ideas to a wider group emerged. Alongside the early printed texts that transmit more or less substantial works in eighty or ninety 8-line stanzas (or more), we also find shorter and cheaper texts of twenty stanzas or fewer, with an abbreviated version of the life accompanied by prayers. (Texts that are chiefly prayers, without the life of the saint, do not enter into consideration here.) Many of the

more modern texts are editions by *cantastorie* (storytellers), who made their living by reciting these legends in public squares and then selling them, perhaps as a cure for various illnesses. These versions, printed on cheap paper, were sold in great numbers; but because of the cheapness of the paper, many have probably not come down to us. More elaborate and luxurious texts were also produced (though these too were frequently recited by *can-tastorie*), and a significant number of them can be found in important incunabula collections in Italy. In general, the same saints appear in printed texts as in manuscripts, but there are also new and sometimes more dramatic stories.

In many of these productions, we would not expect to find superbly written stories or delicately nuanced psychological presentations of the main figures; still, even modest productions can contain moments capable of charming us. The story of Maria Maddalena in an early printed text is a case in point. A simple description of a young woman with certain predilections could have been provided; but instead, the tale describes her in this way:

*Era fanciulla e ai belleza molta
piu ch 'alcun 'ultra donna orientale
vaga negli occhi e nel parlar disciolta*

*vaga di feste per theatri e sale
molti facea cascar piu d'una volta
in pensier tristi e fantasie carnale
spesso adornata si facea vedere
che d'esser vagheggiata bavea piacere.*

*Usava unguenti di molto valore
et nobil acque d'odorifera herba
e cost con gran pompa usciva fuore
tutta lasciva et nal'andar superba
rendeva il corpo suo st grande odore
ch'baria indolcita ogni misura acerba
in modo tal che quando fuori usciva
tutta de terra a vederla corria.*

Other tales are striking because of their outlandishness: examples include Saint Alberto (from before 1556), who is tempted by the devil disguised as a beautiful girl; and Saint Basil (in a poem from 1496).

There is also the story of Saint Theodora, who commits adultery; cuts off her hair and transforms herself into a monk, brother Theodore; and lives in a monastery. A young woman falls in love with "Theodore" and is rebuffed; she becomes pregnant by another man and accuses "Theodore" of being the father. The truth is revealed when Theodora dies. There are a number of imaginative texts of this type.

It should be noted that poetic texts have not been easy to find. Indeed, to obtain a sense of the genre one has to read the texts as they are found today in incunabula collections (in Rome at the Vatican Library, the Biblioteca Casanatense, and the Biblioteca Corsiniana, for example; and at the libraries in Florence, Milan, and elsewhere), using Cioni (1960, 1963a, 1963b) as a guide, supplemented by other sources. Only a few of these texts have been published, and even the published versions are not easy to locate, since they were printed for unusual circumstances (e.g., one was a wedding gift in the mid-nineteenth century).

To study the prose tradition has been even more difficult, because for some time there were not enough modern bibliographical tools to guide the researcher. Some tools were available (e.g., Zambrini 1855, 1861, 1884), and there were compilers dedicated to the genre; but even bibliographies could be difficult to pin down. The chief value of prose texts, aside from their legendary and linguistic aspects, was that they might occasionally shed light on events in the life of a saint that would be useful in a certain locality. Today, however, we do have the tools to study the prose genre as a whole and to study individual lives in particular.

Recent decades have brought changes in the direction of re-search—for example, in the work of historians who are interested in the process of canonization or in representations of femininity. A good number of the texts of interest to such researchers are in prose (e.g., the lives of Chiara da Romini, Corrado Gonfalonieri, and Angela da Foligno). Since no thorough research could be carried out without more modern tools, research teams were brought together at the École Française de Rome and the Fondazione Ezio Franceschini in Florence. The work and the results of these establishments have been described in articles by Dalarun (1994a,b), Dalarun and Leonardi (1997), and Dolbeau (1994). With the CD-ROM and appended tools (*Biblioteca Agiografica*

Italiana: Repertorio dei testi agiografici in volgare, secoli XIII-XV and its website), researchers can obtain a much clearer idea of the corpus, as well as many details of lives and texts. For the first time, students of the genre can focus on a text or a group of texts; gain a sense of the extent of the production; and carry on textual, literary, historical, and cultural research. Extensive work has already been done for other literary traditions (e.g., English, French, and German); this is now an exciting possibility for Italian as well.

See also Italian Literature: Religious; Ritmo di Sant'Alessio

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Alexis, 1490 etc., 80 octaves. (Other versions printed in the sixteenth century, in sestinas: 116 sestets, + 1617, 1625, etc. Also: 76 octaves, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.)

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- , c. 1600, 130 octaves.
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- Girolamo, *Leggenda*, 1613, 32 octaves.
- Giuliano, 1494, 33 octaves.
- Giuseppe, 1538.
- Giusto, *paladino*, 1473, 144 octaves.
- Gregorio, *papa*, 19 octaves + stanzas of 5—6 verses.
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- Liberale, *Oratione*, 1601, 20 octaves.
- Lorenzo, 1510-1515, 126 verses.
- Lucia, *Storia*, before 1500, 61 octaves.

—, 1544, 29 octaves.
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Salerno

The city of Salerno, on the Tyrrhenian coast some 40 miles (64 kilometers) south of Naples, is perhaps best-known today as a site of landings by Allied forces during World War II. For four centuries, however, Salerno played a major role in the history of medieval Italy.

During the Roman imperial era, Salernum had enjoyed at least modest importance because of its location. Situated on an open plain just south of the mountains that ring the Bay of Naples, Salerno functioned as a gateway both to Calabria and to the southern Italian interior. Paestum, below Salerno on the same coastal plain, had been the major local center in the earlier Greek period, but it was then

already in decline; in effect, Salerno served the Romans as Paestum had served the Greeks.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, Salerno was one of many southern Italian cities fought over by Ostrogoth and Byzantine armies. Then, in the mid-seventh century, it fell to new invaders, the Lombards, and was incorporated into the newly created Lombard duchy of Benevento. At first, thereafter, the Lombards seem to have paid Salerno scant attention, even though it was nominally under their control. It was seldom mentioned in the sources; and since disease and famine swept southern Italy during the next century, its population surely declined. But in the 780s, Salerno's fortunes changed, quite dramatically. In 774, Charlemagne had invaded northern Italy and made it part of his empire, deposing the Lombard king. That left only the duchy of Benevento as an independent Lombard territory. Yet "only" is somewhat misleading, for in the late eighth century the duchy of Benevento could be said to encompass almost all of mainland Italy south of Rome—in other words, roughly half of the Italian peninsula. (In this period, Byzantium, while still claiming southern Italy, had virtually ceased to have any presence there.) Arichis II, the reigning duke of Benevento, was determined to protect his holdings; he now declared himself "prince of the Lombards" and set about strengthening his position lest Charlemagne decide to march south. And perhaps because the city of Benevento seemed too close to the Carolingian armies, or simply because of Salerno's strategic coastal location, Arichis made Salerno a second capital.

It is apparently to Arichis that we owe the refortification of what had been a Roman *castrum* on the heights above Salerno's present-day site. (Later expanded and further strengthened, this "castle" can still be seen from the *autostrada* as one approaches the city.) Lower down, moreover, Arichis built a palace and a royal church, and ringed the whole with stout city walls. From then on, until his death in 787, he seems to have spent much of his time at Salerno, as did his immediate successors, the Bene-ventan Lombard rulers of the early ninth century.

In due course, however, Salerno's enhanced position led to tensions among the Lombards themselves. In 839, when there was dissatisfaction over the succession to the Beneventan throne, a Salernitan Lombard faction installed its own rebel prince at Salerno. The result was ten

years of brutal civil war, with both sides hiring Arab mercenaries with which to ravage each other's territory. Inevitably, this alarmed the pope; Rome itself seemed threatened by this importing of Arabs. The battling had to be stopped; and so in 849, prodded by the Carolingian emperor Lothair (Lothar) I at the urging of the pope, Benevento's ruler was forced to agree to a formal separation. (The document, *Divisio ducatus beneventani*, still survives.) The old duchy of Benevento was cut into two parts, with Salerno acquiring title to most of the western half of southern Italy.

Thereafter, Salerno—now officially the autonomous principality of Salerno, with the city of Salerno its capital—grew and flourished. A particularly strong dynasty soon assumed power there and produced a succession of able, long-lived, and popular rulers. By the end of the tenth century, the principality of Salerno was unquestionably the richest and most stable political entity in the south.

There were, of course, some problems along the way, and some obstacles to overcome. In the latter ninth century, Capua, initially part of Salerno's domain, also became autonomous. This meant a third Lombard principality vying for power in the region, and for a time Benevento, Salerno, and Capua intermittently battled each other, sometimes drawing into their confrontations the duchy of Naples, their non-Lombard neighbor. In the 870s, the city of Salerno was also besieged for nearly a year by a formidable Arab army intent on extending North African control to southern Italy. (The city was finally saved only because the Carolingian emperor Louis II dispatched a rescue force.) Then, in the 880s, Byzantium, which had neglected its claim to southern Italy for nearly a century, once again sent armies there. From that point on, through the tenth century and into the eleventh, Salerno always had to be wary of the Byzantines' challenges to its independence.

Yet the principality proved strong enough to withstand all of these threats. In the latter tenth century, there was a change of dynasty, largely due to the turmoil associated with the emperors Otto I and Otto II and their forays into southern Italy. Capua's ambitious ruler, Pandulf Ironhead (Pandolf or Pan-dulph I), associated himself with the Ottos and even succeeded, briefly, in obtaining Salerno's throne for his son. But Salerno survived this turbulence too. The Salernitans recruited a

new ruler, from Spoleto, and this new dynasty continued the policies of its predecessors, even adopting the names of the old rulers (Guaimar, Gisolf)- The principality thus remained strong, and notably prosperous. In the ninth century, a close relationship had been formed with Amalfi, the trade-oriented city-state that was Salerno's nearest neighbor. This appears to have contributed significantly to Salerno's prosperity. Both Amalfi and Salerno clearly benefited from trade with the Arab world, as is indicated by the fact that in the tenth century both states adopted an Arab coinage, the gold *tari* or quarter-dinar.

By the time of Guaimar V (1027–1052), however, there were clouds on the horizon. All the sources indicate that Guaimar V was an exemplary ruler: a vigorous defender of his principality, and an adroit politician who was nonetheless also admired throughout the region for his exceptional integrity. But southern Italy in his period was increasingly chaotic. Early in the eleventh century, Norman adventurers had begun to appear there, lured by an escalating conflict involving Byzantium, a resurgent papacy, successive German emperors, and the Lombards. Contemporary sources reported that it was in fact Lombards (possibly including Guaimar's own father) who had first urged Norman mercenaries to come south, mainly to help fight off the Byzantines. Certainly the Normans formed their first power bases in Lombard territory and began to intermarry with the Lombard ruling families. Soon, however, these Normans became even more ambitious and aggressive. By the time Guaimar V died, one set had wrested control of the Lombard principality of Capua. And Benevento, terrified of a similar fate, had declared itself a papal city or papal ward, surrendering its autonomy.

At first, Salerno looked likely to escape unscathed. In 1058, Gisolf II, son of Guaimar V, married his sister Sikelgaite (Sichel-gaita) to Robert Guiscard, by then the preeminent Norman. This alliance seemed to assure Salerno of a strong and independent future. But then less than twenty years later, in 1075, Robert Guiscard turned on his brother-in-law and seized Salerno's throne for himself.

By then the Normans were well on their way to creating the Norman Regno, their kingdom of southern Italy and Sicily. In 1071, Robert Guiscard had taken Bari, Byzantium's chief city in southern Italy; in 1072, his brother took Palermo, the capital of Muslim Sicily. Salerno, the

sole surviving Lombard principality, had constituted the last major impediment to their control of the mainland

After 1075, there was no longer an autonomous principality of Salerno, but within the Norman Regno at least the city remained important. Robert Guiscard built there a splendid new cathedral (which still stands, even though its interior has been much altered over the centuries). The city became, in effect, the Normans' mainland capital; and even in the twelfth century, when the Norman court was based in Sicily, Norman rulers made frequent visits to Salerno, and several Salernitan Lombards held important offices in the Norman state.

But then the Norman kingdom collapsed, at the end of the twelfth century. The last member of Robert Guiscard's royal line died in 1189, leaving no son, and the throne was claimed by Henry VI, the German emperor who had married a daughter of the Normans' greatest twelfth-century ruler, Roger II. Many supporters of the old Norman dynasty opposed Henry's claim, and an illegitimate cousin of the last Norman ruler was crowned instead. But within five years, after a bloody and devastating struggle, this attempt to preserve Norman rule collapsed. Henry VI won, and that proved to be the end of Salerno's centuries of prominence, for Salerno had openly sided with Henry's Norman opponents and, in punishment, the city was virtually razed.

Salerno's great period thus came to an ignominious end. Frederick II, Henry VI's son, favored other cities in southern Italy, and later rulers of the region, the Angevin kings of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, made Naples their capital. Salerno sank into obscurity; in later centuries, it was known only as a center of medical learning.

Yet in fact this reputation did reflect a connection with Salerno's earlier days. The medical school of Salerno achieved its greatest celebrity during Salerno's Norman period, after the principality had ceased to exist; most of the Salernitan medical treatises that circulated throughout Europe are dated to the twelfth century. Nevertheless, the beginnings of the school can be traced to the Lombard period. In the late tenth century, for example, a bishop from northern France had journeyed to Salerno in hope of a cure. At the time, Salernitan doctors were disparaged by some as overly pragmatic and insufficiently theoretical; but this may well have been what drew the bishop, and this predilection would remain a hallmark of Salernitan medicine. It is also

notable that the most distinguished figure associated with the Salernitan school was Constantine Africanus, a converted Muslim who translated medical treatises from Arabic into Latin. If we remember that Lombard Salerno had a close trading relationship with the Arab world, we should not be surprised at Constantine's coming there in the late eleventh century. All together, it seems fair to say that Salerno's later reputation represented a genuine link with the old principality.

With the exception of its medical school, Salerno has been almost totally neglected by British and American scholars; but for a full discussion of Lombard Salerno, see Kreutz (1991).

See also Amalfi; Arichis; Benevento; Byzantine Empire; Constantinus Africanus; Lombards; Medicine; Naples; Normans; Robert Guiscard; Spoleto; Trotula of Salerno

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Salimbene De Adam

What we know of Fra Salimbene de Adam of Parma (1221-c. 1289) is based entirely on the *Chronicle*, his only extant work. In it Salimbene tells us that he was born to Guido de Adam and Inmelda de Cassio,

members of two well-established families in Parma. He was christened Balian of Sidon but was simply called Ognibene by his family. In 1238 he entered the Franciscan order and was given the name Salimbene by the last friar Saint Francis had admitted to the order. During his novitiate, Salim-bene met Bernard of Quintavalle, the first friar Saint Francis had admitted to the order; and Elias of Cortona, the order's first minister general.

After completing his novitiate at Fano, Salimbene went to a convent in Lucca where he studied music and first saw the Holy Roman emperor Frederick II. From there he moved to Siena, where he continued his study of music and came into contact with the theories of Joachim of Fiore through the work of Hugo of Digne. From 1243 to 1247 Salimbene was in Pisa, where his education in Joachism continued under Rudolf of Saxony. Salimbene's acquaintance with some of the most distinguished people of his time continued during his trips to France in 1247-1248. At Provins he met the Joachist Gerard of Borgo San Don-nino. At Villefranche and at Sens he met Giovanni di Piano Carpini, the Franciscan provincial general of Germany and Spain, who had been an emissary for Pope Innocent IV at the court of the khan Guyuk at Karakoram in Mongolia. At Hyères Salimbene heard the lectures of Hugo of Digne, and at Auxerre he met Saint Louis of France. In 1248 he was ordained a priest at Genoa; later he was sent to Ferrara, where he remained for seven years. He probably spent the years 1279-1285 in Reggio Emilia and its province, where, in 1283, he began working on the *Chronicle*. In 1287 he moved to Montefalcone, where he died shortly after 1288.

Despite his close contact with several of the leading thinkers of his time, and despite the opportunities to study at several of the most important universities of his day (he spent a week studying at the University in Paris but left without the permission of his superiors), Salimbene's intellectual background is regarded by scholars as superficial. His knowledge of the Bible was thorough, as is shown by his extensive use of biblical quotations throughout the *Chronicle*, but as scholars have indicated, these quotations are used to support statements which often have little if anything to do with the Bible. Scholars concur that even when Salimbene discusses issues about which he was knowledgeable (such as the prophecies of Joachim of Fiore and

the relative merits and shortcomings of Elias of Cortona), he is often subjective and biased.

Salimbene's numerous acquaintances and travels provided him with plenty of material for his *Chronicle*. Besides narrating famous and less-known events in Italy and France, the *Chronicle* also narrates personal moments in Salimbene's life and that of his family. The *Chronicle* is regarded by scholars as historically accurate for the most part, but its importance is not purely historical. As Baird (1986) has shown, it is the earliest account of the spread of Joachism within the Franciscan order, as well as an important document of Franciscan life in the thirteenth century and the extent to which the Franciscan order had deviated from Saint Francis's original rule. Salimbene does not hesitate to reveal his own worldly interests while narrating the worldliness of his age. His narrative, however, also includes *exempla* of spiritual piety, as seen in his characterizations of Saint Louis of France, John of Parma (minister general of the Franciscan order), and even himself (Salimbene's visions of the holy family are narrated in great detail). In fact his extensive use of *exempla* gives the *Chronicle* a narrative style that anticipates Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The *exempla* are an integral part of the *Chronicle* and are used not only to illustrate a moral but also to produce comic effects. Moreover, these *exempla* are rich in detail, making the characterizations both vivid and realistic (Auerbach 1957),"

In addition to vivid portraits of well-known and lesser-known people of his time, Salimbene himself often appears in the *Chronicle*, giving the work an autobiographical dimension. He comes across as having a great interest in worldly matters, and (as Baird notes) he often expresses contempt for qualities he himself is guilty of, indicating a contradictory or ambiguous personality. Nevertheless, Salimbene's candid and uninhibited nature suggests that he is true to himself throughout the *Chronicle*, even when his evaluation of others (e.g., Elias of Cortona) is not as truthful.

The *Chronicle* has come down to us in a single manuscript (Vatican Latin 7260) of which the first 277 folios are missing. The manuscript, written by Salimbene himself, narrates events from 1168 to 1287. The years 1168–1212 are based on Sicardo of Cremona's *Chronicle*; and the historic events occurring from 1212 to 1283 (the year Salimbene began writing the work) seem to have much in common with two chronicles

attributed to Albert Milioli: *Liber de temporibus* and *Cronica imperatorum*. Not until the twentieth century did Salimbene's *Chronicle* receive the scholarly and critical attention it deserves.

See also **Chronicles**

STEVEN GROSSVOGEL

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Salimbeni Family

The Salimbeni family was the wealthiest noble lineage in Siena during the regime of "the Nine" (1287-1355). The Salimbeni had extensive urban and rural possessions and were the directors of a prosperous banking firm. Before the mid-thirteenth century, several members of the family were apparently Ghibelline. In 1260, for example, Salimbeni dei Salimbene offered 118,000 gold florins to the mercenaries needed by the commune of Siena for the battle of Montaperti (1260). After the mid-thirteenth century, however, the family became dependable Guelphs. Like many other magnate houses, such as the Tolomei, Malavolti, Piccolomini, Marescotti, and Bonsignori, the Salimbeni were excluded by Sienese law from membership in the *popolo* and were declared ineligible to serve in the Nine. Nevertheless, they exerted considerable economic influence over the affairs of their city. For example, several of them served in the most important financial magistracy of Siena between 1287 and 1355, the *biccherna*. The Salimbeni were considerable landholders in the city and the surrounding countryside (they had several rural *castelli* and the lordship of Rocca d'Orcia, or Tintinnano). Their successful banking house survived the series of bankruptcies in the early fourteenth century that affected the Bonsignori, Malavolti, and Tolomei establishments. The Tolomei were the principal rivals of the Salimbeni from the mid-twelfth century to the early fourteenth. In the second half of the fourteenth century, the Salimbeni divided into four separate branches.

See also **Banks and Banking; Siena**

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Salutati, Coluccio

Coluccio Salutati (1331 — 1406) was born at Stignano, on the frontier between Ghibelline Lucca and Guelf Florence, and was carried into exile when the Ghibellines seized power in the area shortly after his birth. He was raised and educated at Bologna, where he studied under Pietro da Moglio, a member of the third generation of Italian humanists. Salutati was trained as notary and in 1350-1351, after his father's death, he returned to Stignano with his family and began practicing his profession. Between 1351 and 1367 Salutati earned his living as a notary, but by 1356 he was already playing a major political role in the rural commune of Buggiano, of which Stignano formed one

of four villages. He married a local woman, Caterina di Tomeo di Balducci, in 1366. In 1367 he moved to Todi to become its chancellor; in 1368 he moved to Rome, where he worked in the papal chancery under Francesco Bruni. After being unable to find suitable employment with the papacy, Salutati became chancellor of Lucca with Bruni's help in 1370. Almost immediately, however, he became embroiled in a factional dispute, and in 1371 he lost his position and reluctantly returned to Stignano. He had lost his first wife while he was still in Lucca; sometime between 1372 and 1374, widowed with a small boy, he married Piera, the daughter of Simone Riccomi. He and Piera had at least eight children.

Salutati was called to Florence in 1374 to assume the newly created secretaryship of the *tratte*, the office supervising elections to Florentine offices; in 1375 he became chancellor. As the official responsible for conducting the Florentine government's correspondence with the provinces and with foreign powers, he almost immediately established his reputation as the greatest author of official letters in western Europe. He was able to demonstrate his virtuosity immediately, because 1375 marked the beginning of a three-year war between Florence and the papacy, a war whose major battles were propaganda campaigns designed to retain and attract allies. Perhaps his greatest epistolary triumphs came in 1390-1406, when he assumed responsibility for representing to western European powers the issues involved in Florence's bitter struggle with the Visconti of Milan. Florence's archenemy, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, is said to have stated that "a letter of Salutati's was worth a troop of horses." Having been chancellor for thirty-one years, during which time he navigated the troubled waters of Florentine political life with unerring tact, Salutati died in 1406.

Salutati was influenced, after 1367, by Petrarch's concern with integrating Christianity and pagan letters, but he never achieved the mature Petrarch's confidence in their harmoniousness. Salutati, who is less classicizing in style than Petrarch and more obviously intrigued by scholastic philosophy and theology, betrays the weak welds in Christian humanism. Although he was a family man and a devout Florentine patriot, his *De seculo et religione* (1381), praising the superiority of the monastic life, represented a genuine ascetic element in his thought. His last private letters unambiguously affirm his allegiance to Christian

truth over and against pagan culture. Nonetheless, up to the last year of his life his devotion to ancient literature remained strong. Under his influence, Florence brought the great Greek scholar Manuel Chrysoloras from Constantinople in 1397 to teach Greek at the university. Whereas a previous attempt in 1360— 1362, with Leonzio Pilato, had failed to arouse the interest of the city's young people, the arrival of Chrysoloras marked the rebirth of Greek studies in western Europe

Salutati made Florence the capital of this major movement in European cultural and intellectual life through his prestige as chancellor; the fame of his public letters; his eagerness to relate classical studies to moral and religious problems of his day; his effort to encompass within a continuous tradition the ancient Latin authors, the church fathers, and the medieval rhetoricians; and his successful introduction of Hellenic studies into the Latin west. That Florence was the center of humanistic studies down to the mid-fifteenth century testifies to Salutati's enduring intellectual legacy.

See also **Florence; Humanism and Protohumanism; Petrarca, Francesco**

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Situated in the Val d'Elsa about 35 miles (56 kilometers) from Florence and 23 miles (36 kilometers) from Siena, medieval San Gimignano was at the crossroads of the main route northward from Rome and the route from Pisa to Siena. It was arguably the most important town between Lucca and Siena. Today San Gimignano is the serene "city of the beautiful towers," the best-preserved example of a picturesque Tuscan hill town. Much of what one encounters there, especially the unique collection of fifteen medieval towers, dates to the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth, an era that was prosperous but hardly peaceful. The now quaint pavements once soaked up blood, reflected the incendiary's torch flame, and echoed the partisan shouts of Guelph and Ghibelline and the cries of the victims of both. The rich countryside brought prosperity, and prosperity begat ambition, rivalry, and violence.

The existence of Etruscan tombs and other archaeological evidence indicates that the area in and around San Gimignano was occupied in pre-Roman and Roman times, though little is known about early settlement. Ancient traditions associate the site with followers of Catiline and link it to events in the lives of Attila the Hun (impossible), Totila, and Desiderius, the last native king of the Lombards. The earliest documentation of the area is from 929, when the king of Italy presented lordship over one of San Gimignano's hills—Monte di Torre—to Adalard, bishop of Volterra. Unlike most important Tuscan towns, San Gimignano would never have a bishop of its own; nor would it ever be dominated by local or territorial feudal lords, as so many similar towns were. The lordship of a distant (and often preoccupied) bishop provided many opportunities for civic self-determination.

On his hill, the bishop of Volterra built a *castello* as a residence when he was in the area. This, with its church of Santo Stefano, became one of two nodes around which the town of San Gimignano grew after the mid-tenth century. Along the flank of the rise on which the *castello* stood ran the Via Francigena, since Lombard times the major route for trade and travel between Rome and northwestern Europe. Closer to the road and slightly to the west rose a second hill, Montestaffoli. This supported a small settlement, or *borgo*, that had long been associated with a relic of the fourth-century Modenese bishop San Gimignano. The *borgo* grew during the Carolingian period, and the bishop sanctioned its

church (San Niccolo), *castello*, and market. From early on, the *borgo* provided for pilgrims to Rome, merchants, and other travelers along Via Francigena. Hospices and other services developed to care for their needs. By the late 900s the *borgo* had walls, and in 1059 San Gimignano's oratory became the area's *propositura*, or seat of the local provost.



Collegiata, San Gimignano. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The bishop excluded his village, later known as the *castelvechio*

(old castle), from the new town, probably wishing to maintain the freedom of access this would ensure. As lord of the area, the bishop ruled through a *vicedominus*, or vice-lord, and later a rector. To aid the bishop's representative, and to represent the townspeople's interests to the bishop, a number of *boni homines* (good men) were chosen from the most important families. This group provided a core for the formation of a separate government of the town, one eventually independent of the bishop's interests or desires. Ironically, bishops began to urge or force rural nobles to reside in San Gimignano itself. This provided the town with new and powerful leaders and stronger connections to the countryside; a true community of interests emerged, at the bishops' expense.

The twelfth century witnessed the rise and triumph of the commune of San Gimignano over its lord bishop. In 1100, there was a clerical uprising, and the Tuscan countess Matilda reconfirmed the lordship of the bishop of Volterra over San Gimignano. In 1199, the communal council chose its own *podestà*, whose function was, effectively, to replace the bishop's rectors and end the bishop's rule, if not his authority. The bishops were engaged in an endemic struggle with their own people in Volterra, which meant that the churchman needed allies and money, and both could be had from San Gimignano, for a price. On the one hand, the leading citizens of San Gimignano wanted freedom from interference by the bishop in economic affairs and political relations with other communes. On the other hand, they wanted to expand their influence over the countryside— that is, over territories held directly by the bishop. As communal organization became more sophisticated, the demands grew. By 1181, the bishop's rector was being advised, and confronted, by a communal government led by four consuls (direct descendants of the *boni homines*) and a council of fifty. These were powerful men of commerce, not feudal nobles as in many communes, and their understanding of the bishop's position was clear. He had to pay interest of 20 to 30 percent for San Gimignese money, and yet he relied on the town's goodwill; concessions were inevitable.

In 1199, the communal councillors named as first *podesta* the Sienese Maghinardo di Malavolti. In the same year, they "allied" themselves with the lords of Montignoso and of Castello Fosci for military purposes. These were not really alliances but submission disguised, for

political reasons, as something less threatening to the bishop's interests. When Castello Fosci rebelled in 1204, San Gimignano showed its teeth: it utterly destroyed Castello Fosci but welcomed the lords, Sigerio and Antiochia, as full citizens. In 1210, the bishop's impecuniousness forced him to sell his rights to the *castelveccio*, though it remained outside the town walls until 1262. Independent action had its price, however. In 1202, Florence decided to wipe out the stronghold of the Alberti clan at Semifonte, and the commune of San Gimignano supported the small town, hoping to keep the powerful Florentines at a distance. San Gimignano lost the gamble, and Semifonte was eliminated. The San Gimignesi, led by a Florentine *podestà*, switched sides in time to participate in the destruction, however; and Florence exacted no revenge for their original opposition. The Florentines did demand that all men aged sixteen to seventy swear allegiance to Florence and fight for its interests, and that the commune protect the interests of Florentines in San Gimignano's territory and pay an indemnity of 2,000 lire.

Several trends that were important for San Gimignano emerged in the first half of the thirteenth century. It continued to extend its hold over nearby *castelli* and towns; it became more involved with Florence; and rivalry between Guelfs and Ghibellines began to develop. Actions of Emperor Frederick II led first to opportunistic gains at the expense of the bishop of Volterra. In 1224, Frederick reconfirmed the bishop's powers, angering both the Volterrans and the San Gimignesi. However, in 1225, when violence by Volterrans resulted in the death of a San Gimignese, the commune supported the bishop. San Gimignano occupied several of his feudal holdings so as to "protect" them, and in 1226 it besieged Nera. One of these holdings was Montevoltraio, a short 3 miles (about 5 kilometers) from Volterra. San Gimignano had to evacuate Montevoltraio after arbitration but left a *podestà* in place. Emboldened by its victories, in 1229 San Gimignano persuaded Montignosi, Pietra, and Gambassi to shift allegiance. Arbitration followed a short war, and the bishop exchanged an important tax right for control of the properties. With the emperor's help, in the mid-1240s San Gimignano regained Montignosi and Gambassi. In 1253 the bishop once again was willing to trade territory for fidelity and resources, as he faced a major popular revolt in Volterra.



Palazzo del Podestà, San Gimignano. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Another important trend is that Florence and San Gimignano grew closer politically. Florence served as a mediator in many disputes involving San Gimignano, and San Gimignano supported Florence in its wars against its neighbors. As Guelf and Ghibelline factions emerged during the reign of Frederick II, San Gimignano was split, and the Guelfs inevitably looked to Florence. The rift also resulted in a long and bloody civil war between the factions, eventuating in Florence's

domination of San Gimignano in the mid-*Trecento*.

In 1241, San Gimignano was forced to submit to Frederick and accept his *podestà*. In 1242, the captain general in Tuscany imposed taxes on the normally exempt clergy, and banned San Gimignese Guelfs and sequestered their goods. This led to open war between the Guelf clan of the Ardinghelli and the Ghibelline Salvucci. Until 1250 San Gimignano was strictly Ghibelline, and it put down a revolt by the Ardinghelli in 1246. With the emperor's death came a mild Guelf resurgence, and in 1251 the *popolo*, largely Guelf, seized the upper hand in the government. As early as 1233, the *popolo* had gained official representation in one council; now two *popolo* captains, with the support of the bishop, attacked the imperial *podestà* and established rule by twelve captains from the *popolo*. This new government also sent aid to Guelf Florence against its Ghibelline enemies. The Ghi-bellines (the Buonfiglioli family) struck back in 1252 and massacred Guelfs. Peace was made at the expense of the Ghibellines, so they rose again in 1253. Walls, gates, and houses were damaged or destroyed, and the Florentines, as mediators, demanded that the town walls be destroyed in punishment for the civil unrest.

San Gimignano remained Guelf until the Ghibeliine victory at Montaperti in 1260. Leading Guelfs fled to Lucca, and San Gimignano joined the Ghibeliine league. The walls were rebuilt in 1262, and these still define the city today. The Guelf victory at Benevento (1266) ended Ghibeliine domination in Tuscany. The San Gimignese *parte Guelfa* reorganized the government but reserved one-third of council seats for Ghibellines in an attempt to mitigate political violence. King Charles of Anjou, who was a Guelf leader and the overlord of San Gimignano, ordered the destruction of Ghibeliine towers in the town during another round of fighting with the bishop of Volterra over Gambassi. Continuing on its pragmatic course, the town refused and made peace, since such a move could have had negative economic consequences. With the destruction of the Ghibeliine stronghold of Poggibonsi in 1269, Tuscany was firmly Guelf, and the Ghibellines seemed to pose little threat. In fact, they gained the right to half of the council seats after 1278, and factional strife died down temporarily.

San Gimignano joined the Guelf league in 1284 and fought in the victory of Campaldino in 1289. The regime was again reorganized, this

time along strictly Guelf lines. An expensive war with Ghibelline Pisa in 1290 resulted in a tax on clergy in San Gimignano. The bishop of Volterra declared an interdict, and the clergy, taking church plate with them, walked out of the town. The commune charged them with theft, and the case went to the pope, who upheld the interdict. Shortly thereafter, however, the pope reexamined the case and lifted not only the interdict but the ecclesiastical tithe as well. Wealthy and Guelf, San Gimignano deserved careful treatment by Rome.

Florence turned on San Gimignano in 1293, taking control of Gambasss, Catignano, Pulicciano, and Montignosi, offering no explanation and showing no patience with arguments. This had the effect of reviving violence between the Guelfs (the Pellari) and Ghibellines (the Salvucci). By 1296, in protest, a number of communes, including Perugia, Arezzo, and Volterra, had lifted their protections for merchants from San Gimignano. This threat caused the factions to sue for peace, a suit mediated by the cardinal of Acquasparta in 1298. In 1300, a Florentine embassy, which included Dante Alighieri, came to San Gimignano to invite the town to join another Guelf league, and to begin accepting Florentine *podestà* once again.

San Gimignano battled Volterra again between 1306 and 1309 but joined and aided the Guelf and Florentine causes in 1309 and 1312-1313, when Emperor Henry VII passed through Tuscany and revived Ghibelline and imperial pretensions. San Gimignano supported the war against Ghibelline Pisa until peace was signed in 1318. Because of its strong economic ties with Lucca, San Gimignano at first stayed out of the skirmishes with the arch-Ghibelline Castruccio Castracani in the early 1320s. The defeat of the Guelfs at Altopascio (1325), however, emboldened disaffected Ghibellines and exiles, who plotted to overthrow the government. The plot was discovered and thwarted, and active support for the Guelf cause followed immediately. San Gimignano withdrew its merchants from Pisa, and Pisa's army fought its way as far as Pietra, devastating the San Gimignano countryside. Castruccio's death ended the campaigns, but the cost to San Gimignano was extreme: its trade was nearly ruined, its countryside was devastated, and it had to borrow 10,000 florins from the Florentine Acciaiuoli bank to buy grain for its famished populace.

Peace was brief; the appearance of John of Bohemia led to a

Ghibelline revival and to renewed bloodshed. Ardinghelli exiles fought to regain admission into San Gimignano but failed and holed up in Camporobiano, a possession of Florence. San Gimignano attacked and burned the town, and Florence demanded 50,000 florins and death by fire for 147 people who had been involved (the latter demand was withdrawn).

The Florentines' interest and power in the vicinity was growing, as Florence absorbed more and more of the Val D'Elsa in the 1340s. In 1344 and 1348, the Ardinghelli tried again to regain admission to San Gimignano, and again Florence was inconvenienced by the resulting violence. After the black death swept the region in 1347–1348, San Gimignano was prostrate, having lost about 60 percent of its inhabitants; only about 1,900 souls remained in the town. Feuding, campaigns, and the plague had exhausted San Gimignano, which now submitted itself to Florentine control, on 28 February 1349, for a period of three years. In 1351, violence between the Salvucci and the Ardinghelli led to a renewal of the pact, and the situation was repeated in 1352–1353. Finally, on 11 August 1353, San Gimignano made a full act of submission in the hope that Florence could bring internal peace. Native magistrates still had some power, but a Florentine *podestà* regulated virtually all civic affairs. San Gimignano could become members of Florence's guilds, but the town was subject to high taxation. Florence also built and manned a new fortress, the *rocca*, on the site of the Dominican house. This was completed in 1358 but is now in ruins.

Economy and Society

(The economy of San Gimignano was based on land, which tended to remain in the hands of rich magnates and fairly small holders. Grain, of course, constituted the mainstay of the diet and supported residents and travelers alike. Agriculture also provided export crops of exceptional quality. The most important was saffron, for which San Gimignano became very famous. Saffron was used for medicine, as a spice, and in dyeing wool, and it obtained the highest prices in markets throughout Italy and abroad. The region's wine ("Greco" and Vernaccia) and olive

oil were also highly regarded throughout Italy and brought merchants healthy profits. These profits became the bases for moneylending both within the town and, more important, abroad. The bishop of Volterra was a regular customer, and the city's merchant network provided agencies throughout Italy and in France. Rates of 20 and 30 percent were not uncommon, and, like good Christian usurers, the San Gimignesi shouldered and then expiated their guilt.

Unlike landholders elsewhere in Europe, those in and around San Gimignano notably reinvested much of their profits in the land itself. This guaranteed continued high quality and quantity of production, until the devastating wars of the 1320s. This capitalistic approach to agriculture developed in San Gimignano among a landholding class that was fully urbanized and that by the early twelfth century had made common cause with, and become an integral part of, the commercial class in the town. A rural nobility really did not exist, and the thirteenth-century family towers for which the city is so famous today were the strongholds not of knights recently forced into the town, as elsewhere, but of leaders in the mercantile and moneylending class. The obstreperous Salvucci and Ardinghelli were merchant-usurers, not merely unruly rural nobles who brought their feud into town.

Trade flowed from and through San Gimignano to Siena, Rome, and points south; and north to central Tuscany, Lombardy, and northern Europe along the Via Francigena, until the route of that road was shifted under the direction of the Florentines. Goods flowed into the Mediterranean through the port of Pisa. In the 1230s, San Gimignano built a *fondaco*, or warehouse-office, in Pisa for the use of its merchants. Some San Gimignesi developed transportation networks, carting the goods of merchants throughout Tuscany, usually in caravans. The San Gimignesi, of course, also taxed the passage of goods through their segment of the Via Francigena. In 1236, these *gabelle del passo* earned the commune about 1,000 lire. The lodging of travelers also grew as a local occupation, at least until the route shifted. In 1262 there were nine hospices, although there were only six in 1284 and 1298.

The crusades exposed many San Gimignesi to the possibilities of trade and banking in the near east and along the North African littoral. Entrepreneurs, money changers, and moneylenders from San

Gimignano could be found throughout the Mediterranean during the early thirteenth century, with a concentration in Syria.

The production of wool Cloth came late to San Gimignano. In 1274, three masters arrived from Florence and introduced the industry, and later that year Alessandro del fu Ugolino of Siena was given great concessions and communal support for setting up an operation. These businesses thrived, and wool cloth became a major export. Glassmaking was another craft introduced, through Camporobiano, into the town in the thirteenth century.

The development of guilds reflects the rise of San Gimignano's economic fortunes. In the mid-1230s, only the furriers, drapers, victualers, and shoemakers had guilds. By 1258, smiths, butchers, animal sellers, and carters had organized. Not until after this date did judges and notaries, merchants, producers of wool cloth, tailors, carpenters and masons, and barbers establish their guilds, while the drapers, furriers, and carters lost theirs.

Economic decline accompanied San Gimignano's political and military entanglements. These led to poor relations with Pisa and Lucca, to high military expenditures and indemnities, to high taxes, and to a wasted *contado* in the 1320s. The number of households (hearths) in the area grew until the time of the black death. In 1227, there were about 1,400 hearths, representing about 6,500 to 7,000 people. By the 1280s, the number of hearths had grown to 2,222; and fifty years later, in 1332, there were an additional 317. As a result of the black death, only 1,163 families—or about 4,000 people—remained in San Gimignese territory in 1350.

Monuments

The main road through San Gimignano today, from Porta San Giovanni to Porta San Matteo, is a remnant of the Via Francigena. The main squares through which the road passed are today the Piazza del Duomo and the Piazza della Cisterna. Communal buildings located in the Piazza del Duomo include the Palazzo Comunale (or Palazzo del Popolo), begun in 1288. Attached to this is the Torre del Podestà (or Torre Grossa), a civic tower nearly 180 feet (54 meters) high. The whole

structure was completed in 1311. The upper stories of the *palazzo* house the Museo Civico and the Sala del Consiglio, the room in which Dante addressed the commune in 1300. The *sala* contains a *Maestà* by Lippo Memmi (1317) that San Gimignano commissioned to rival Siena's. The Palazzo Comunale served as the residence of the Florentine *podestà* after 1353. The old Palazzo of the Podestà is across the Piazza del Duomo from the Collegiata church, and adjacent to the Palazzo Comunale. Built in 1239, this structure was originally the family residence of the Gregorio and later the Mantellini. It housed the town's *podestà* from the later thirteenth century until 1353. The Rognosa tower, about 165 feet (50 meters) high, was added in the early fourteenth century and served as a prison until the end of the century.

San Gimignano's principal church is the Collegiata, sometimes incorrectly referred to as the *duomo*. It originated in the twelfth century as a small oratory dedicated to Saint Nicholas; this was expanded in the early thirteenth century into a Romanesque basilica-style church. Pope Eugenius III is said to have consecrated the original oratory in 1148. Its frescoed interior contains thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Sienese work, including Old Testament scenes by Bartolo di Fredi and a Last Judgment by Taddeo di Bartolo. The church also contains the chapel of Santa Fina, a local girl who, after five years of suffering, died in the odor of sanctity (literally, according to tradition) in 1253 at age fifteen. The only remaining mendicant church is Sant'Agostino, a large structure begun in 1280 and finished in 1320, located near the Porta San Matteo. The Dominican church and convent were completed in 1332 but were destroyed when the Florentines built the Rocca two decades later. The Franciscan community was suppressed in 1782, and the rather small Pisan-Romanesque church of San Francesco on Via San Giovanni was desacralized.

Important private towers that remain intact from the thirteenth century include the twin Salvucci towers flanking the older Palazzo Salvucci, and the Torre Brogi Pesciolini, which legend claims was the palace of Desiderius.

See also Bartoio di Fredi Cini; Campaldino, Battle of; Castruccio Castracani; Charles I of Anjou; Dante Alighieri; Florence; Ghibelline; Guelfs; Memmi, Lippo; Siena; Taddeo di Bartoio; Urban

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and 66, 1960, pp. 49-59. "

San Miniato

San Miniato (*al Tedesco*) snakes across a long hilltop near the confluence of the Arno and Elsa rivers in central Tuscany. It was long the most formidable fortress in the lower Arno valley. According to legend, Desiderius, the last native king of the Lombards, built the original castle, and there is evidence for "seventeen Lombard founders." The earliest documentation (783) regards permission granted by the lord bishop of Lucca for the construction of a church dedicated to the Florentine martyr San Miniato. As the Via Francigena became the principal corridor linking Rome with northwestern Europe, San Miniato guarded a vital crossroads: the Francigena and the Arno valley between Florence and Pisa. A village grew up around the church and castle, and in the latter the future countess Matilda of Tuscany was born in 1046.

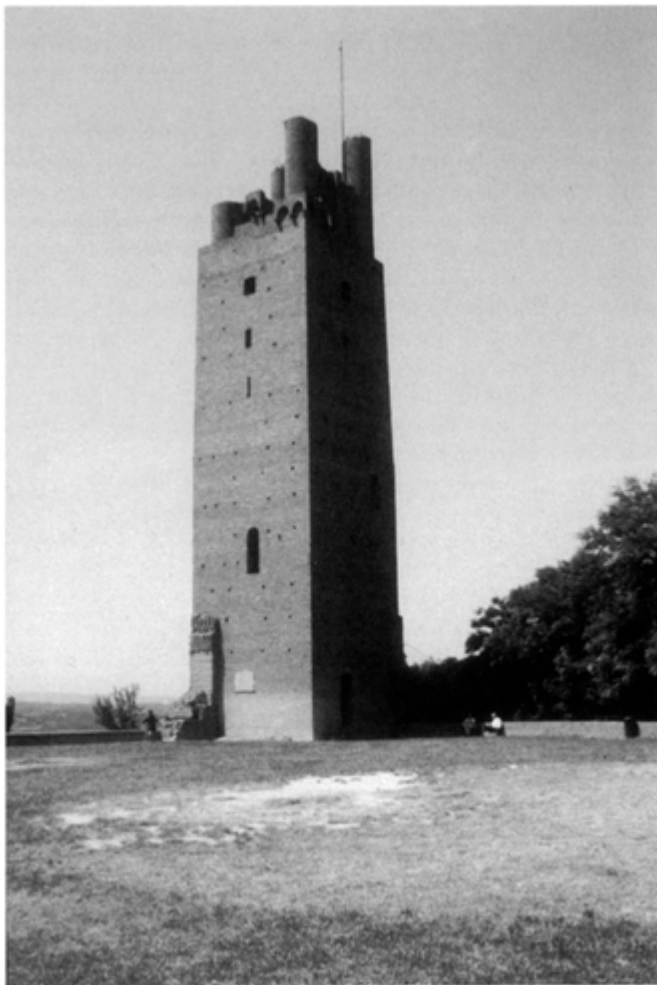
By the end of the eleventh century, a communal government had evolved in the town in the face of a new imperial presence. Delegates or vicars exercised control, and the chronicler Villani claims that in 1113 San Miniato was an imperial fortress. Under Frederick I Barbarossa, between 1160 and 1163, San Miniato became the center for imperial financial administration for both Tuscany and the duchy of Spoleto. The denotation *al Tedesco* ("German") resulted from the presence of many German imperial functionaries and soldiers. Relations between the townspeople and the representatives of the empire were often strained. In 1172, the imperial residence was torched by rebellious Tuscans, including Samminiatesi. Imperial troops were ruthless as they conquered the town in retaliation.



Duomo and bell tower ("Matilda's Tower"), San Miniato. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The commune survived the destruction, and the town was rebuilt along the main road in three distinct sections, each heavily fortified against external attack. These served as urban forecourts to the imperial *rocca*, with its walls, towers, and gates that sealed it off from the town.

In the late twelfth century, the route of the Via Francigena was shifted, ruining business in the nearby town of San Ginesio. Frederick II completed the economic destruction (and aided San Miniato's development) when he formally repositioned the trade route toward San Miniato (in 1217) and moved the regional church functions (the baptismal font, cemetery, and chapter of canons) from San Ginesio to San Miniato in 1236. In 1240, after San Miniato aided hostile Florence, Frederick reneged on these arrangements, imposed an imperial governor, and destroyed civic towers. In frustration and retaliation, Samminiatesi utterly destroyed San Ginesio in 1248. Under Frederick, the walls of the castle were expanded and regularized (1217-1221) and the great tower keep was built to his specifications (1229— 1240). In the sixteenth century, the tower was more than 120 feet (37 meters) high, but it was destroyed by bombardment in 1944. In 1236, Frederick's good friend turned traitor, Pier de la Vigna, was imprisoned in the castle, where, grief-stricken, he dashed his brains out.



Tower (reconstructed) of Pier della Vigna, San Miniato. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

San Miniato developed a government typical of thirteenth-century communes, with rule by twelve councillors, and a distinct *popolo* led by a captain. From 1250 to 1280, Ghibellines dominated the fortress town; but after the battle of Benevento (1266) Guelfs were readmitted to the town. After 1280, imperial influence declined, the Guelf *popolo* became more powerful, and the town gravitated toward Guelf Florence. The upper, or magnate, class, however, remained unscathed by this popular

reaction. The town's productive economy was almost entirely based on agriculture, and the magnates controlled most of the land. Without a strong commercial or professional class, little conflict resulted from class friction. This cooperation may also account for the relatively strong local agricultural economy, which saved the populace from the impoverishment that visited much of Tuscany in the early *Trecento*.

In 1313, San Miniato, with its fortress solidly in Guelfhands, held up the advance of Emperor Henry VII against Florence. The bond continued to tighten, and in 1347 a formal alliance (to the advantage of Florence) was signed. In 1368, in retaliation against marauding Samminiatesi, Florence successfully besieged the town and ended its autonomy. Henceforth, it would formally serve as the key to Florence's western defenses.

Extant structures in San Miniato include two towers of the *rocca*, one of which serves as the bell tower for the present-day cathedral. This eleventh-century church originally carried a dedication to Mary and was enlarged in the fifteenth century. It became a cathedral when San Miniato received a bishop in 1622, and it underwent restoration in 1860. The Palazzo dei Vicari (imperial vicars), across from the cathedral, dates from the late 1100s. The enormous Franciscan church and convent complex of San Francesco were begun in 1276 but remained incomplete until 1480.

See also Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Matilda, Countess of Tuscany; Pier de la Vigna

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Sardinia

Sardinia is an island off the west coast of the Italian peninsula, about 145 miles (233 kilometers) from the mainland, with an area of 11,000 square miles (28,490 square kilometers). It is largely mountainous in the northern and central regions; the highest elevation—6,017 feet (1,834 meters)—is at Gennargentu. The southern region is flatter and better suited for agriculture.

The island's geographic position in the mid-Mediterranean isolated it culturally from the European mainland and made it vulnerable to attack and domination by seafaring powers. Each foreign dominator introduced its own system of government, laws, and culture; but these transformations, while they colored life in urban centers, often did not penetrate deeply into the fabric of the indigenous culture. Sardinia's economy has been based consistently on a combination of agriculture and pastoralism, with durum wheat and sheep's-milk products being the chief commodities. Its physical isolation led to the retention and preservation of local culture, especially in the interior regions; compared with mainland Italy, Sardinia has been characterized by a high degree of cultural conservatism. In the medieval period, the island briefly developed its own indigenous system of government: and laws independent of foreign influence.

Sardinia has been inhabited since Neolithic times. The earliest inhabitants, Mediterranean peoples who dug shaft tombs into the sides of cliff to bury their dead, were followed by the so-called Nuragic people, a more warlike group who left *nuraghi*, huge dry stone fortresses, as reminders of their culture throughout the island. In the Middle Ages, many of these archaeological relics became sites of Christian worship. During the pre-Roman period, the island was controlled by the Etruscans and the Carthaginians. It was ceded to Rome during the second Punic war in 238 B.C.

The Romans

In A.D. 300, Sardinia was under Roman domination. The *pax Romano*,

made the island less isolated from the mainland and endowed it with a web of roads and aqueducts. Important Roman senators were often granted *latifundia* in the fertile southern part of the island; these were a major source of wheat for the Roman empire. Herding was practiced in the mountainous northern and central regions, while the fertile plateaus of the northwest had a combination of horticulture and pastoralism. Sardinia also served as a dumping ground for *personae non gratae* in the empire; many Jews and Christians were exiled there. It was thus that Judaism and Christianity were introduced to Sardinia, and Cagliari, a southern port town, became an important seat for both religions. Cagliari maintained a flourishing Jewish community throughout the Middle Ages, and Christianity spread rapidly across the island. The Roman period may be said to have ended officially in 455, with the first invasion by Vandals; Sardinia, however, remained strongly Roman and Christian despite the raids, which affected only the coastal areas and never left a strong cultural stamp on the island.

The Byzantines

In 533, the Vandals were defeated by the Byzantines, who quickly took control of the island. The Byzantine influence on Sardinian culture, language, and religion was considerable. Greek became the official language of church and state, and the basically Latinate lexicon was modified by the introduction of numerous Greek terms and names. Byzantine Christianity also left its mark on the island; a large number of Byzantine-style churches dedicated to eastern saints and a number of festivals and customs (such as the veneration of the dead or sleeping Virgin on the feast of the Assumption, 15 August) date from this period. It was also through Byzantine influence that the Sardinian agricultural-pastoral year began on 1 September, and agricultural contracts were renewed and negotiated on this day.

Under the political domination of the Byzantine empire, Sardinia was classified as part of the territory of Africa. There were two distinct administrative representatives of the empire: the *praeses* or *judex provincial*, whose seat was in Cagliari; and the *dux*, a military leader, based in Forum Traiani (modern Fodron-gianus). During the pontificate

of Gregory the Great (590-604), the Christianization of the inhabitants of the innermost mountainous areas of Sardinia, the so-called *Barbagia*, took place. This area had never been dominated by the Romans, and its inhabitants had remained pagan and intolerant of outside domination.

At this time, Sardinian society was divided into two major classes: the *liberi* or freemen and the serfs. Serfs were treated as property and had few legal rights. In practice, however, the lives of serfs and freemen were not dissimilar, especially in rural areas, where the two classes labored side by side in the fields. Urban centers were characterized by a more stratified society.

In 771, the first of a number of Arab attacks on Sardinia occurred. On the whole, the Arabs did not succeed in dominating Sardinia, and Arab influence on the culture was negligible. However, as a result of the Arab incursions many coastal cities were destroyed and population began to shift from the coastal areas to the interior. Trade decreased, and the economy shifted to a subsistence base as each town or village attempted to achieve economic self-sufficiency. After the Arab conquest of Sicily in 827, contacts with Constantinople became more difficult to maintain. Sardinia became effectively isolated from Byzantium and had to fend for itself.

The *Giudicati*

Between 827 and 1000, Sardinia evolved its own system of government for the first time since prehistory. The islanders organized themselves into four *giudicati* (Sardinian *rennu* or *logu*), or political units, which operated essentially on a feudal system. These were the *giudicati* of Cagliari in the south, Gallura in the northeast, Arborea in the central regions, and Torres in the northwest. Each *giudicato* was headed by a *judike* who owned vast tracts of land. A peasant economy prevailed in small villages and towns. The lot of the freemen and serfs improved under the *giudicati*. While they could still be bought and sold, serfs were no longer considered chattel (*res*) and had the right to work four days a week on their own plots. They could also contract marriages, give legal testimony, and have a surname.

During this time, the church was also powerful and held a great deal

of land. There was a flourishing monastic culture, and Sardinian monasteries were centers of learning in the Mediterranean. The growth of the cult of the Virgin and the proliferation of country shrines dedicated to her date from this period. However, Arab raids continued to be a threat, especially in the south, and the four *giudicati* enlisted the aid of the maritime republics of Pisa and Genoa to help defeat them.

Pisa and Genoa

The two city-states of Pisa and Genoa were not content to limit their interference to military aid but began a struggle to dominate the island in order to exploit its resources. In the twelfth century, the Pisans and Genoese had already been granted an exemption from the payment of commercial tribute to the *jud-ib.es*. In 1258, the *giv.dicato* of Cagliari fell to Pisa, and the Vi-sconti family began its long rule in the south. Not to be outdone, the Doria family seized control of Logudoro, an area in the *giudicato* of Torres.

The colonization by the maritime republics was at first beneficial to Sardinia. It stimulated commerce, introduced new wealth and economic goods, and led to the development of a middle class in urban centers. There was an influx of highly skilled artisans from the continent, and a flourishing of architecture in the Pisan Romanesque style: the churches of Santissima I rinita di Saccargia, San Gavino di Porto Torres, Santa Maria di Ardara, and San Pietro di Sorres all date from this period. Besides durum wheat and products made of sheep's milk, Sardinia exported salt, barley, and silver to the continent. Its thick forests were felled to build ships for the navies of the maritime republics, and the island was a major source of slaves for the republic of Genoa in the thirteenth century. Pisan and Genoese laws were also introduced, though these affected mostly the wealthier segments of society. As always, in the interior regions and among the common people, traditional patterns of land use, inheritance, and justice prevailed.

Aragon

Pisa and Genoa continued their struggles, however, sapping vitality from the renewed economy and threatening the stability of the church and its monastic culture. In 1297, Pope Boniface VIII ceded Sardinia to James II of Aragon, in the hope that James would subdue the constant strife and bring peace to the island once again. The Aragonese did not become dominant instantly; not until 1323 did they take firm control of the island and set up their governmental center in Sassari, a city-state in the northwest previously allied with Genoa. Land grants were given to Aragonese nobles, and a system of absentee governance was instituted. Sardinia, though a part of the kingdom of Aragon, had no representation in the Aragonese parliament, and Sardinians were excluded from the governance of their homeland as posts were given over to Aragonese nobles. Furious, the city-state of Sassari attempted a rebellion with the help of the Genoese, but it was unsuccessful. In 1410, Arborea, the last independent *giudicato*, fell to the Aragonese.

See also Arabs in Italy; Byzantine Empire; Genoa; Pisa

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Sardinian Language

The development of spoken Latin in Sardinia, as elsewhere, led to a network of local dialects. Though there has never been a true standard for the entire island, the speech of the isolated Logudoro in north-central Sardinia has often served as the basis for writings intended as pan-Sardinian, and it is still considered by many inhabitants to be Sardinian *par excellence*. Logudorese and other dialects (e.g., Gallurese in the far north and Campi-danese in the southwest) are considerably different from any to be found on the Italian peninsula or in Sicily, although northern Gallurese closely resembles the speech of neighboring southern Corsica, reflecting the expected dialect continuum.

Among the most striking phonological characteristics of Sardinian is maintenance of fully occlusive [k] in the center of the island, before vowels which in other Romance languages have resulted in various degrees of palatalization or assibilation. For example, *pace* results in [pake] "peace," and *centu* results in [kentu] "one hundred." (Remnants of this phenomenon are also evident in Vegliote, which was once spoken in coastal Dalmatia.) Another characteristic is that definite articles were derived from *ipse* and its variants rather than from *illu* (this trait is also found in Balearic Catalan). For example, *ipsu* produces *su*, and is equivalent to Italian *il* and *lo*, which come from *illu*. One unique development is the preservation of neuters with final -s (*tempus* remains *tempus*, "time"). Another is the maintenance of distinctions between stressed ĭ and ē on the one hand and ĭ and ō on the other. For example, *pĭra* produces *pĭra*, "pear"; *tēla* produces *tela*, "cloth"; *crŭce* produces *cruke*, "cross"; and *sŏle* produces *sole*, "sun."

With regard to lexicon, there is much archaism. For example, "house" is not *casa* but *domo* (from *domus*); and "white" is not a reflex of *blancu* but is *albu* (from *albu*). Also, "to speak" is *narrere* (from *narrare*) rather than deriving from *parabolare* (Italian *parlare*, French *parler*) or from *fabulare* (Spanish *hablar*, Portuguese *falar*). Forms of the future remain analytical: Logudorese *amos afage* ("we shall do," literally, "we have to do") is a transparent reflex of *habemus ad facere*, in contrast to the typical Romance synthesis (e.g., Italian *faremo*, which comes from *facere habemus*). Owing to these and numerous other distinguishing features, most speech types on the island give the overall impression of great linguistic conservatism, a trait first noted—if disdained—by Dante

in *De vulmri eloquentia*.

In Sardinia, the vernacular was used as the normal medium of official documents rather earlier than on the Italian mainland or elsewhere in Romance Europe, and much more extensively. The exact reason for this is unknown, but it is often assumed to reflect less schooling in Latin. The first known text in Sardinian is *Privilegio logudorese*, also called *Carta consolare pisana*, a declaration by a judge exempting Pisan merchants from a levy, datable from 1080–1085. Far more numerous, and generally much less tainted with spurious Latinisms, are the *condaghes*, official documents recording various legal transactions of the eleventh through fourteenth centuries. In all these, regardless of provenance, the language used is very clearly a fully developed vernacular, and although local features can usually be identified, it appears that the target language was essentially Central Logu-dorese. One line from the *Condaghe di San Nicola di Trullas* (1113) illustrates typical language. A certain Martinus reports gifts and acquisitions: *Ego Martinus p[re]s[b]ite[r] et priore de s[an]c[t]u Nicholas de trullas ci ponio in istu codice su cantu 'nce parai et in donu et in prezu* ("I, Martinus, priest and prior of Saint Nicholae de Trullas, put here in this codex what I procured as gift or in purchase"). The wealth of such texts and their relative faithfulness to actual usage combine to make Sardinian, especially Logudorese, the most richly documented of early medieval Romance tongues.

See also **Language, Italian: History and Development**

THOMAS D. CRAVENS

Savoy, House of

See **Turin**

Scaligeri

See Della Scala Family

Schisms

See Papacy

Scholasticism

Scholasticism can be defined as a philosophy or theology that stresses rational justification of religious beliefs and a systematic organization of those beliefs. It was a highly detailed method of organizing theology that would eventually shape intellectual inquiry during the period 1200-1500. Although the formative phase of scholasticism was in the ninth through twelfth centuries, the sixth-century scholar Boethius is regarded as one of its founders because he was the first to proclaim that reason had to be joined to faith—a main tenet of this philosophical system. In addition, Boethius translated a number of the works of Aristotle, and his translations, along with his own writings, created for medieval scholars a Latin vocabulary of logical terms. In the ninth century, the scholar John Scotus Eriugena translated the works of Pseudo-Dionysus into Latin and used these ideas to compose his own work, *On the Division of Nature* (*De divisione naturae*). This was one of the first works to use philosophy to understand and interpret the universe in light of the Christian faith.

In the late eleventh century, the University of Paris reemerged, after the so-called dark ages, and became an intellectual center; thereafter, more theological schools developed. Theologians such as Saint Anselm and Abelard began to explore further the idea that reason can explain the mysteries of Christian faith. In particular, Abelard's emphasis on using logic, instead of relying solely on the authority of the church fathers, brought logical reasoning to the forefront of the scholastic movement.

As theologians felt a need to systematize the ideas of Saint Augustine

and to demonstrate the rationality of Christian theology, they turned to Aristotle to find a philosophical method that would allow them to achieve their goals. The rediscovery of Aristotle in the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth century led to writers such as Thomas Aquinas to apply Aristotelian presuppositions to order and correlate the ideas of Christian theology. Similarly, these writers used Aristotelian ideas to illustrate the rationality of Christian faith. Thus scholastics used philosophy to establish the intrinsic rationality of Christian theology; and in order to clarify the complete harmony of that theology, they closely examined how its various aspects were interrelated.

In the early medieval period, two major schools of philosophy—Thomism and Scotism—originated from the works of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, respectively. Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* became the accepted textbook on theology, and the Thomist position eventually superseded Scotism.

The humanists of a later period regarded scholasticism as no more than fruitless pedantic speculation over technicalities. Today, scholars recognize its impact on the Reformation and the works of Martin Luther and John Calvin. In any case, though, by the end of the fifteenth century scholasticism as an intellectual movement was waning, primarily because its development had been linked to specific religious orders.

See also Boethius; Thomas Aquinas, Saint

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Scriptorium

See Bookmaking and Book Production; Paleography

Scrovegni Family

From the modest origins of their supposed founder—Rinaldo Pota di Scrova, a street musician turned moneylender—the Scrovegni eventually became one of the most powerful families in Padua during the late medieval period. By 1081, they were counted among the nobles, and later, in the years of the Carrarese domination of the city (1318-1405), members of the Scrovegni family were often close associates of the Paduan *signori*. Eventually, in 1390, the Scrovegni were exiled; but they were repatriated after Padua came under Venetian control in the early fifteenth century. The Scrovegni remained in Padua until at least 1444, when they moved to France.

The most noteworthy members of the family were Reginaldo di Ugolino (d. 1288 or 1289), his son Enrico (d. 1336), and Enrico's granddaughter Maddalena (c. 1356–1429). True to family tradition, Reginaldo amassed a fortune through lending money at interest to powerful figures such as Gerardo da Camino, the captain general of Treviso. Reginaldo's usury was so notorious that Dante identified him as the archusurer in *Inferno* 17 (verses 43-78). Looking around the seventh circle of hell, where the usurers are found, Dante is able to identify the sinful souls only by the heraldic devices on their money bags. Reginaldo—whose bag is decorated with an image of a blue pregnant sow, in reference to the family's coat of arms—is the only one among the usurers who addresses Dante. The wealth amassed by

Reginaldo allowed his son Enrico to purchase, in 1300, a sizable plot of land in Padua that had once been the site of a Roman arena. There Enrico constructed an imposing family palace and an adjoining chapel with frescoes by Giotto and statuary by Giovanni Pisano. Enrico's wealth and power passed to his eldest son, Ugolino, and in turn to Ugolino's sons Giacomo and Enrico. Maddalena, the sister of Giacomo and Enrico, was a distinguished writer and humanitarian, and a spokesperson for the Scrovegni. Of her writings, there survives only *Lettera gratulatoria* (1388), which she wrote to Iacopo dal Vermì while he was liberating Padua from Carrarese control. Two years later, Maddalena was exiled to Venice with her father and her brothers. There she founded a hospice for the poor in Campo Santa Margherita.



Giotto di Bondone (1266-1336), *Enrico Scrovegni Offers a Model of the Chapel* (detail from the *Last Judgment*). Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. Photo: © Scala/Art

Resource, N.Y.

See also **Dante Alighieri; Padua; Scrovegni Family Chapel**

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Scrovegni Family Chapel

The Scrovegni Chapel in Padua is best-known for its frescoes by the Florentine painter Giotto. In 1300, Enrico Scrovegni purchased land from the Dalesmanini family on which he built a palace and an adjoining chapel. Since the property had once been the site of a Roman arena, the chapel that Scrovegni built is also known as the Arena Chapel. Although the palace was demolished in the nineteenth century, the chapel remains intact.

The chapel is dedicated to both the Virgin of the Annunciation and the Virgin of Charity and was consecrated on 25 March 1305, the feast of the Annunciation. By this date, Giotto had probably finished his frescoes on the interior of the chapel. He may even have been the architect of the chapel, since the simplicity of its interior and the six large windows (an extraordinary feature) along one wall make it an ideal context for fresco painting.



Giotto di Bondone (1266-1336), Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. View of the interior, looking toward the altar. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Art historians have traditionally suggested that Giotto's cycle begins with the scene of the expulsion of Joachim from the temple and concludes with a monumental representation of the Last Judgment on the entrance wall. However, the cycle may actually begin over the chancel arch, where God the father, in addition to dispatching the angel Gabriel to the Virgin, may be dispatching another angel to initiate the narrative in the chapel. From this point the narrative moves to the south wall, and from there the cycle advances around the chapel walls from left to right and top to bottom in three narrative bands. In the top band are scenes from the lives of the Virgin's parents and the early life and marriage of the Virgin herself. With God's dispatch of Gabriel and the Annunciation on the arch between the nave and the chancel,

Christ's infancy, ministry, and passion, and the events following the passion, are told in the scenes of the middle and lower bands. At the base of the side walls are frescoes representing the seven virtues and seven vices. In the barrel-vault ceiling are roundels representing Christ and the Virgin and Child that are each surrounded by four smaller roundels representing various prophets. Within the chancel are a Madonna and Child and two angels by Giovanni Pisano and frescoes by late fourteenth-century imitators of Giotto. Giotto's own frescoes are notable for visual clarity and expressive force, achieved through a remarkable economy of means. The narrative progresses regularly from one scene to another around each of the three bands, but formal and iconographic connections are also evident between scenes painted in different bands; smaller scenes in the painted borders between frescoes provide Old Testament parallels and other commentary on the main narrative. Throughout the chapel the narrative is highly selective, and in addition to the Gospels, it seems that apocryphal writings and popular stories were consulted; a probable source was Jacobus da Voragine's *Golden Legend* of the mid-thirteenth century.

Enrico Scrovegni declared that he built the chapel "in honor of the Virgin, of the city of Padua, and for the salvation of his soul and those of his family past and present." Despite this claim, historians believe that Enrico probably endowed the chapel as expiation for his family's sin of usury; this hypothesis is supported by prominent references in the fresco program to money and its illicit use. Ultimate redemption for the Scrovegni is suggested in the Last Judgment, where Enrico presents a model of his chapel to the Virgin of Charity.

See also **Giotto di Bondone; Padua; Painting: Fresco; Scrovegni Family**

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Sculpture

See Pisano, Giovanni; Pisano, Nicola

Scuola Poetica Siciliana

The *scuola poetica siciliana*—the Sicilian school of poetry—is a literary movement that originated at the court of Frederick II in Palermo, the *magna curia*. This school gave rise to an extensive poetic production in the vernacular, drawing its inspiration from the courtly love poetry of the Provençal troubadours. The term *scuola poetica siciliana* designates the poetic works that are placed first in the most extensive collection of the earliest Italian poetry, the Vatican Codex Lat. 3793, known as *Libro de varie romanze volgari*. The concept of a Sicilian school is based on a passage from *De vulgari eloquentia* (1.12.2) in which Dante declares that all poetry composed in Italy by his predecessors is called Sicilian. Dante's chief argument is political-cultural: the poetry is called Sicilian because Sicily was the *regale solium*, the seat of royal authority; and the *magna curia* provided the cultural climate in which poetry in the vernacular could flourish. For reasons that will become obvious later, Dante does not draw his conclusions from the nature of the language serving as medium for the first national poetry in Italy. Many of the poets of the *magna curia* were Sicilian, but several were natives of the continental south, and Percivalle Doria came from Genoa, in the north.

It was not their geographical extraction that bound these poets together; what they shared was the poetic medium and the

intellectually and artistically stimulating atmosphere prevailing at Frederick's court. Many of them were dignitaries at the *magna curia*: notaries, secretaries, falconers, knights. Even the emperor himself and his chancellor, Pier de la Vigna, wrote poetry. The Sicilian school is generally assumed to have flourished c. 1230 to 1250, the year of the emperor's death, but we have no proof that the members of the group fall into two separate generations. On the contrary, scholars are now inclined to think that the poetic activity at Frederick's court was short-lived, and that it was most intense during the 1230s, a period coinciding with Giacomo da Lentini's documented involvement in notarial duties at the court. Granted, the problematic figure of Re Giovanni, supposedly the emperor's father-in-law, does not fit easily into this condensed chronology; but this fact, combined with the fact that his poetry is not particularly archaic, lends some credence to Monteverdi's hypothesis (1954) that Re Giovanni is not identical with the historical figure but was simply a "crowned" minstrel.

The emperor may have provided the original incentive for creating a poetry in the Provençal mode at his court, but the true founder of the poetic movement was a notary there, Giacomo da Lentini. Giacomo is mentioned in documents from 1233 to 1240. The Bonagiunta episode in Dante's *Purgatorio* (24.55-57) confirms Giacomo's pioneering role, and the prestige he enjoyed may further be inferred from the prominent place his poems occupy in the codices, where they are listed first at the beginning of each genre division. Even though the poetry of the troubadours was admired and imitated with fervor throughout Italy, we have no proof that the troubadours ever ventured as far south as Sicily. Many theories have been formulated to account for the contact between the Sicilians and their Provençal mentors. One hypothesis—though it is now of only historical interest—was that direct contacts had come about in Bologna, where Frederick's notaries had studied law. In any case, although northern poets (such as Sordello, Lanfranc Cigala, and Bonifaci Calvo) were able to use Provençal as their medium, the dialects of the south were too different to allow for any such total linguistic penetration. Thus the poets of the *magna curia* soon realized that to make themselves understood in Sicily they would have to create a poetic language, based on Italian dialects. The emperor himself may have been instrumental in the decision to discard Provençal and replace

it with an Italian dialect, but there is a strong likelihood that this significant development was initiated by Giacomo da Lentini.

Much ink has been spilled in attempts to define the linguistic base of the Sicilian school, and the final identification of the underlying dialect as Sicilian has been reached laboriously through modern philological science. The language of the *canzo-nieri* is hybrid and composite, and during the early twentieth century scholars were still convinced that it was not Sicilian. Today, its underlying *sicilianità* is no longer disputed, although the exact geographical provenance of the dialect that forms its base remains unresolved. The difficulty arises because we are dealing not with a humble spoken dialect that can easily be traced, but with a refined literary Sicilian, called *illustre* or *aulico* or *curiale*. Some scholars theorize that each poet may have used his own dialect as a base; but since no individual linguistic characteristics have survived, it seems likelier that the poetic medium was made up of elements from the most important dialects, with infiltrations from the major cultural languages of the time: Latin, Provencal, and French.

The whole issue is further complicated because the Sicilian texts have not reached us in their primitive form; rather, they are transmitted in manuscripts that were put together on the mainland by scribes who were unfamiliar with the Sicilian medium. Since most scribes were from Tuscany, the original version underwent Tuscanization; by contrast, the presence of certain southern, non-Sicilian features is attributable to scribes from the south. Rhymes have provided powerful support for the idea that the poetic language is of Sicilian extraction. Since rhyme words resist modifications, they were subjected to close scrutiny by scholars, who discovered that many seemingly imperfect rhymes would become regular simply by restoring the rhyme words to their primitive Sicilian form. The so-called Sicilian rhymes are those which allow for the rhyming of close *e* with *i* and of close *o* with *u*, as in *savete-tradite* and *ora-pintura*. Standard Italian maintains these vocalic differences; but in Sicilian dialects the close *e* merges with *i* and the close *o* with *u*, so that the underlying Sicilian forms of these rhyme words would be *savite* and *ura*. Additional proof comes from an unexpected source: a mysterious manuscript owned by the sixteenth-century humanist Gian Maria Barbieri. The Barbieri manuscript, which was published in 1790 by Gerolamo Tiraboschi, contains the primitive

Sicilian version of a *canzone* by Stefano Protonotaro, *Pir meu cori alligrari*, along with a few fragments of other texts. Protonotaro's *canzone* is the only poem to have survived in both a Sicilian and a Tuscanized version. The Barbieri texts provide a concrete image of the primitive medium and have played a decisive part in settling the language issue. Editors usually restore only those Sicilianisms that can be recovered from the codices, but some also resolve the Sicilian rhymes. An extreme method is total Sicilianization in the light of the Barbieri text.

The Provençal troubadours are noted for cultivating a variety of themes—amorous, moralizing, political, religious, etc. Their Sicilian disciples, however, find inspiration almost exclusively in the theme of courtly love and make only very timid digressions from it. Giacomo da Lentini (the Notaro) writes a poem on friendship, Rinaldo d'Aquino praises prudent speech, and Re Enzo reflects on the changeability of human destiny; but such topics are not common. Love in the troubadour mode is conceived as a feudal service, an amorous vassalage in which the poet-lover serves his lady as a vassal would serve a suzerain. The lover is obedient and submissive, while the lady is haughty and arrogant. Torn between hope and despair, the lover must gain merit in order to earn his lady's pity or compassion. Along with the concept of courtly love, the Sicilians also borrowed its trappings. Provençal lexical items were adopted, stock phrases and images were appropriated, many troubadour poems were closely imitated, and a few troubadour poems were even translated. The complex terminology devised by the troubadours to express stages in the lover's progress toward his final acceptance by the lady underwent a simplification in Sicily, but without any basic conceptual or structural changes. The poetry of the Sicilian school contains no references to contemporary historical events or to domestic episodes at Frederick's court. This enhances its abstract quality, which is already inherent in the theme of courtly love. Even the lady, though always present, remains an abstraction; and the poems are stylized in both form and content, so that they have a certain static character. They contain no lyrical development and have no biographical value. To the Sicilian poets, poetry offered an escape from reality and routine; they had created a closed, poetic universe, characterized by great thematic unity and formal elegance, and they never had to write for gain— whereas the

troubadours were often entertainers as well as poets. The Sicilian poet is defined by Folena (1965) as a *colto dilettante di poesia*—a refined, educated amateur of poetry.

The poetic genres of the Sicilian school are mostly inherited from the troubadours. The most prestigious genre is the *canzone*, imitated from the Provençal *canso*. The *canzonetta* does not appear to be formally different from the *canzone*, except that it often includes dialogue and so takes on a more popular tone. The *tenzone*, derived from the Provençal *tenso*, had limited appeal in Sicily, since the only subject matter discussed in these poetic exchanges is the nature of love. The most significant metrical innovation of the Sicilians is the sonnet, which was first used by, and is traditionally credited to, the founder of the school. Like the *canzone*, the sonnet deals with amorous themes, but often in a more scholastic or philosophical vein. The Sicilians imitate most of the complex stanza structures and rhyme schemes of the troubadours.

See also Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Giacomino Pugliese; Giacomo da Lentini; Guido delle Colonne; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Jacopo Mostacci; Pier de la Vigna; Rinaldo d'Aquino; Stefano Protonotaro

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Seneca

Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 4 B.C.-A.D. 65) was born to a wealthy equestrian family in Cordoba (Spain), was educated in rhetoric and Stoic philosophy in Rome, and entered political life at age thirty-one. He was the young Nero's tutor, and when his pupil ascended to the throne in A.D. 54, Seneca helped guide the imperial government. For eight years, with Seneca's participation, Nero's empire enjoyed a period of good government; but as Nero's hunger for power grew, Seneca found his position compromised and withdrew from the court to devote himself to writing. In 65, Seneca was implicated in the Pisonian conspiracy (although his actual involvement is not known) and was condemned to death. Like his nephew Lucan, Seneca took his own life that same year.

Seneca's writings consist of philosophical, scientific, and dramatic works, some of which are now either entirely or partially lost. His philosophical works, in prose, include the following: *Dialogues*, twelve books of treatises on ethical and psychological issues; *De beneficiis*, which examines the nature and modes of beneficence; *De dementia*, a suggestion for an ideal political policy based on moderation and clemency, directed at Nero; and *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, a collection of letters about spiritual growth, addressed to a younger friend, Lucilius. The *Epistulae* mark a generic innovation on Seneca's part; using occasional events as points of departure for the articulation

of central tenets of Stoic philosophy, the letters encourage Lucilius to concentrate on inner freedom, self-reliance, and indifference to temporal vagaries. The seven books of *Naturales quaestiones*, treating natural phenomena, comprise Seneca's scientific output. His dramatic interests are represented by nine tragedies treating Greek mythological subjects: *Hercules Furens*, *Troades*, *Phoenissae*, *Medea*, *Phaedra*, *Oedipus*, *Agamemnon*, *Thyestes*, and *Hercules Oetaeus*. In addition, Seneca is the author of *Apocolocyntosis* (also known as *Ludus de morte Claudii*), a Menippean satire on the deification of the emperor Claudius. Of doubtful attribution is Seneca's correspondence with Saint Paul, mentioned by Jerome.

The spurious correspondence between Seneca and Paul, which frequently accompanied manuscripts of Seneca's *Epistulae*, helped to enhance Seneca's reputation during the Middle Ages. Although a pagan, he was considered admirably ethical, and his prose works became increasingly popular throughout the Middle Ages. *De beneficiis* and *De clementia* were particularly well-liked during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Seneca's philosophical work was frequently read in medieval schools. The *Dialogues*, a work that was less well known, evidently reappeared at the end of the eleventh century, but the *Apocolocyntosis* remained rare and unpopular. Copies of the *Naturales quaestiones*, like Seneca's tragedies, were not widely known or disseminated; but in the early fourteenth century his dramatic works gained favor, especially in Padua among the protohumanists and at the papal court at Avignon, and they soon contributed to Seneca's reputation in the late medieval period.



The Suicide of Seneca. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 105r.

Dante's knowledge of Seneca was slight and was probably confined to the philosophical works. In Limbo, Seneca is identified as *Seneca morale* ("Seneca the moralist," *Inferno*, 4.141). Albertino Mussato, however, focused on Seneca's dramatic works; Albertino's successful play *Ecerinis* is clearly modeled on Senecan tragedy. Petrarch was influenced by all of Seneca's known corpus. His numerous letters owe much to Seneca's epistolary form, and he seems to admire Seneca's moral philosophy, claiming, in his *De sui ipsius et multorum aliorum ignorantia*, that authors such as Seneca have made him morally better. Petrarch's public literary persona, revealed in his letters and essays, owes a debt of gratitude to Seneca's Stoic character.

Translations of Seneca have been published by the Loeb Classical Library (11 volumes).

See also Albertino Mussato; Dante Alighieri; Petrarca, Francesco

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Sennuccio Del Bene

The Florentine poet Sennuccio del Bene (c. 1275-1349) was chamberlain of the commune in 1297. Like Dante, Sennuccio was a White Guelf who supported the siege of Florence in 1312 by the Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg; he was exiled from Florence in 1313. After finding refuge with Franceschino Mala-spina in Ravenna, Sennuccio went to Avignon (c. 1316), where he worked as a secretary and papal envoy to Germany. In Avignon, Sennuccio became close friends with Cardinal Giovanni Colonna and with Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca). In 1326, Sennuccio was granted a conditional amnesty by the Florentine government, thanks to the intercession of Pope John XXII and the papal legate in Tuscany, Giovanni di San Teodoro. In 1346, Sennuccio became director of a hospital, San Bartolomeo del Mugnone, which had been founded by his father in 1295. As Petrarch's gloss in the draft manuscript of the

Canzoniere (Codex Vatican Lat. 3196) indicates, Sennuccio died on 28 November 1349.

Petrarch speaks of his friendship with Sennuccio in several poems in the *Canzoniere* (108, 112, 113, 144) and in a letter (*Familiare*, 4.4). Both poets delighted in reading and commenting on the classics, and they often spoke of love. Recalling Ovid's definition of true friendship, Petrarch writes in sonnet 113 that Sennuccio is the other half of his soul, and he mourns Sennuccio's death in one of the most melancholic lyrics in the *Canzoniere*, *Sennuccio mio, ben che doglioso et solo* (287). Petrarch also wrote poems to and about Sennuccio that were included not in this songbook but in the *Trionfo d'amore* (4.37), placing him among illustrious Greek, Latin, and Italian poets. Sennuccio responded to Petrarch's sonnets *Siccome il padre delfolle Fetonte* and *Signor mio caro, ogni pensier mi tira* with two of his own: *La bella aurora nel mio orizzonte* and *Oltra l'usato modo si rigira*.

Fourteen of Sennuccio's poems are extant: eight sonnets, three *canzoni*, two *ballate*, and one *lauda*. In these, Sennuccio deals with religion, ethics, politics, and love. Some critics (e.g., Cuomo 1926) consider him a late imitator of the *dolce stil nuovo*. However, Corsi (1969, 114) argues that although there are *stil-novo* elements in what seem to be the youthful poems, Sennuccio has a voice and art of his own. The sonnet *Era nell'ora che la dolce Stella* is reminiscent of Dante's poem for Lisetta (*Rime*, 117), but it differs from Dante's sonnet in that the protagonist is the tormented poet, not the ineffable mistress. Corsi describes Sennuccio as a poet of "oscillating and suspended states of mind" (114) whose affinities are more with Petrarch than with Dante. Actually, Sennuccio's life experiences were similar to those of Dante as well as Petrarch; as noted above, Sennuccio, like Dante, was an exile and an ardent supporter of Henry VII.

It is important to understand Sennuccio's poetic voice in light of the medieval aesthetic of imitation. In the *canzone* *Da pot ch'V ho perduta ogni speranza*, Sennuccio voices his public and private emotions. With the death of Henry VII and the defeat of his political aspirations, Sennuccio is unable to return to Florence or—equally important—to his lover. The eulogy for the emperor (stanzas 2-4) is motivated and framed (stanzas 1 and 5) by the poet's personal stake in Henry's destiny. Sennuccio artfully weaves the various strands of public and private love

(for universal political order, for the figure of Henry, for his native city, and finally for his lover) into an intricate tapestry. The resulting image is that of a poet who expresses his despair in order to affirm the guiding principles of his life. Love is a dominating theme and a motivating force for Sennuccio.

See also Dante Alighieri; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Petrarca, Francesco

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Sercambi, Giovanni

Giovanni Sercambi (1348-27 May 1424) was born in Lucca, where his

father ran a book and paper store; he thus grew up with a good library at hand. He was educated by private tutors for a government career, and he prospered by supporting the rise to power of the Guinigi family. After 1400, however, feeling neglected by the Guinigi, he withdrew from politics and began to write. Sercambi's works include *A Chronicle of the Affairs of Lucca* (from 1164-1424, including events in which he had participated); the *Monito*, a compendium of advice on finance and administration based on his own experiences in public service; and, in his final years, the *Novelle*, a collection of 155 tales.

The book of advice, dedicated to the Guinigi, advocates practical measures for maintaining control: taking a census of the citizens, forbidding them to possess arms, and ensuring that the legislative council is filled with one's own friends and relatives. The novelle, which draw in part on Sercambi's history of Lucca, are similarly hard-boiled; the collection is filled with tales of deceit, fraud, theft, clerical misbehavior, and the self-serving manipulations of lovers, parents, children, dealers, and clients. A few of the tales are about Sercambi himself, e.g., how he escaped an attack by highway robbers.

The tales are framed by an account of a plague in 1374, during which a group of men and women travel around Italy to avoid the disease. As on some of the actual penitential pilgrimages occasioned by recurring plagues, the travelers agree to pool their money, hear mass every morning, and refrain from sexual activity during the journey. Boccaccio's influence is clear in the setting (the plague), in the inclusion of occasional poems, and in more than twenty of the tales; but instead of having various members of the group narrate in turn, Sercambi's travelers appoint one storyteller to keep them entertained. This character often tells stories appropriate to the places they are visiting: stories of theft near Naples, of Roman history at Rome, of Venetian customs at Venice. Many of the stories are drawn from contemporary or recent events, as well as from Roman myth and history, popular fabliaux, and other medieval collections of tales, such as the *Disciplina clericalis* and the *Decameron*. The titles of the stories suggest the moral categories of preachers' *exempla*-. "On Great Prudence," "On Supreme Avarice," "On Supreme Justice," "On Vain Lust," and so forth.

Sercambi's style is rough, and his tales were rarely mentioned before the late 1700s, when one of the two fifteenth-century manuscripts was

found. However, since its first printing in Venice in 1816, the *Novelle* has been reprinted many times.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Novella**

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Serdini, Simone

The court poet Simone Serdini (c. 1360-c. 1419 or 1420), nicknamed *Il saviozzo* ("the sage fool"), was born in Siena. He had a riotous and impulsive nature and was banished from Siena in 1389 for not having paid a fine for fighting with two fellow citizens. Thereafter, except for a brief sojourn in Siena in 1400-1402, he wandered from court to court. In 1396, he was in the service of Roberto Novello of Poppi, in the Casentino region of Tuscany; in 1402, he joined the court of Pandolfo III Ma-latesta, who ruled Bologna for the Milanese lord, Gian Galeazzo

Visconti. In 1405, Serdini was in Perugia; in 1408, he was at the court of King Ladislao in Naples, where he eventually became the secretary of Tartaglia di Lavello, a commander in the king's army. He was in Toscanella (modern-day Tuscany) in 1419 when it was occupied by Tartaglia. There, Serdini was imprisoned for reasons that are now unknown. He committed suicide while in prison, in either 1419 or 1420.

Serdini's substantial production of 108 *rime* consists of *canzoni*, *capitoli* (poems in *terza rima*), *sirventes*, sonnets, and *madri gals*, dealing with the usual themes of love, ethics, religion, politics, and fortune. Serdini was admitted to prestigious political and social circles because of his considerable poetic talent, which he used to ingratiate himself with his patrons. Among the most notable of his laudatory poems are the *canzoni Novella monarchia, iusto signore* (for the duke of Milan), *Vittorioso Cesar nuovo Augusto* (for the king of Naples), and *Sacro e leggiadro fiume* (for the mistress of Giovanni Colonna); and the sonnet *Qual possa sempiterna, qual destina* (for Queen Giovanna II of Naples).

The mercenary nature of Serdini's output has led some critics to dismiss him as an erudite rhymester lacking the vigor and passion of other court poets, such as Fazio degli Uberti. Yet in many of his autobiographical poems, Serdini is an accomplished artist and a linguistic and stylistic experimenter. In the apocalyptic poems *Le 'nfastidite labbra in ch 'io già pose* and *Corpi celesti e tutte l'altre stelle*, Serdini mixes references to classical myth with vulgar expressions. By combining erudition and blasphemy, he creates a self-portrait of hyperbolic proportions. At the same time, however, there is an eloquence to his hyperbole which *indicates* that the bitterness he expresses is authentic. The invectives of the comic-realistic poets of the *Duecento* and *Trecento* pale in comparison with Serdini's condemnation of life.

Serdini also wrote penitential psalms and other moralizing poems. One of the most popular works was the 705-line *Storia di una fanciulla tradita*. In this poem, as in Boccaccio's *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*, the female protagonist recounts her betrayal by a nobleman. The *Storia di una fanciulla tradita* was widely read and imitated during the *Quattrocento*. It was even translated into Latin (Saxby 1992, 111 – 112); at that time, only Boccaccio's tale of Griselda (translated by Petrarch)

had hitherto been worthy of such a distinction.

See also Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody

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Ser Giovanni Fiorentino

See Pecorone, II

Sergius iv, Duke of Naples

Sergius IV (died c. 1037), as duke of Naples, was nominally a vassal of the Byzantine emperor, and as such he maintained the relative independence of the city. This independence was constantly threatened by neighboring princes but was never seriously challenged as long as the Byzantine empire maintained its presence in southern Italy. However, when Emperor Basil II died in 1025 and the catapan (governor) Boioannes was called back to Constantinople by Basil's successor, Constantine VIII (r. 1025-1028), a vacuum was created which allowed the petty Lombard principalities to assert their claim for dominance in the region. During the winter of 1027-1028, Pandulf IV of Capua attacked Naples and succeeded in taking the city. Sergius was forced to flee. The cities of Amalfi and Gaeta were also threatened by this situation.

The key to the resolution of the crisis came from Rainulf and his band of Normans, who agreed to assist Sergius in regaining his city. By 1029, Sergius was back in Naples, and Pandulf, defeated, was back in Capua. In gratitude, Sergius granted to Rainulf the city of Aversa (1029) and in so doing provided the formal basis for the Normans' future involvement in the politics of the area. At this time also, Rainulf married Sergius's sister, the widow of the duke of Gaeta. When she died in 1034, Pandulf offered to Rainulf the hand of his niece, whose father had been the duke of Amalfi. Their marriage sealed the alliance that was then formed between Rainulf and Pandulf against Sergius. This about-face brought the ruin of Sergius, who left Naples in 1037, entered a monastery, and died soon afterward.

See also Byzantine Empire; Naples; Rainulf, Count of Aversa

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Servitude and Manumission

See Slavery

Servius

Marius Servius Honoratus (fourth century) was one of the most important textual critics of late antiquity and is known primarily for his detailed commentary on Virgil. Although Servius appears as a character in Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, little is known about his life. He was probably born in the late 360s or early 370s. He held the prestigious title of *grammaticus urbis Romae* and was lecturing in Rome by 390.

Servius's commentary on Virgil, intended for use in schools, provides notes on grammar, rhetoric, orthography, religion, mythology, and meter. Two versions of this commentary are extant: a vulgate edition, which was probably written by Servius; and another, fuller commentary, by an unknown compiler, from either the seventh or the eighth century. The later version incorporates the work of other scholars, including what is now generally accepted as part of a commentary on Virgil by the grammarian Aelius Donatus (mid-fourth century), which Servius had not previously included. This version is known as *Servius Auctus* or as *Servius Danielis*, after its discoverer, P. Daniels, who published an edition of it in 1600.

Servius's other surviving works include *De centrum metris*,

Befinalibus, De metris Horatii, and a commentary on Donatus's *Ars grammatica*.

See also **Latin Literature**; **Virgil**

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Servus Servorum Dei

See **Papacy**

Sette, Guido

Guido Sette (c. 1304–1368) was a lifelong friend of Petrarch, whom he met when Petrarch's family arrived in Avignon in 1312. Guido was probably born in 1304, the same year as Petrarch, and the Sette family moved to Provence from the Lunigiana at about the same time as *ser* Petracco (Petrarch's father) did. The two boys were educated together in Carpentras by Convevole da Prato; in 1316, they moved together to Montpellier to continue their studies at the law school at the university. In 1320, they transferred to the University of Bologna to follow legal studies; Guido probably took his degree in canon law there in 1327. Guido is recorded as the *vicario generale* of the bishop of Bologna in 1336, presiding over the ecclesiastical court of the diocese. Guido then

seems to have returned to the papal curia at Avignon, living there even while holding various ecclesiastical offices in Genoa. He is noted as a prelate of the cathedral in 1347, and he was appointed archdeacon in 1353. He became archbishop of Genoa on 2 July 1358, and Petrarch congratulated him in a letter, while also helpfully warning him that advancement in his career would inevitably lead to a loss of personal peace (*Familiarum rerum libri Epistole*, 19.10). Petrarch reminisces about their youth together in some detail in one of his later letters (*Rerum senilium libri*, 10.2). In this letter, he remembers their experiences at school and at the universities; and he recalls their first trip to Vaucluse in 1315 or 1316, accompanied by *ser* Petracco and one of Guido's uncles, also named Guido Sette. It seems unlikely that Guido received this letter, as he died around the time it was composed, in the summer of 1368.

See also **Convenevole da Prato; Petrarca, Francesco**

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Sexuality

Attitudes toward and beliefs about human sexual feelings and behavior in medieval Italian society were complex and frequently ambivalent. Sexual activity, or even a mere reference to it, was often accompanied

by strong attraction and deep aversion, at times even bordering on horror—by intense fascination coupled with strong feelings of guilt, shame, and dread. Literary records, theological discussions, medical texts, and court documents all testify abundantly to widespread concern with sexual matters among the learned and the ignorant alike, as well as to an equally widespread conviction that sexual attraction or indulgence was dangerous, immoral, and likely to lead to disaster both in this life and in the next.

This nearly universal ambivalence about sexuality resulted at least in part from a clash of values: the ascetic ideals of a clerical elite, who rejected sensual desires and passions as gross and impure; and the wish and inclination of most people to reproduce and to enjoy the carnal pleasures that accompany copulation and orgasm.

From an early period in the history of Christianity, many eminent religious authorities maintained that only those who totally renounced sexual activity could be assured of salvation, and conversely that worldly indulgence in sensual pleasures was bound to lead to trouble in this life and eternal torment hereafter. Orthodox churchmen, to be sure, also felt obliged to maintain that Christians could marry and that married Christians might, at least occasionally, indulge in sexual intercourse with each other without thereby necessarily forfeiting their chances of eternal bliss. But even such cautious concessions to libidinal urges were seen as dangerous, and married couples were sternly reminded that their sexual encounters must be properly motivated if they were to escape damnation. Sex before marriage was condemned, at least in principle, by numerous church councils and patristic writers. Sex after marriage, according to standard teaching, might be condoned only when the partners were determined to produce a child or if there was imminent danger that without the libidinal relief of conjugal intercourse, the husband or wife might succumb to the temptation to indulge in some sort of extramarital dalliance. And even under these circumstances, theologians and confessors darkly hinted that the party who initiated marital relations probably sinned thereby, although the spouse who consented to the other's desire might escape moral blame. Moreover, confessors and preachers strongly encouraged married couples to renounce sexual relations entirely once they had produced enough children to continue their family line and had reached the

presumably safe haven of continent middle age.

The beliefs and teachings of the clerical elite often encountered skepticism and even outright rejection among the laity. Popular culture held that sexual desires were natural and inevitable and countered learned advocates of restraint and abstinence with the vulgar argument that if God had not intended men and women to experience sexual pleasure, he would not have endowed the genital organs with the capacity to produce such exquisite sensations. Moreover, attempts by the clergy to persuade laymen to restrict sexual expression rigorously or even forgo it altogether conflicted with the economic and social interests, as well as the libidinous inclinations, of the general run of the laity.

The clergy insisted that sexual expression ought to be confined solely to relations between married couples and that even there it was scarcely possible to have intercourse without at least some taint of sin. Accordingly, preachers and confessors warned couples to refrain from sexual relations for a large part of the year. The clergy admonished married persons that they must not indulge in sex on Sundays or feast days; during Lent and Advent, when fasting, during abstinence, or when other kinds of penance were prescribed; or during other solemn periods of the liturgical cycle, such as Whitsuntide. Clerical opinion likewise disallowed intercourse during menstruation, pregnancy, and the lengthy period following childbirth while the infant was still nursing. Moreover, even during the relatively brief periods when churchmen countenanced marital sex, couples were warned that they must restrain their lascivious inclinations, should not view each other's naked bodies, should not indulge in "obscene" kissing and touching, and should not experiment with novel positions and "whorish embraces." Sexual relations between God-fearing Christian couples, in this view of things, ought to be solemn, serious, sober, and rare.

Marriage itself, largely because it furnished the only approved outlet for sexual expression, was subject to numerous restrictions. Canonists, theologians, and pastoral advisers were greatly concerned with the dangers that intermarriage between closely related families might pose, both spiritually and socially, for the community and accordingly devised elaborate rules to prohibit such unions.

Between the seventh century and the early thirteenth, canonical

rules forbade intermarriage within seven degrees of blood relationship. This policy meant that an individual could not lawfully marry even extremely distant kin, for the circle of forbidden relationships might easily encompass 1,000 or more people, including fourth and fifth cousins. Few people could in practice keep accurate track of such distant branches of their family tree, and there was a very real possibility that any given marriage might be held invalid because it violated the rules on consanguinity. In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council changed this law; thenceforth, only marriages within four, rather than seven, degrees of blood relationship were prohibited.

Sexual relations of any kind, whether in marriage or outside it, were also prohibited by reason of the legal affinity that existed between individuals and those to whom they were related by legal ties (such as relatives through marriage) or by spiritual ties, such as those created between godparent and godchild or even between persons who stood as godparents to the same child.

Church authorities in principle, moreover, completely banned any sort of sexual relations between any persons who were not married to one another. Such a broad and comprehensive prohibition was impossible to implement systematically, although the practice of periodic confession of sins and the imposition of penance for them helped to facilitate the enforcement process. Church courts at the local level also attempted to enforce the precepts of sexual morality when offenses became public and notorious. "Presentments" (the term used by ecclesiastical courts to describe prosecutions) for fornication and adultery made up a large part of the business of many ecclesiastical courts; and the fines imposed on convicted offenders, although individually usually fairly modest, no doubt yielded a considerable aggregate income. Nonetheless implementation of the precepts of sexual morality posed enormous problems and was, in practice, only intermittently effective.

Although the medieval church was in principle committed to enforcing a rigorous code of sexual morality, its supervision of sexual behavior was far from consistent. A particularly striking example of this inconsistency was its ambivalent policy toward prostitution. In theory, of course, promiscuous sexual behavior was morally unacceptable, and the mercenary exchange of sexual favors in return

for money or other property aggravated the sexual offense and made it doubly damnable. From the patristic period onward, however, eminent moralists were prepared to tolerate the activities of prostitutes, even though at the same time they condemned prostitution. This ambivalence was rooted in the belief that prostitutes, morally detestable and socially degraded as they might be, nonetheless served an important function in promoting social stability. Saint Augustine formulated the classical rationale for this policy of practical toleration, arguing that although prostitution was evil, it was also necessary in order to prevent the breakdown of the social structure and preserve an orderly civic life. "If you remove harlots from society," Augustine warned, "you will disrupt everything because of lust" (*De ordine*, 2.4.12). If prostitutes vanished, he argued, sexual passion and desire would inevitably prompt men to turn their lustful attentions to respectable matrons and virgins, and this in turn would fatally undermine the social order and lead to chaos.

Civic authorities in medieval Italy followed the theologians and canonists in adopting Augustine's argument and applying it in practice. Although they continued to deplore prostitution, they sought to regulate it rather than abolish it. Municipal statutes at first endeavored simply to discourage streetwalkers and to confine prostitutes to brothels and specific quarters of the towns. By the mid-thirteenth century, many cities were requiring prostitutes to wear special kinds of clothing and other distinguishing signs designed to mark them out from respectable women. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some northern Italian towns went even further and transformed prostitution into a public utility. They established official municipal brothels, owned by the community and operated for profit by designated officials or private contractors who shared the proceeds of their operations with the public treasury. This practice died out abruptly, however, in the mid-sixteenth century, for reasons that are not altogether clear.

Italian civic authorities also became greatly agitated during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the problem of homosexual practices in their communities. Before 1300, cities had occasionally adopted legislation banning male homosexual acts and imposing penalties for behavior they considered sexually deviant; and during the later Middle Ages statutes of this sort multiplied rapidly and at the

same time became much more severe. Men convicted of homosexual acts, even when both parties had consented, were liable to confiscatory fines, and many cities decreed that they were to be burned alive in the civic *piazza*. Some cities, such as Bergamo, not content with public burning and forfeiture of property, also insisted that the condemned man's family be compelled to witness the execution and not be permitted to leave until the fire was extinguished. Actual case records suggest that the most savage statutory punishments were reserved for particularly vicious cases, such as homosexual rape, and that ordinary offenders were more likely to be whipped, fined, and exiled rather than burned alive.

Sexual violence, especially against women who were seen as defenseless—such as servant girls, widows, and married women whose husbands were frequently absent—was a recurrent problem for medieval Italian communities. Incidents of rape by individuals or gangs of young men were common, and municipal statutes usually mandated severe punishments, often the death penalty, for the perpetrators. In practice, however, offenders were only sporadically apprehended; and when they were caught, they seldom suffered the full penalties prescribed by law. Well-to-do rapists routinely settled such complaints by furnishing the victim with a dowry sufficiently large to enable her to marry. She seldom received any further compensation for the pain, outrage, and humiliation that she suffered and that inevitably tarnished her reputation and social standing. In general, legislators and judges seem most often to have dealt with rape as a property offense against the parents and family of the victim, rather than as an attack on the person of the victim herself. A number of communes were prepared to void prosecutions for rape if both parties were unmarried and were willing to marry each other, and if the woman's parents would approve the match. Since communes viewed the assault primarily in terms of its consequences for the victim's value on the marriage market, the authorities were usually prepared to settle these incidents once they were satisfied that adequate compensation had been offered to repair the economic damages the affair had caused. In addition, statutes often penalized lesser sexual assaults that stopped short of intercourse, such as kissing and fondling a woman against her will, or verbal molestation and harassment. Here, too, legislators and judges seemed primarily

concerned with compensating families for the victim's impaired marriageability rather than with punitive measures to satisfy the victim or to discourage similar conduct by others.

Since medieval Italian authorities construed consent to marriage as implying unconditional and irrevocable consent to sexual relations, they were not prepared under almost any circumstances to penalize sexual violence, no matter how savage and barbarous, by a husband against his wife. Intervention by public authorities to protect married women against their husbands was exceedingly rare; the few known instances of such intervention invariably occurred when the wife's family protested publicly and threatened such horrific political consequences that officials felt obliged to take action.

Sexual activity among the clergy raised special problems for medieval Italian society. A celibate lifestyle, insulated from all sexual entanglements, had been held out since the early fourth century as an ideal to which all clerics, secular as well as monastic, ought to aspire; but during the early Middle Ages few serious efforts were made to require ordinary parish priests to abandon their wives and children and forsake the domestic comforts of married life. Church reformers in the eleventh century saw matters differently, though. Reform-minded prelates, such as Saint Peter Damian and Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, argued that marriage, and in particular marital sex, was absolutely incompatible with the sacred duties of the priesthood. Not content with urging priests to remain unmarried, these reformers maintained that clergy of all kinds must be forcibly required to abstain from every kind of sexual activity on pain of forfeiting their clerical status and duties. During the pontificate of the stubborn and doctrinaire Gregory VII (1073-1085), the papacy adopted the reformers' program as its official policy and demanded promises of celibacy from all clerics as a requirement of canon law. Enforcement of this new policy proved exceptionally difficult. Reforming bishops bent on imposing it on their reluctant clergy were sometimes physically attacked, and even killed, by outraged priests. Clerics resented demands that they throw their wives and children out of their houses and strenuously resisted the reforms as an unwelcome novelty; and ordinary laypeople also viewed the policy as unwise and even dangerous. It was commonly feared that if priests and other clerics were deprived of their wives, they would be

all too likely to seek sexual outlets elsewhere and would turn to the wives and daughters of the laity for the sexual and emotional solace they could no longer find in their own households.

However, despite fervent opposition and despite the turmoil and suffering that celibacy entailed for many generations of priests, their wives, and their children, successive popes insisted that the celibacy decrees must be obeyed and defended the new sexual discipline for the clergy on the grounds that it was essential for both the spiritual and the material well-being of the church. Slowly, gradually, and for the most part reluctantly, the clergy began to conform to the new order. The grounds of argument shifted somewhat after the first and second Lateran councils (1123 and 1139) made it impossible for clerics to contract legally binding marriages in the future. Many parish priests thereafter continued to engage in casual, short-term relationships with prostitutes and married women, while a good many others settled into long-term relationships with concubines. Throughout the High and later Middle Ages, accordingly, the focus of the campaign for celibacy shifted to attacks on concubinage and casual sex, rather than marriage, among the clergy. Although the leaders of the medieval Italian church never completely succeeded in eliminating sexual activity among the rank and file of the lower clergy, it became increasingly uncommon after c. 1200 for bishops and other prelates to live openly with acknowledged concubines.

While hostility, suspicion, and aversion to human sexual activity dominated the teachings of the clerical elite, medieval Italian laymen and laywomen clearly did not fully share the apprehensions or heed the warnings of their spiritual guides about the spiritual dangers that attended sexual activity. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw increasingly vigorous expressions of lay opinions that celebrated the joys of carnal pleasure and affirmed the importance of sexual experience in human life. Writers as different from one another as Dante, Guido Cavalcanti, Cino da Pistoia, and Boccaccio extolled the virtues of human love and the sensual pleasures that usually accompany it. Tension between these profoundly differing approaches to human sexual experience has continued to mark Italian society, as well as Italian thought and literature, through much of modern history.

See also Crime and Punishment; Law: Canon; Law: Criminal; Law: Roman

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Ships and Shipbuilding

The shipbuilding traditions of medieval Italy were part of a wider Mediterranean tradition that had evolved continuously from ancient times. The ships of ancient Greece and Rome are the starting point from which we can begin to understand the evolution in types of ships and building methods that took place during the Middle Ages, Mediterranean ships are often classified into two types: round and long.

Round ships are thought of as pure sailing vessels intended for mercantile use; long ships are thought of as warships propelled by oars and sailed only incidentally. This is an oversimplification, but these two ancient types give us a basis for understanding the ships of medieval Italy. For us in the present day, the typical round ship of the medieval Mediterranean is the great sailing ship, known as the *navis*; and the ideal type of the long ship is the galley. There were also many intermediate types, such as the *bucius* and the *tarida*. In addition, the division of labor between war and peace was not immutable. Large sailing ships with their towering sides and lofty fighting tops, though slow and awkward, could be formidable in defense. Swift galleys, with their large, well-armed crews, were ideal for the transport of cargoes of great value but little bulk, such as precious metals and jewels, silks, and spices.

General Developments in Shipbuilding

Hulls of ancient Mediterranean ships were shell-built; that is, the shape of the hull was built up with planks joined edge to edge with closely spaced mortise and tenon joints. Internal framing was then shaped by adze to fit the curves determined by the plank shell. This construction process was exceedingly labor-intensive. It required chiseling out thousands of mortises, carefully fitting each pair with tenons that were drilled and pegged into place as each plank was carefully shaped and curved to fit its neighbor. Each vessel required an enormous investment in man-hours and wages, but the system produced vessels that were very strong and durable, and so well-fitted that they required little or no caulking. The planks swelled when they were wetted, and a coat of pitch was sufficient to render them watertight. In the late 1960s, archaeologists excavated two Byzantine wrecks at Yassi Ada off the western coast of Turkey, one from the fourth century and the other from the seventh century. The hull of the fourth-century vessel had been built using the methods outlined above, but it showed some cost-cutting modifications. The centers of the mortise and tenon joints were about 10 inches (25 centimeters) apart, roughly twice the distance observed in excavated wrecks from the Roman period. The tenons were

also tapered and fitted loosely, rather than tightly as in earlier construction. This hull was not so carefully built as those from an earlier age, but it would have required less labor, and less skill in its construction. The seventh-century ship from the same site was shell-built only up to the waterline, at which point frames were built in and the remaining planking was nailed on. The builders had placed the mortise and tenon joints of the shell-built portion of the hull even farther apart than those in the fourth-century ship. They seem to have used these vestigial joints only to establish the curve of the planking giving the basic shape of the hull before they inserted the frames. The mortises and tenons did not contribute to the strength of the hull. These ships document an evolution toward an entirely new system of shipbuilding. The new system relied on a framework of ribs that was erected on the keel between the stem- and sternposts; planking was then attached to the ribs, or frames, to complete the hull. This system of building was, by ancient standards, slapdash and flimsy, but it was also quicker and cheaper than the ancient methods. The frames that now provided much of the structural strength of the hull were heavier than those in ancient ships, and the planking became thinner. Italian ships in the early Middle Ages were probably not very different from these Byzantine vessels.

The skeleton building system, though less elegant in workmanship, is technically more advanced than shell building in at least one respect: it requires a more sophisticated understanding of design so as to predict the lines of the hull and determine the shapes of the ribs before the planking is attached. This is not a simple undertaking. The basic proportions of the hull had to be determined: its length, its height, and its maximum width (or beam). Then within those measurements the hull had to be shaped into a smooth series of curves that was a result of an interacting chain of compromises between carrying capacity, speed, and sailing characteristics, which in turn were a result of centuries of craftsmanship and tradition. Not until the fifteenth century, however, do we have written evidence showing the workings of the design process of skeleton building in medieval Italy. Undoubtedly there was much development over a period of 700 years, but it seems likely that certain basic principles remained the same. Certainly there was no use of plans, either early or late. In the fifteenth century, a series of

geometric relationships based on a few fundamental measurements enabled the lines of a vessel to be worked out with a high degree of accuracy. In an earlier age, perhaps a master builder determined the curves of the hull with a practiced eye, but that would have been very difficult without the run of planking to act as a guide. Even in the early Middle Ages, builders must have had some form of guidance.

Nautical archaeology has provided direct evidence of hull forms and construction techniques, but rigging and sails have not survived to be excavated. Evidence for these important features has to be taken from contemporary representations: miniatures, mosaics, sculpture, and even graffiti. These representations were mostly made by landlubbers who often followed well-established traditions, and frequently images of ships were only incidental to the purpose of the illustration. Therefore, these depictions are often lacking in detail and may portray types that had long been in use when the image was made. Great care must be taken in reaching conclusions based on depictions, especially from only a few examples. There are many images of ships from the late ancient period—some with a high standard of representation—that provide a good idea of Roman vessels. Roman ships typically carried a single, wide, low square sail on the mainmast with, occasionally, triangular topsails above that. Inclining over the bow at a sharp angle was a mast, almost a bowsprit, which carried the *artemon*, or steering sail. Medieval representations, on the other hand, usually show the triangular fore-and-aft sail that we know as the lateen sail. It is now generally thought that various types of fore-and-aft sails were known to the Romans but were not commonly used by them. Sixth-century mosaics at the Church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe show a square sail on one of three ships in the harbor at Classis, the port of Ravenna (the other two lie under bare poles). Ninth-century Byzantine miniatures indisputably show lateen sails, but art historians have suggested that these were copied from even earlier originals, indicating that the lateen might have been common much earlier. In later medieval illustrations, the lateen is virtually universal. Since the lateen sail became common around the Mediterranean at about the time of the expansion of Islam, it was once thought that the Arabs introduced this sail there. Evidence now available suggests that the lateen sail in fact originated in the Mediterranean and diffused outward to as far away as the Indian

Ocean.

The advantage of the lateen over the square sail that was dominant in classical times and on postmedieval sailing ships is that a fore-and-aft rig can sail "closer to the wind," as sailors say, than a square rig. This is not to suggest that medieval lateen-rigged ships could sail as close to the wind as modern sailboat designs. Other factors than the rig play a part in the performance of sailing vessels. Modern sailboats have deep keels or centerboards that resist sideways movement (leeway) and contribute greatly to their ability to sail close to the wind. The shallow keels and tubby shape of medieval round ships would have allowed them to make a great deal of leeway when reaching or close-hauled. Still, the lateen rig must have conferred some advantage, most likely agility, over the square rig that it superseded. As the Romans' control of the sea disintegrated, and piracy and warfare became endemic, a ship that could sail even a little closer to the wind than others was very desirable.

Until c. 1300, both sailing ships and galleys of the Mediterranean were directed using twin rudders positioned near the stern on each quarter. The helmsmen turned these quarter rudders around the axis of their shafts using a tiller that projected inboard. A late twelfth-century miniature from the Genoese chronicle of Ottobono Scriba depicts such a quarter rudder with a trailing fin plainly designed to be rotated on its axis to steer the ship. In narrow vessels one man could have handled both rudders, but in large ones the breadth of the beam would have required two helmsmen. Early in the fourteenth century, Italian shipbuilders began to adopt a northern type of ship known as a "cog," which had a centerline rudder hung on its straight sternpost. From this time on, the stern rudder began to replace steering oars.

Galleys

Swift oared warships were characteristic of the Mediterranean from ancient times well into the early modern period. The medieval galley was a descendant of the Roman *liburnian*, though perhaps not a linear descendant. The *liburnian* was, originally, a light, fast pirate vessel which the Romans adopted at the end of the Republican period as a

weapon against pirates. It was long and slender with one or two banks of oars, a square sail and *artemon*, and a ram beneath the water at the bow designed to hole an opponent's hull and swamp him. The Byzantine warship known as a *dromon* still preserved many of the characteristics of the *liburnian*, including rowers disposed in files that sat one above the other. The *dromon* had a reputation for speed—the name means "runner"—and carried a formidable array of armaments including spigots to project the incendiary mixture known as Greek fire. Yet the *dromon* must also have had some real limitations. Contemporary illustrations seem to show a vessel whose upper bank of oars worked directly over the sides of the hull, while the oarsmen of the lower bank rowed through holes in the hull. These ports for the lower bank of oars must have presented a problem in heavy seas. Any rowed vessel must place the rowers close to the water; too steep an angle between oar and water destroys mechanical efficiency, so the lower bank of oars must have been very close to the *dromon*'s waterline if the upper bank was to be at all efficient. Even if the oar ports were fitted with leather gaskets to keep out waves, it must have been very difficult to row from the lower position in rough weather.

In addition to the *dromon*, the Byzantines had a small, fast scouting vessel called a *galea*, with a single bank of oars. The warship of the Italian cities was the galley: *galea* or *galera* in Italian, *galia* in Venetian. The continuation of a name is not proof that one type of ship was derived from another—there have been many different kinds of vessels over the centuries called frigate—but it does seem possible that the medieval galley was descended from the Byzantine *galea*. By slightly increasing *the* beam of the *galea*, two men could work from a single bench, creating the same ratio of power to length as in the *dromon* without the awkward lower oar ports. One more development, a kind of outrigger to aid rowing, which may have been present on the original single-banked *galea*, completed the change. The *apostis*, a heavy beam running almost the entire length of either side of the galley, carried the tholepins against which the oars worked, as well as a bulwark to protect the rowers. It moved the fulcrum of the lever that was the oar outboard, minimizing the difference in the lengths of the loom of the oars of the outboard and inboard rowers, making synchronization of their strokes easier, and also increasing their

mechanical advantage, allowing them to pull longer oars. This method of rowing with first two, then three, men to a bench, each pulling his own oar, was called *alla sensile*. Working longer oars over an *apostis*, the galley may well have been faster and more seaworthy than the *dromon*. These advantages would account for the emergence of the galley as the principal warship of the Mediterranean by the early thirteenth century.

Medieval galleys are spoken of as being "bireme" or "trireme"; this terminology can lead to some confusion, since the terms are also used for rowed warships of the Greco-Roman period built on entirely different design principles. The oars of the Greek warship were disposed in three banks, one above another. Like the Roman *liburnian* that succeeded them, these Greek triremes mounted a heavy bronze-covered ram on the bow at or just under the waterline. In contrast, the medieval galley had its oarsmen seated all on the same level and, instead of a ram, the upper part of the bow extended in a beam tipped with iron, called the spur. The spur was used not to puncture an opponent's hull, but to smash over his upper works, holding him fast and providing a boarding bridge for marines. The medieval galley was more heavily built and, with less power in relation to its length, was probably significantly slower than its classical predecessor, though it may have been more seaworthy.

Thirteenth-century galleys were very long, slender, and low in the water, much like a large-scale racing shell. In 1275, Charles I, the Angevin king of Sicily, issued an order for the construction of several galleys that now provides the earliest evidence for the dimensions of these bireme galleys. In modern terms, they were to be about 130 feet (39.3 meters) in overall length; the beam, or maximum breadth of the hull, was about 12 feet (3.67 meters); and the height amidships from keel to deck was somewhat less than 7 feet (2.03 meters). The ratio of length to breadth, an indication of the slenderness of the vessel, was very high, 10.7:1, about the maximum possible if structural integrity was to be maintained and perhaps a little too great for a wooden ship. These galleys may have had a tendency to "hogging," the term used when the bow and stern sag lower than the midships as the vessel rises and falls on the waves; the results can be disastrous if the keel breaks. We can deduce from their dimensions that these vessels were biremes.

A gangway about 2.2 feet (two-thirds of a meter) wide, known as the *corsia*, ran down the center of the galley. The *corsia* eased movement between the stern and bow. Perhaps even more important, it acted, together with the heavy planking that connected it to the hull, as a kind of box girder, adding greatly to the longitudinal strength of the vessel. By deducting the width of the *corsia* from the beam and dividing by two, we find about 5 feet (1.5 meters) on each side where the rowers could sit, giving about 2 feet 6 inches (0.75 meter) for each rower. With twenty-two or twenty-three benches on a side, two men to a bench, there would have been eighty-eight to ninety-two rowers.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century, galleys were built that added a third rower to each bench. To accommodate this increase in the number of rowers it was necessary to increase the breadth of the vessels. A Venetian trireme galley of 1324 had an overall length of about 128 feet (38.9 meters) and a beam of 16 feet (4.86 meters). A Genoese galley of 1333 was about 132 feet (40.1 meters) long and 16 feet 6 inches (5.03 meters) in breadth. The length-to-beam ratio of both these vessels was 8:1, still very fine, but not so fine as that of the galleys of Charles of Anjou. This increase in beam allowed another file of oarsmen to sit on each side of the galley, producing approximately a 50 percent gain in horsepower available for rowing. It probably also produced a more robust hull. Because of increased weight and breadth, which brought increased friction through the water, a trireme galley would not have been dramatically faster than a bireme. A rise from 6.5 to 7 knots in the maximum speed that the oarsmen might sustain for twenty to thirty minutes is about what might have been achieved. There may also have been a proportional increase in cruising speed sustainable over a longer time. These are conservative estimates of the dash speed that galleys of this type might have reached, and there is some evidence that they could—under ideal conditions—attain perhaps a knot more. This half-knot advantage in dash speed, though not spectacular to modern readers, could be tactically significant. A galley's crew could sustain maximum effort for no longer than twenty minutes, during which time the vessel might cover 2.16 nautical miles at 6.5 knots or 2.33 nautical miles at 7 knots. This would have meant a difference of something like 330 yards (300 meters), or roughly ten galley lengths. After the development of the trireme galley, builders

experimented with a fourth, and even a fifth, rower on each bench, still with individual oars, in an attempt to gain yet more horsepower in relation to the length of the vessel. These experiments apparently did not prove successful, and the trireme became the standard *galea alia sensile*. However, the change from bireme to trireme produced even more significant developments than a gain in tactical speed over short distances.

The broadened beam that made room for another file of rowers also significantly increased the carrying capacity of the galley. Long, narrow, shallow of draft, and packed with rowers, galleys were never efficient cargo vessels. Early bireme galleys escorted merchant ships but were only rarely used to carry goods themselves. There are a few Genoese freight contracts of the mid-thirteenth century that record charters for bireme galleys to transport cloth between southern France and Genoa. The amounts involved indicate that they had a capacity of around 30 deadweight tons. An early fourteenth-century contract over the same route reveals a trireme galley that transported a cargo of about 100 deadweight tons. In short, a 50 percent increase in crew allowed a threefold increase in cargo capacity and an approximate doubling of the number of tons per man that a galley could transport. Galleys were still suitable only for cargoes of great value taking up little space, but for those cargoes they were very attractive because of their speed, their relative independence of wind, and their large crews, who could defend them against human threats. Thus began a line of development in which the tension between the demands of the naval and mercantile uses of galleys led to a differentiation in types of galleys. By the mid-fourteenth century, governments legally defined and regulated two classes of galleys: light galleys (*galee sottili*) and great galleys (*galee grosse*). The light galleys were warships par excellence, maintaining the characteristics of speed and maneuverability that were essential to galley warfare, and to them were also reserved the most valuable cargoes of silks and exotic spices on the routes between Italy and the east. The great galleys were broader of beam, with more freeboard, necessarily slower, but more seaworthy, so they were especially useful on the route to England and Flanders, where they had to contend with the notorious weather of the Bay of Biscay. These two galley types, one naval and the other mercantile,

continued to evolve until the end of the fifteenth century, with the great merchant galleys becoming ever larger to accommodate more cargo. Eventually they became primarily sailing ships, with the oarsmen used as an auxiliary engine in calms or to maneuver out of port. Great galleys became especially popular as transportation for pilgrims, probably because the lack of space in which to carry victuals and water forced them to put into port often, allowing the traveler to find fresh food and a bed on solid ground and see interesting sights. By the mid-sixteenth century, however, sailing ships had reached a high level of development, and labor costs had reached such a high level that the merchant galley became obsolete.

At the same time—i.e., the mid-sixteenth century—war galleys got a new lease on life. In the unpredictable wind conditions and relatively calm waves of the Mediterranean, galleys could still offer tactical advantages, if they were suitably armed. In this context, an innovation was developed: several men were put on one large sweep, allowing more than three men to row from one bench (instead of the traditional one man, one oar of the *alla sensile* system). This new system was called a *scaloccio*—ladder style—because of the handles attached to the huge oar, which enabled the rowers to grasp it. An additional advantage of the *galea a scaloccio* was that it required fewer skilled oarsmen. Only the inboard oarsman who guided and controlled the stroke needed to be highly trained; the others needed only a strong back. Evidence indicates that by this time it was becoming more difficult to find skilled oarsmen, and that factor alone would probably explain the development of the *a scaloccio* system. Although the practical limit for rowing *alla sensile* seems to have been three oarsmen to a bench, many more could pull at the large sweeps *a scaloccio*. More power made larger galleys possible. Larger galleys could carry larger contingents of marines and more artillery. Nevertheless, practical limits were quickly reached: about 160 feet (48.75 meters) in length, perhaps just under 20 feet (6 meters) in the beam, with 420 rowers, six to an oar. This was because the addition of oarsmen added power only arithmetically, while increases in the size of the hull added drag geometrically. The system of rowing *a scaloccio* also made possible very large galley-type vessels, such as the galeasses used by the Christian forces with such effect at Lepanto. The galeass was a type of galley very similar to, or even built on existing hulls of,

large merchant galleys that, because of their size, could be adapted to carry a formidable armament of artillery. Though these vessels operated with considerably reduced speed and maneuverability, they retained enough mobility to work with a fleet of galleys. A Venetian galeass at Lepanto was about 160 feet (48.75 meters) long and 40 feet (12.2 meters) in the beam, giving it a length-to-breadth ratio of 4:1, much broader than a light galley or even a *galea grossa* of the fourteenth century.

Besides the galley and its large derivatives, the great galley and the galeass, there were smaller rowed vessels. They were often used in galley fleets as auxiliaries. The *sagitta*, or *saetta* ("arrow"), was a very fine-lined, fast vessel, a little smaller than a galley, though there seems to have been a good deal of variation in size. Documents speak of *saette* with forty-eight to 100 oarsmen. With forty-eight, they were probably rowed with one man to a bench, twenty-four benches on a side, on a vessel as long as a galley, but more finely built. A hundred men must have rowed two men to a bench, and such a vessel would not have been very different from a bireme galley. The *fregata* was used as a tender in galley fleets. It was an open boat rowed by fewer than a dozen men or sailed with its single lateen sail. Towed by the commander's ship, the *fregata* carried messages, transferred personnel, and performed other tasks in the fleet. Some oared ships began their evolution as warships but ended as merchant ships, transformed by the same pressures that produced the great galley. The *panfilo* appears to have been originally a vessel similar to a *dromon* which developed into a merchant ship with auxiliary oars, all on one level. The *tarida* was a flat-bottomed but fine-lined vessel, adapted for sailing or rowing, that was often used as a transport. The *bucius*, at the end of the twelfth century, was another small, oared vessel carrying a rowing crew of some thirty to forty men. By the thirteenth century, there were hybrid types distinguished as *galera-tarete*, *nave-tarete*, and *buzonave*. The *bucius* underwent the most complete transformation; in the thirteenth century it became purely a sailing ship. By 1255, Venetian regulations lump together *navis vel buzo aut buzonavis* as kinds of sailing ships.

Sailing Ships

Less glamorous than galleys, but always more numerous, were the tubby, slow sailing ships. They ranged in size from small, undecked vessels, little more than open boats, to some that were very large indeed. Ships of the early medieval period seem to have been of small to moderate size, rather sleekly built with curving stem and stern, and with two steering oars mounted on either quarter. At the height of the Roman empire, huge ships of as much as 1,200 tons burden had carried grain from Egypt to Rome, but by the seventh century a ship of 300 tons was thought remarkable. As the imperial economy declined, very large ships were no longer needed; and with the splintering of power as the empire crumbled, the sea grew increasingly dangerous. The fourth-century ship excavated at Yassi Ada is probably typical of many ships that sailed the Mediterranean through the centuries. It was about 62 feet (18.9 meters) long and 22 feet (6.6 meters) in the beam, giving it a length-to-beam ratio of about 2.9:1. The seventh-century ship from that site was about the same length as the fourth-century ship, but had a beam of only about 17 feet (5.2 meters), for a ratio of 3.6:1. Its capacity has been estimated at 40 tons. With its more slender shape and, perhaps, lateen sails, the seventh-century ship would have been better able to outsail or outmaneuver the human predators on the Mediterranean.

There must have been many types of sailing ships that operated from the ports of medieval Italy, but we know very little about them. The general term applied to sailing ships in documents is *navis*, which is about as specific as the English word "*ship*." By the thirteenth century, there were some truly large *naves*, approaching, if not quite equaling, the Roman giants; estimates of the capacity of the largest of them range from 500 to 800 tons. Some of these ships we know by name. The Venetian *Roccafortis* is famous for beating off an attack in 1264 by Genoese galleys that had captured the eighteen smaller ships of the Venetian fleet but were unable to assault the towering sides of the great *navis* successfully. The Genoese *Paradisus Magnus* was almost as large, and the *Oliva* is said to have transported 1,000 pilgrims. Most of our understanding of these ships is based on very detailed freight contracts, which were intended to guarantee stowage space for cargo. Since they give us stevedores', not shipwrights', measures, they reveal nothing directly about details of construction.

Modern attempts at visualizing the *Roccafortis* have put its size at about 126 feet (38.3 meters) overall length, 33 feet (10.09 meters) in the beam. Contemporary with the *Roccafortis* were two unnamed ships that Saint Louis chartered from Genoa in 1268 for a crusade. The contracts for these ships are exceptionally detailed and have provided modern scholars with much material for speculation about their design. Auguste Jal, in the mid nineteenth century, drew plans of one of these ships, referring to it as the *Nef X*, and so it has been known ever since. It was only slightly smaller than the *Roccafortis*: the hull of the *Nef X* was about 123 feet (37.4 meters) long overall, and it was approximately 33 feet (10.04 meters) in the beam. There is some evidence that it was not so deep as the Venetian ship. More than 90 percent of the ships sailing from Italian ports probably had a capacity of less than 100 tons.

These *naves* had one, two, or three masts; two seems to have been the most common number, with a single large lateen sail on each mast. The *Nef X*, a very large ship, had two masts; the only evidence for three-masted *naves* is found in Venetian illustrations. It is almost certain that there were different shipbuilding traditions in the various maritime centers of Italy, but the details are now lost to us. The main mast—the forward mast (*arbor de prora*) on lateen rigged vessels—was stepped only a little aft of the point where the stempost joined the keel, perhaps one-tenth the length of the keel, while the mizzenmast (*arbor de medio*) was stepped approximately amidships. The mainmast had a considerable forward rake whereas the mizzenmast was vertical, or nearly so. The mainmast of the *Nef X* was 125 feet (37.9 meters) long; the mizzenmast was 115 feet 6 inches (35 meters) long. The yard for the mainsail, made of two spars, was at least 166 feet (50.3 meters) long, and that for the mizzen was about 149 feet (45.25 meters). Thus these yards were longer than the ship itself, requiring great skill and a large crew to handle them. Almost every contemporary depiction of these *naves* shows an extravagant upswept structure, or at least a pair of crutches, which would secure the yards when they were lowered. Tacking required the crew to raise these huge yards to a vertical position so that their foot could be swung forward of the mast and brought to the other side as the mainsheet was let out and brought in so the sails would receive the wind on its opposite side on the new tack. In a gale, this operation must have been exceedingly hazardous.

About the beginning of the fourteenth century, Italian shipwrights adopted a northern type of ship, the cog (*cocca* or *cocha* in the Italian documents). This was a sailing ship with a single mast that carried a large square sail; it had straight stem- and sternposts and a centerline rudder. The Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani wrote in the early fourteenth century that pirates from the Atlantic port of Bayonne introduced this vessel into the Inland Sea in 1304 and that the Genoese and Venetians immediately adopted it. Almost certainly, however, cogs had been seen by Italian sailors long before this. It seems likely that the eventual widespread adoption of the center-mounted pintle and gudgeon rudder (so-called because of the hinge arrangement that mounted it to the sternpost) at the beginning of the fourteenth century was the result of a much longer period of adaptation. Shipbuilding in the medieval world was a traditional craft and was therefore conservative, and the advantages offered by the pintle and gudgeon rudder were not overwhelming. The chief disadvantages of the quarter rudder became apparent only in very large ships. Quarter rudders for a large *navis* were huge; one mentioned in a charter dated 1246 for a horse transport for the first crusade of Louis IX has been estimated at more than 11 tons—and the ship required two of them. An additional problem was that the mounting systems for quarter rudders had inherent weaknesses that were especially acute in large vessels. However, it was not possible to successfully hang a pintle and gudgeon rudder on the curved stern of the traditional Mediterranean hull, so changes in design were necessary to accommodate this innovation. Once the process began, it opened the way for a rapid evolution that would transform the ship.

Another great advantage of the cog was simplicity of handling. The single square sail carried reef points that enabled the crew to shorten sail quickly and easily by brailing up a portion of the lower part of the sail. To reduce sail on a lateen-rigged vessel required the crew to lower the immense yard and then send it up again with a smaller sail. The square sail allowed much smaller crews in relation to the ship's size. On the other hand, a square sail cannot sail as close to the wind as a fore-and-aft sail, so some maneuverability was probably lost. Mediterranean shipwrights, accustomed to building ships with more than one mast, began to add masts and sails to aid in handling the ship. The cog did

not, of course, replace the *navis* immediately, but the impression is that by the mid-fourteenth century, even though lateen-rigged vessels with steering oars were undoubtedly still to be seen, they probably struck contemporaries as a little old-fashioned. The introduction of the cog began a period of vigorous cross-fertilization between the maritime traditions of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

Once they had adopted the cog, Mediterranean shipwrights soon began modifying it in light of their own experience to produce entirely new kinds of ships. One of their first modifications was to build the hull using their own carvel planking. The typical northern cog was clinker-built: that is, the edges of the upper planks of the hull overlapped the next plank lower down. The Mediterranean tradition had used carvel building in which the planks of the hull were set edge to edge even after the practice of joining the edges with mortise-and-tenon had ceased to be used. A Spanish miniature of c. 1350, which is one of the earliest depicting Mediterranean cogs, seems to show them carvel-built. More significant was the addition of a small mizzenmast carrying a lateen sail, not to add driving power but to help in steering the ship. A portolan chart dated 1367 already showed this innovation. This would have further reduced any sailing advantage of the lateen. The northern sail with its reef points became a sail with a removable lower section, known to the Venetians as a *scoamar* and to the Genoese as a *boneta* ("bonnet"), which could be quickly removed to shorten sail in a sudden squall. With the addition of another small mast far forward, also to assist in maneuvering, and some changes in the forecastle and after castle, especially the development of a distinctive triangular forecastle, an entirely new type, the carrack, had evolved. "Carrack" is a northern term, though the northern vessels were much smaller than the Italian giants that developed in the fifteenth century. The Venetians and the Genoese built huge carracks of up to 1,000 tons capacity. The three-masted carrack—with a great square sail on its tall mainmast to drive it, a lateen sail on the mizzenmast, and a small square sail on the foremast to give it agility—had great advantages. It was much more maneuverable than the *navis* or the cog, and still used fewer men per ton of capacity than the *navis*.

The carrack needed only a few more evolutionary changes to produce the full-rigged ship, of which Columbus's *Santa Maria* was an early

version. The foresail and the mizzen sail were enlarged to provide driving force as well as maneuverability. In some ships a fourth mast, a bonaventure mizzen, was added as the mizzen lateen sail was enlarged. A sail hung under the bowsprit proved more efficient than the sail on the foremast in bringing the head of the ship around. Even with bonnets to help in sail handling, the single mainsail on large carracks was huge. By the mid-fifteenth century, the great expanse of canvas that was the mainsail was divided among several yards. The multiplication of sails provided more canvas for greater drive; at the same time, the sails, individually smaller, were easier to handle. The full-rigged ship with five or six sails became the ship that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries carried Europeans to every shore washed by the great world ocean.

See also Navigation; Villani, Giovanni

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Sicilian Vespers

The revolt of the Sicilian Vespers in March 1282 dominated the history of the Mediterranean in the late medieval period, giving rise to lasting conflict between the Angevins of Naples and the Aragonese of Sicily. Although its origins must be sought in the tough government of Sicily by the officials of Charles I of Anjou, it can also be seen as a rebellion against a long tradition of centralized bureaucracy that demanded of the Sicilians funds for wars against the foreign enemies of rulers they rarely saw. It was also a reaction by the inhabitants of Sicily, and particularly Palermo, against the loss of primacy of Sicily within the Sicilian kingdom, which from the time of Frederick II was increasingly governed from Naples and Foggia.

Under Charles of Anjou, whose reign began with his victory over Manfred at Benevento in 1266, Sicily was governed by *secreti* sent from the mainland, many of whom were members of a small group of families from Amalfi and neighboring towns; they had already acquired power under Frederick II and Manfred, and they mainly moved effortlessly toward the court of the Angevin king. Tension between the "Amalfitani" and local nobles was discernible before the revolt broke out. French garrisons in key cities aroused resentment. Grain shortages occurred in an island normally rich in grain, whether because of real famines or because grain was expropriated to feed the king's fleet (as in 1270, when Charles I joined the crusade of Louis IX of France to Tunis). Some historians have emphasized the relative neglect of Sicily in Charles's plans for his kingdom; port installations were improved on

the mainland, but not on the island. Bresc (1986) has argued that the descendants of the "Lombardi," free immigrants from northern and southern Italy who had been actively repopulating the island since the early twelfth century, particularly resented the imposition of taxes and services from which in some cases they could claim customary exemption. For Bresc, therefore, the rebellion had its roots not in the resentment of a "sullen" population of Sicilians dedicated to age-old principles of vendetta—as in Runciman's portrayal (1958)—but in a new population of Latins who had replaced the old Muslim population, and who expected to enjoy the fruits of freedom, as in many other frontier societies.

This helps explain the widespread support for the revolt, but it does not necessarily explain the events of March 1282, when a French soldier insulted a young Sicilian wife outside the church of the Holy Spirit on the outskirts of Palermo. (This fine twelfth-century church, built by Walter Offamilio, now stands in the municipal cemetery.) A struggle broke out, and amid cries of "death to the French!" the Angevin garrisons were massacred. The rebellion spread across the island, by April reaching Messina, despite the attempts of the local nobility, the Riso family, to maintain the Angevins' power. Since Charles was actively building a war fleet in Messina, in readiness for a crusade due to depart for Constantinople later that year, this was an enormous blow to his power.

The revolt must also be placed in the setting of Charles's wider Mediterranean policies. Michael VIII Palaeologos, the ruler of Constantinople, was fearful of Charles's plans to invade the Byzantine empire and to impose obedience to the papacy on the Greek church. Accordingly, Michael is said to have schemed with Charles's opponents, most prominently the southern Italian exile Giovanni da Procida, himself a member of one of the families that had traditionally provided administrative support to the Sicilian monarchy. Giovanni had settled at the court of the ruler of Aragon-Catalonia, Peter III, who was married to the daughter of the last Hohenstaufen ruler of Sicily, Manfred, defeated by Charles and killed in battle at Benevento in 1266. Peter, always insistent on vindicating his rights, became interested in a Sicilian campaign in 1282 and departed for Alcoll (Collo) on the coast of Africa, on a self-proclaimed crusade. Contemporaries such as Pope

Martin IV rightly feared that this was an excuse for Peter to place himself close to Sicily while Charles went east to Constantinople. That Peter intended to take advantage of Charles's absence from Italy to attack Sicily seems certain. However, it is impossible to show that Peter was behind the uprising in March 1282 in Palermo, which happened too early for his plans. Moreover, the leaders of the rebellion, an urban and rural elite who were often at odds with one another, did not turn to Peter for aid once the revolt was under way. They asked the pope, as overlord of the Sicilian kingdom, whether he would sanction the creation of republics in Sicily on the northern Italian model. Naturally he refused, as Charles's greatest ally; and at that point a Sicilian parliament invited Peter to take the crown in right of his wife Constance of Hohenstaufen. Peter landed in Trapani in August 1282 and worked his way across the island, meeting little resistance. His aim was also the conquest of the mainland half of the Sicilian kingdom; and when he and Charles died in 1285, the Aragonese were installed in Calabrian strongholds such as Tropea. However, the mainland remained generally loyal to Charles, perhaps reflecting the more positive attention it had received from the Angevin government.

The Aragonese invasion, supported by a Catalan fleet, led to the outbreak of a twenty-year war—the war of the Sicilian Vespers—in which the French and Majorcan kings supported Charles I and Charles II against the house of Barcelona. Attempts under James II of Aragon, himself briefly the Aragonese king of Sicily, to return Sicily to the house of Anjou were rebuffed by the Sicilians. They elected his younger brother Frederick as their ruler, thereby further prolonging a contest which plunged Sicily into interdict. The conflict also had severe effects on the ability of the Angevins to provide leadership for the Guelf factions in central and northern Italy. Cut off from Sicily, their prime source of grain, the Angevins became dependent on loans from outside sources, notably Florence. It proved impossible to displace the Aragonese from Sicily; and the treaty of Caltabellotta in 1302, though full of imperfections, represented a victory for those Sicilians who had refused to accept Angevin rule.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Caltabellotta, Treaty of; Charles I of Anjou; James II, King of Aragon; Palermo; Peter III of Aragon;

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Sicily

Sicily, the largest island in the Mediterranean, is a link between the western and the eastern Mediterranean. It was therefore an object of invasion and settlement by Phoenician and Greek merchant colonists, who were anxious to secure trade routes giving access to western waters. Sicily was also valued in its own right since the Roman era as a granary, providing *triticum durum*, durable hard wheat with good yields, to consumers across the Mediterranean. Sicily was invaded by Goths and Vandals in the early Middle Ages; it and Sardinia contained important papal estates, for which Gregory the Great expressed concern. Byzantine Sicily, with a capital at Panormos (Palermo), provided vital links with lands farther to the west which were still under Byzantine suzerainty; c. 630 Constans II thought of making Sicily the seat of his empire, but for this and other controversial policies he was murdered in his bath. Sicily long withstood Arab armies; the island was invaded by the Aghlabid Muslims in the early ninth century, but Islamization was apparently slow, since as late as the mid-eleventh

century Muslims accounted for little more than half the population, and Greek was the island's second language. In the east, particularly around Messina, there was a denser concentration of Greeks observing Orthodox rites, while the west and the south had a higher proportion of Muslims. The Jewish population of the island was also extremely ancient; it was a subject of correspondence by Pope Gregory I. There were few if any free Latin Christians.

Under Islam, Palermo became a thriving center of the international trade in slaves, spices, and Sicilian produce, well integrated into the economy and politics of the Fatimid caliphate based in Cairo. However, the Byzantines were constantly aware that a Fatimid presence in the region threatened their own vital interest in the central Mediterranean and the Adriatic, and they managed to hold forts on the coast of Sicily through much of the tenth century. In the mid-eleventh century, the Byzantine military commander George Maniakes once again tried to gain a Christian foothold on the island. Important in the luxury trade were the Jews of Fustat, whose activities are amply attested to in the Cairo Genizah documents, mostly conserved at Cambridge University. By the mid-eleventh century, the island was divided between three competing Muslim lordships; the easternmost of these, that of ibn ath-Thumnah, ruler of Catania, established contact with the Norman adventurers who had already made themselves masters of much of the southern Italian mainland. Typically, the Normans took over as soon as they arrived, and with few but well-trained troops gradually made their way westward to Palermo. Palermo fell to Robert Guiscard (the duke of Apulia) and his brother Roger I (the "great" count of Sicily) in 1072; the last Muslim redoubt, Noto, fell in 1090. Also in 1090, the Normans established loose control over Malta, which throughout the Middle Ages was to be ruled from Sicily. All this was achieved in the face of the opposition not just of the Fatimid Muslims but also of Byzantium, which deeply resented the extirpation of Byzantine power by the Normans in mainland southern Italy. In addition, the German emperors, with an eye on the southern Italian possessions of the Normans, generally refused to accept Norman dominion in Sicily or the south.

The Norman period (to 1194) is often seen as one of the most glorious in the history of Sicily. Roger I (d. 1101) and his son Roger II (d. 1154;

crowned king of Sicily, 1130) showed regard for the interests of the non-Latin population; the Latin conquerors were few, and immigrants came in a slowly increasing trickle. Greek was the main language of administration under the two Rogers, and Muslim scribes were employed at court. Roger II received scholars from the Muslim world, notably the geographer al-Idrisi. Roger II also pursued an active policy of conquest in the Balkans and in north Africa. Buildings were erected in an eclectic style that owed as much to the palaces of Islamic Africa as it did to Byzantium or Rome. Gradually, however, signs of westernization emerged. The trade routes were increasingly dominated by Genoese, Pisans, and Venetians in place of the Cairo Genizah merchants. Old Muslim agricultural skills probably went into decline, and in the next century there were complaints that henna, indigo, sugar, and other specialized products had become rare. Cotton production ceded ground to the further expansion of the wheatfields. The gold currency, modeled on Islamic coinage, was supplemented by western-style silver coinages. Latin churches were built in the major centers, and the crown began to take an interest in the conversion of non-Christian subjects. Since 1098, the ruler of Sicily had enjoyed the status of an apostolic legate, with the right to regulate church affairs on the island. Relations with the papacy remained close, since the Norman ruler was a papal vassal and the popes saw in the Normans their best defense against German power in central Italy (notwithstanding complications such as a bitter papal schism in the 1130s and again in the 1170s). Sees were founded and an attempt was made to establish an Arabic-speaking church; fragments of its liturgy survive in the archive of the Palatine Chapel at Palermo. Latinization proceeded more aggressively under William I (d. 1166) and William II (d. 1189); the latter entrusted the largely Muslim estates in western and southern Sicily to the new abbey cathedral of Monreale (on the outer edge of Palermo), emblazoned with magnificent mosaics in the Byzantine style. Internal tension between the Muslims and the Latins increased, and massacres depopulated parts of southeastern Sicily in the 1160s. New Latin settlers arrived from areas such as Liguria, bringing the dialects out of which Sicilian Italian was to be formed. The Greek church was also on the retreat, although Muslim peasants who converted appear to have preferred to join it rather than the Latin church, which must have

seemed too much the church of the Norman military establishment. On the other hand, the royal court at Palermo remained open to outside influences, such as the Greek texts that were acquired during diplomatic visits to Constantinople. During the twelfth century, Palermo was an important center of translation; this work included versions from the original Greek of Plato's *Meno* and *Phaedo*. The meeting of cultures was expressed in the elaborate robes (many of which still survive in the Weltliche Schatzkammer in Vienna) worn by the Sicilian kings—a combination of western, Byzantine, and Islamic motifs, woven in the silk workshops attached to the royal palace. According to the Muslim ibn Jubayr, who traveled through Sicily in 1184-1185, King William II expected his courtiers to be at least nominal Christians but apparently had few illusions about the loyalty of many to Islamic beliefs and practices.

Under William I and William II, the Muslim population became increasingly restless, and political conflict was generated as well by ambitious Latin nobles and administrators present at the court, such as Maio of Bari and Stephen de la Perche. Nevertheless, the monarchy pursued ambitious schemes of overseas conquest. William I was blamed for the loss of the crown's African possessions (by 1160); but William II raided Alexandria, Majorca, and Thessalonika, capturing Thessalonika in 1185 as part of a campaign against Constantinople. The most lasting political achievement was the forging of peace with enemies in Italy, notably the German emperor Frederick 1 Barbarossa, following the peace of Venice (1177). A marriage alliance bound the German and Sicilian royal families together, and the German emperor dropped his principled opposition to the idea of a monarchy in Sicily held in fee of the papacy. The lack of a male heir clouded the final years of William II; the crown should have reverted to his aunt Constance, wife of the new German ruler Henry VI, but many southern Italian and Sicilian barons were wary of German rule and supported a bastard member of the Norman dynasty, Tancred. In order to vindicate his claim to the throne, Henry VI invaded Sicily (in 1191 and 1194), and he was crowned king of Sicily in Palermo on Christmas day 1194. After his coronation, he brutally suppressed any remaining opposition. However, the Muslim population was by now in a state of continual rebellion. Henry's early death (1197), followed a year later by the death of his wife Constance,

began a period of instability when German warlords competed for control of the young king, Frederick, who had been born the day after his father's coronation in Sicily. Interest groups such as the Genoese acquired lands and assets. The kingdom was much enfeebled; and it took Frederick many years to reestablish royal authority, following the Norman model of centralized bureaucracy. In 1220–1221 and 1231 Frederick issued legislation to rebuild royal authority, and he gradually gained control over the kingdom's major assets, such as saltworks and granaries. However, he was always distracted by his German-Lombard inheritance, and by rivalry with the papacy in central Italy, which kept him away from Sicily for much of his career. The effective capital of the kingdom of Sicily moved from Palermo to Foggia and Naples; and it was in Naples that Frederick founded his state-run university. Disaffection in Sicily was at first mainly concentrated among the Muslims, about 20,000 of whom he deported over several years to Lucera in Apulia; by c. 1240 the Muslim population of Sicily had ceased to exist, and the ethnic, linguistic, and religious composition of the island was basically Latin. However, the depopulation of good land that resulted led Frederick to encourage schemes for land improvement, whether grain production (the profits from grain were vital to his treasury) or specialized crops such as sugar, previously the specialty of the Muslim agriculturists. His reforms to the administration established by the Normans were calculated to retain close supervision of the ports, of inheritance to estates, and of the royal demesne in the spirit of earlier legislation by Roger II and William II (notably the Constitutions of Melfi of 1231). Payments of tribute from Tunis were demanded and received, ensuring large supplies of African gold. This gold was sufficient to mint a spectacular coinage (the *augustales*), impressive not merely for its high gold content but for its neoclassical image of the emperor. Most of Frederick's building programs, however, were concentrated in mainland southern Italy. He did not continue the Islamic tradition of building palaces that had been favored by the Normans, except for a fine fortified palace at Lucera, where he lived in Oriental splendor among the Sicilian Muslim exiles.

The growing conflict between Frederick and the papacy was costly, and Frederick's ruthless search for income from taxes appears to have generated some unrest before his death in 1250. Neither his legitimate

son Conrad IV (d. 1254) nor his illegitimate son Manfred (d. 1266) was able to achieve peace with the papacy, though Manfred's rule probably took a gentler approach to taxation, for fear of further alienating the Sicilians and southern Italians. Italy was polarized between Guelf supporters of the papacy and Ghibelline supporters of the Hohenstaufen; and the papacy's solution to the problem of the Sicilian succession was to nominate its own ruler, which it claimed to be able to do in virtue of the fact that Sicily was a papal fief. However, the Sicilian baronage already had a long-standing tradition of electing monarchs (including Roger II, Tancred, and Manfred), quite apart from a vestigial loyalty to the Norman-Hohenstaufen dynasty that occasionally emerged. The "matter of Sicily" could be resolved only by battle; and Charles of Anjou, the youngest brother of King Louis IX of France, was victorious over Manfred and over Conrad V (Conradin) at the battles of Benevento (1266) and Tagliacozzo (1268). Like his predecessors, Charles was rapidly drawn into wider Italian and Mediterranean affairs, and his inattention to the internal problems of Sicily gave rise to unrest, first in 1268 and then, decisively, in 1282, when the revolt of the Vespers spread like wildfire from Palermo across the island and was followed by an Aragonese-Catalan invasion under King Peter III. Charles had not been seen in Sicily since the chaotic crusade against Tunis of 1270, led by Louis IX; Charles's attention appears to have been focused more on southern Italy, with Naples now firmly established as capital of the kingdom in lieu of Palermo.

Peter of Aragon invaded Sicily not as a Spanish adventurer but as king in right of his wife, Constance, the daughter of Manfred of Hohenstaufen. The Sicilians welcomed him because they saw in him a chance to reduce the heavy burden of taxation imposed by the Angevins (having perhaps forgotten that the Angevins were to a large extent practicing the methods of Frederick II); this was almost impossible to achieve, in view of the heavy cost of the war against Charles of Anjou, which spilled over the Strait of Messina into Calabria. Not surprisingly, some of the rebels defected to Charles, but sympathy for the Aragonese cause dominated the Sicilian nobility and the towns. After Peter returned to Spain to resist an invasion of Catalonia by the French (1283), he left his wife in charge of Sicily. In his will of 1285, Peter took care to nominate his second son James as heir to Sicily, while

his elder son Alfonso was given the Spanish territories of the crown of Aragon. Thus the Sicilians appeared to have regained a native dynasty.

The 1290s saw rapid change, however, as James of Sicily unexpectedly succeeded as well to Aragon-Catalonia (1291) when Alfonso died without heirs. A period began when James dangled Sicily in front of the papacy, hoping to make peace with Rome and the Angevins by abandoning the island, and perhaps gaining something else in the Mediterranean (Sardinia, Cyprus, or even Albania). A central factor in these negotiations was the reluctance of the Sicilian nobility to welcome back the Angevins; rather than compromise, they elected the lieutenant-governor of Sicily, James's younger brother Frederick (known as "Frederick III"), as their king (1296), creating an extraordinary situation in which James of Aragon and Frederick of Sicily were on opposing sides. Pope Boniface VIII offered James Sardinia and Corsica if he would vacate the island, but Frederick withstood papal interdict and excommunication until peace was agreed on at Caltabellotta (1302). According to this peace, Frederick would remain king of "Trinacria" until his death (the island's new title was classical whimsy), whereupon the island would revert to the Angevins, who retained the title "king of Sicily" even though their rule was now confined to the mainland. (In the long term, this gave rise to the concept of the "two Sicilies," island and mainland.) There is no doubt that the war of the Sicilian Vespers between 1282 and 1302 wreaked havoc on the island, damaging the economic infrastructure and striking a heavy blow at religious life. Frederick worked hard to reconstruct the island's religious and economic life up to his death in 1337, but his task was rendered difficult by continued tension with the Angevins, who were irritated at Frederick's nomination of his son as heir to Sicily (the title "Trinacria" having been rapidly forgotten). Baronial power advanced as the crown made concessions to secure its position in the face of external threats.

A series of royal minorities after Frederick's death led to an effective division of the island between competing interest groups, notably the so-called Latins and Catalans. Families such as the Chiaramonti were openly favorable to the Angevin invaders, and at times in the 1360s vast areas of the island were held once again by the mainland kings of Sicily (Milazzo was occupied by the Angevins for particularly long periods). Messina suffered from difficulties of access to the mainland, which had

long been its prime market. Catalan businessmen, alongside Genoese traders, were dominant in the markets of Palermo and Trapani, and drew wheat from the island to meet the needs of cities such as Barcelona and Ciutat de Mallorca (modern Palma). However, the arrival of the black death in 1347 accentuated difficulties, as production fell and markets shrank because of high mortality. What had been one of the wealthiest and most efficiently organized kingdoms in Europe was now the plaything of four main noble factions, and royal power had shrunk to the point where even control over capital crimes was vested in great baronial families, something that would have been unthinkable in the days of Roger II.

The mid-fourteenth century does, however, represent a low point. Thereafter, the Neapolitan Angevins were so heavily engaged in their own bitter internal rivalries that they presented little threat to the island. The Aragonese king, Peter IV, conceived the idea of a marriage alliance to bring Sicily under the authority of a monarchy that already included the Mediterranean islands of Majorca and Sardinia, with an eye in part on the benefits to be gained from the grain trade. At the end of the century, Martin the Younger, heir to the Aragonese throne, claimed the island of Sicily, invading in 1392. Martin died in 1409 in a campaign in Sardinia, whereupon the crown reverted to his father, Martin the Elder, king of Aragon (making Martin II of Sicily, rather oddly, the father of Martin I). Under Martin the Elder, reconstruction continued; it was now that large numbers of Catalan settlers were granted important fiefs on the island. Meanwhile both the crown and the great barons became increasingly involved in initiatives aimed to improve conditions on the island (and therefore their own income), such as founding regional fairs and encouraging local industries. Population began to recover by the early fifteenth century. The island benefited further from the imaginative policies of Alfonso V, "the Magnanimous," king of Aragon (d. 1458), who conquered southern Italy in 1442 and became the first ruler to exercise power over both Sicilian kingdoms (though as separate entities). He tried to stimulate trade between his Italian and his Spanish dominions, and to encourage the Catalans to buy most of their foreign grain from Sicily. However, there were tensions within the towns during the fifteenth century, as in many parts of Europe; and rivalry between Palermo and Catania turned on

issues such as who should have the island's university. There was also growing hostility to the Jews (who had long retained their use of Arabic in daily speech), culminating in frightful pogroms in several towns in 1392 and again at Modica in 1474. The expulsion of the Jews from Sicily was ordered by Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1492–1493, in the wake of their expulsion from Spain; many moved to southern Italy, where Ferdinand's cousin Ferrante I had been granted the crown. Ferdinand's seizure of southern Italy in 1502–1503 to prevent it from falling into French hands meant that Spanish rule over both "Sicilies" was thereafter long ensured.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Arabs in Italy; Caltabellotta, Treaty of; Charles I of Anjou; Constitutions of Melfi; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Frederick III, King of Sicily; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; James II, King of Aragon; Manfred; Maniakes, George; Messina; Normans; Palermo; Peter III of Aragon; Robert Guiscard; Roger I; Roger II; Sicilian Vespers; William I; William II

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Siena

Physical Characteristics and Origins

Siena, an archetypal Tuscan hill town, is situated at about 1,060 feet (322 meters) above sea level. It is in the center of the province of Tuscany, about 30 miles (48 kilometers) south of its perennial rival Florence and 40 miles (64 kilometers) from the Tyrrhenian Sea. Although Siena is surrounded by a number of small rivers and streams flowing through valleys, it does not have easy access to water; still, despite the necessary preoccupation with obtaining water, it was a good defensive site. The city is on the conjunction of three ridges of a spur of the Chiana mountains forming what might be described as an inverted Y. The southwestern spoke of this Y was the core of the early city and overlooked the conjunction of the other spokes, through which passed a main road. The inverted Y shape was to influence numerous Siennese institutions, which often had a tripartite organization based on the three spokes of the topography. The city itself reflected this shape by its traditional division into three sections called the Citta, the Camollia, and San Martino. These three sections of the city also grew up around Siena's position on the strategic Via Francigena, one of the most important roads to Rome from the north. Running through the northern third of the city, the road continued south, turning through the southeastern spoke at the very center of the town. Siena's position on a major north-south artery facilitated commerce, banking, pilgrimages, and tourism as merchants and pious wayfarers passed through the city. The Via Francigena and other roads became a fundamental concern of Siennese governments, especially for the passage of commercial

travelers, merchandise, and foodstuffs.

The province was, and still is, rich in agricultural, alpine, and pastoral products such as olive oil, wine, chestnuts, cheese, and grains. The medieval commune consistently sought to control, and certainly based much of its wealth on, resources from such areas as the Val d'Arbia nearby and those further away such as the Val d'Orcia to the south and the Val di Chiana to the east. To the west, but east of the flat plain leading up to the sea (the Maremma), was another range of mountains, near Montieri; this range was rich in minerals, especially silver and lead. These small regions were the primary objects of conflict with Siena's more distant neighbors such as Florence, Orvieto, Arezzo, and even Perugia, and also with the smaller and closer towns—Montepulciano, Montalcino, Volterra, and Massa Marittima. Siena's geographic position in effect forced it to try, aggressively, to extend its domain in every direction, for reasons of security and for control of natural resources.

The origins of Siena are obscure, but over the centuries accounts were devised from various legends and in turn became legends. The myths established in the Middle Ages and elaborated on in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gave the Sienese a republican background that was comforting as they reluctantly accepted deference, and ultimately subordination, to Florence and the Medici. Throughout its history the commune of Siena, and apparently its citizenry, linked the origins of the town with republican Rome and early Roman legends, heroes, and traditions.

Siena was not an important town in either the Etruscan or the Roman period. There are ruins and archaeological remains from both periods, but little of substance has been found within the city itself. From the Roman era, there is some dubious evidence of baths (even in water-starved Siena), a forum thought to have been on the site of the present main square (the Campo), and a few temples. Stelae, bits of statues, sarcophagi, and inscriptions do, however, attest to Roman habitation or presence in the area. Pliny the Elder and Tacitus make vague mention of a place that might be the site of the future city. The earliest settlement or stronghold probably existed on the southwestern spoke of the inverted Y, the highest point of the present city—the Castelvecchio in the Terzo di Città.

History and Municipal Institutions

The complex political history of Siena is not easy to present in a short space. We will briefly consider the sources, then the problems faced by the various regimes attempting to govern the city between 1200 and 1400, then their institutional responses, and last the public events of the period, resulting from their attempts to meet the governmental problems.

For the period before 1200, the surviving sources are not very informative, either about events or about the individuals involved. From the 1230s on, one can see the operation of government and identify to some extent the people and interests behind it. From the mid-thirteenth century, we are much better informed because the records of the *consiglio generale* or general council—the main legislative body of the commune—have survived. After the fall of the regime of "the Nine" (*Nove*) in 1355, with a concomitant destruction of many earlier records, the historian faces a huge surviving documentary record several times the bulk and richness of even that of the administratively obsessed Nine. These documents include letters, the records of the main executive body (the *concistoro*), and court and notarial records. The history of the period between 1250 and 1350, which was in general prosperous and successful, is well known and has been well studied; but the history of the turbulent second half of the fourteenth century, although well documented, is still obscure. The basic problems and remedies remained the same; however, the problems became more intense, and those in control responded chaotically and seemed far less successful in meeting the needs of the polity.



Palazzo Pubblico and Campo, Siena. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The problems facing Siena were very similar throughout its history and are representative of any such collective attempt to become more established. Once a commune was sworn" by its founders, the process of making it a viable political entity involved reconciling the private interests of the inner elite with those of others living in the space that it sought to control. The interests or corporate values of a community of commercially-minded landowners were not always readily accepted or implemented in a world where rights or obligations were just beginning

to be defined and where voluntary devotion to something like a state was feeble. Siena's many regimes made efforts to give their allegedly civic values and interests religious trappings, but they had difficulty being accepted—although some, as in the era of the Nine (1287-1355), were partially successful.



Duomo, Siena. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The primary concerns of these governments were as follows: maintaining security, safety, and justice in urban and rural areas; fostering foreign and economic policies that would satisfy numerous and often incongruous interests; suppressing or reducing class conflict; raising resources fairly and reasonably, but adequately to cover variable fiscal needs; and conveying a consistent image of a benevolent, wise, competent administration. The institutions of government clustered around these issues.

A few specific problems can be noted. First, in foreign policy, the commune had to deal continually with an ambitious papacy and with the nearby and equally threatening commune of Florence; both the papacy and Florence were eager to exploit the factions of Siena for their own ends. Second, providing food and security for the citizenry of Siena demanded an expensive and ambitious policy of expansion and control in the surrounding rural areas. Third, Siena constantly faced the implementation of a lordship, either by a local family or by an outside

power; it escaped this fate (unlike many other communes), though only by the barest of margins. Several magnate families tried to monopolize power throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but failed. Rural nobles were partially domesticated by policies resulting in their urbanization; urban magnates were consistently given prominent and powerful roles in communal affairs. Antimagnate laws imposed few real limits. This legislation primarily excluded magnates from the highest ruling body in the state, the *consistoro*; but those offices were overwhelmingly occupied by their friends and commercial associates, and all the other governing bodies of the state were usually filled with members of the greatest families. What actually limited the ambitions of the magnates was the tendency of the magnate houses to rival and balance one another, so that no faction dominated by a single magnate family could seize power. However, such a seizure of power became more difficult to avoid during the early fourteenth century, as opportunities for adventure, commerce, and banking abroad dried up; ambitious sons now stayed in Siena and devoted their attention to a struggle for office and power. At the same time, conceptual differences between the patrimony or resources of the state and predatory private interests became harder to maintain. During the fourteenth century, then, confidence in the governing class and the avoidance of signorial control became more questionable.

Nonetheless, the oligarchical republic of Siena, with its complex institutional structure, was preserved well past 1400 except for a vague submission to the Visconti at about that time. The sometimes wise improvisations and legalistic and administrative responses of the government, combined with policies promoting allegiance to the current regime by means of financial commitments to the treasury, did generally succeed in maintaining republican forms and a Sienese identity.

In theory, the chief ruling body of the commune was the *consiglio generale* (general council), usually consisting of 300 or more citizens organized according to the three districts of the city. This body had little legislative initiative, but it was expected to approve measures sent from a much smaller group, frequently called the *concistoro*, or executive committee. This executive organ was based on multiples of three members (as during the regime of the Nine) and exercised real

control over the other organs of the government. Membership in other administrative and governing bodies was granted by this group, whatever its name might be, between 1200 and 1400. Other groups forming the so-called "orders" engaged in factional struggles for positions in the executive body in order to ensure their own dominance and self-perpetuation. The *biccherna*, or treasury, eventually joined by the *gabella*, or tax administration, carried out the fiscal policies of the commune. Offices of the state—such as *podestà*, captain of the people, captain of war, and *senatore*—were devised to assist the commune in maintaining authority and public order. These offices tended to evolve into a system of courts, each headed by its respective officer, with specific jurisdictions. The *sindaco* checked the books of communal officials and committees. The merchant guild, called the *mercanzia*, played a shadowy but important role in various regimes, especially that of the Nine. Special temporary committees, called *balie* and appointed by the *concistoro* for specific problems, became more common over the course of the fourteenth century. These committees tended to be appointed for longer periods and to have more extensive, and less strictly defined, authority and powers, draining power away from the general council in particular. The commune of Siena evolved as a complex and frequently effective system of government, but these institutions did not always ensure the survival of the numerous oligarchical groups that formed the core of the commune between 1200 and 1400.

The earliest surviving documentation for Siena as a political and religious entity comes from the seventh century, when it was part of the Lombard kingdom and was governed by a *gastaldus*, and concerns the beginning of a long dispute with the bishop of Arezzo over diocesan boundaries: Siena and its bishop worked to preserve territory attached to the diocese. When the Franks came into Italy, the Sienese were governed by a count, with numerous associates taking control of the region around the town. The counts in turn came to be supplanted by the bishops. From c. 1125 on, a communal form of government evolved, beginning with a *consolare* form—that is, rule by the tight committee that often had formed the initial core of the sworn commune. This was supplemented by a *podestà* between 1199 and 1234 and was followed by a regime called "the Twenty-Four" (1234-1270), initiating the

nomenclature of regimes by multiples of the three areas of the city. This was the era of Siena's Ghibelline triumphs, which had begun in the twelfth century, when the commune obtained recognition and privileges from Frederick I Barbarossa. On 4 September 1260, with the assistance of German mercenaries sent by Manfred, Frederick II's illegitimate son, the commune inflicted a massive defeat on the Guelph city of Florence; and for a few years thereafter Siena dominated Tuscany. However, Florence won a decisive victory at Colle in 1269. From then on, Siena, which had traditionally been Ghibelline, remained Guelph; any lingering sympathy for the Ghibelline sprang more from local rivalries than from a real preference for the empire over the papacy.

Throughout the thirteenth century, groups that had not been among the original founders of Siena gradually forced their way into communal institutions under the guise of the *popolo*. The government of Siena—still a restricted oligarchy, but now with broader ties to the new merchant class and certain groups of artisans—fell under the control of the Nine in 1287. This very successful group governed Siena until 1355, primarily by virtue of fiscal competence and skillful administration and policing. In 1355, during the presence in the city of the inept emperor Charles IV, a faction eventually called "the Twelve" (*Dodici*) usurped control. The Twelve held control until 1368, when, during another visit by Charles, a clique called the *reformatori* (reformers) seized power, with the temporary help of a magnate family, the Salimbeni. From 1385 until the end of the century, several changes of government occurred, and the various factions steadily evolved into the *monti*, which were from then on Siena's traditional political affiliations. These parties were very fluid during this period: individuals regularly changed sides; and families kept members in all the groups, jockeying for control. Whereas before 1355 the commune had been stable, the end of the century was marked by political conflict, administrative chaos, and the magnates' depredation of the city and countryside.

Economic Life

Several aspects of the economic life of Siena and the surrounding area have been studied by historians, but lacunae in our knowledge and understanding remain. These gaps persist partly because of a lack of interest among scholars, but primarily because of deficiencies in the available sources. What has been studied has had to be approached in the context of certain institutions and perspectives. Much is known about the rise and decline of Sienese business, especially international banking; the taxation of commerce and agricultural markets; the foreign and economic policies of the commune; the development of certain agricultural institutions, especially the introduction of the *mezzadria* or sharecropping contract; rural economic resources; and relationships between communal and other institutions, such as the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala. But important aspects of the economy remain vague or only simplistically understood. Lists of official exchange rates over a long period and wage structures over short periods have been compiled. Distributions of wealth among the citizenry have been carefully charted from the intensive *estimo* of 1316–1320. All these rather momentary pictures of the functioning of the economy are of only limited help in forming a general picture of the economy of Siena between 1200 and 1400. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that the economy can be better understood, given the state of the sources.

The surviving account books of minor merchant companies indicate considerable variety in mercantile activity in the city and foreign markets; but these books are few, vague about the actual companies, and limited to the thirteenth century—Siena's reputed golden age. Sets of records exist for the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala and certain monastic institutions, but they are confined to a single perspective: the efforts of the core ecclesiastical establishments to consolidate their properties and expand their control over the peasants and tenancies tied to them. For the period before 1200, there exist only a few (though excellent) studies, dealing primarily with the economic policies and relationships between great feudal families such as the Berardenghi and monastic houses—again, all that might be available from the sources. Legal records dealing with economic matters similar to those elsewhere in Europe are late and very rare indeed. For instance, written arrangements about how things were to be done or what was to be paid

or owed are plentiful for the agricultural world around Siena, but its actual practices and productivity remain unclear for most of this period.

What is known about Sieneese economic life has therefore necessarily been based on the surviving public records of the commune itself. These records, though rich, are limited. Even the large number of extant charters or *diplomata* from the archives have only recently been more systematically used to supplement public records. Moreover, the private economies of those who exercised power and set economic policy and priorities are only now being studied in order to get beyond mere labels such as "merchants with rural interests." This lack of study of private economies and interests accounts largely for the gap in our knowledge and understanding of the Sieneese economy.

On the other hand, numerous studies have been done on the organization of guilds (which were, however, of much less significance in Siena than in Florence), on the activities of the great merchant-banking companies, and on communal economic policy. Most of the extant sources for economic matters involve these organizations and decisions. Therefore, we know much about how reprisals for economic defaults between the citizens of two jurisdictions were supposed to work, according to treaties; but when firms failed and crises arose requiring direct pleas or negotiations between sovereign states, we are much less fully informed. The economic details—what caused the defaults and the usually hasty departure of the offending obligated parties—are mostly unclear, so either the healthy or the unhealthy functioning of business cannot readily be reconstructed. Markets for all kinds of products have been posited from careful studies of taxes on them; but again, only part of the picture can be gained by this method, as exemptions existed for many persons, so that we can make only partial, though useful, conclusions regarding trends and commodities in an urban market.

With these caveats in mind, several aspects of Siena's sophisticated economy can be described. Probably the most important aspect is the banking and mercantile activity carried out by Sieneese companies, which were among the most successful, most innovative, and richest in Europe during the thirteenth century. This success was built on the ability of several elite Sieneese families to fashion credit instruments so as to assemble the resources to extend wider credit, make lucrative

loans, and carry out the time-consuming activities involved in trading cloth and other commodities. They did this by evolving systems of partnership that offered attractive opportunities to investors and reasonable terms to customers. These patrilineages were accustomed to cooperation from their experience in holding joint rural and urban properties. Whether from urban or rural rents, Sienese merchants were well positioned financially, by the early thirteenth century, to take advantage of growing fiscal needs of the papacy, secular governments, and individuals.

The Bonsignori in particular took their place among the largest firms of the thirteenth century. By the 1290s, however, despite reorganizations and the addition of numerous partners outside the family, the society of the "Great Table" found itself in severe financial difficulties because of its pitifully inadequate reserves. If difficulties arose, all the clever and creative organizational innovations of the previous century would not suffice to give the skittish customers confidence in the company and avoid recalls of debts and deposits and eventually a run on its assets. These assets were difficult to liquidate and in any case could be liquidated at only a small part of their true long-term worth. This led to a long, drawn-out process of bankruptcy between 1298 and 1310 in which the Bonsignori, with the help of the commune, tried in vain to avoid paying their debts, even debts owed to the king of France. In the end they paid little more than the small percentages paid by contemporary Florentine companies, and only to powerful and persistent creditors.

In the decade after 1310, other, considerably smaller international firms based in Siena—such as those built around the Tolo mei, Malavold, and Gallerani families—followed the Bonsignori into ignoble bankruptcy and defaults on debt. During these long processes, the commune of Siena tampered with the principle of joint and unlimited liability of the partners in bankrupt companies. Compounding the usual difficulties involved in tracking down people and assets, the regime for several years limited the liability of each member of a firm to the percentage of his initial investment in the company. In other words, debtors could not collect as much as possible from any individual whom they might be able to detain legally. This made doing business with a Sienese company a much riskier proposition, since assets were

elusive and were protected beyond the usual strict and limited protection afforded to the dowries of wives as first creditors. In the second half of the thirteenth century, these business difficulties were combined with others: Florence became a dominant competitor; Siena's cloth industry had a weak base (due to a lack of water); and the European fiscal environment, now also dominated by Florence, had changed. As a result, Sienese merchant bankers were not able to produce a generation of successors to the Bonsignori or the other failed companies. By contrast, the Florentine companies that had experienced bankruptcy during the same period were replaced by new companies, which were on a slightly sounder fiscal footing and were made more secure and more trustworthy by adherence to the principle of joint and unlimited liability—a principle that was restored too late in Siena. Although other Sienese companies continued to be formed throughout the rest of the fourteenth century, they were never in the same league as the great thirteenth-century firms and mostly confined themselves to the local economy.

The early fourteenth century was the great period of expansion for the fiscal administration of the commune itself. However, a major part of this administrative and fiscal growth sprang from an expensive dependency on voluntary and forced loans, "tax farming," and the pawning of great properties in the *contado* as the regime of the Nine at times became desperate to get funds and accepted terms very profitable to the lenders. The banking and merchant class that was at the core of this regime probably turned to local sources of credit, soaking up resources that in the past had gone into international finance and commerce—which were more risky but ultimately much more lucrative. There is also some evidence that the profits derived from business with the government were not used very productively by the class lending to the commune.

Research on the economy of the second half of the fourteenth century is very sparse; evidently, however, the overall wealth of Siena and its regional economy declined. The black death had caused a major redistribution of wealth among survivors, and the continued production of wealth from more restricted opportunities and resources could not have been easy to maintain. Also, the population never returned to anything approaching its earlier size. This drastic decline in human

resources was accompanied by increased political conflict over control of the commune among groups that had no economic interests similar to those of the business-oriented Nine. Furthermore, the wool industry, such as it was, was devastated by riots in 1371 and by several forced expulsions of artisans from the city. During this period there were also frequent incursions by marauding mercenary bands who caused great destruction in the once rich agricultural areas around the city and extracted huge amounts from the taxpayers of Siena as bribes to leave the area.

By 1400, Siena seemingly had an economy much different from that of 1200 or 1300. In 1200, Siena had been poised on the brink of involvement in a greatly expanding international economy. By 1300, Siena had been drawing inward to a local economy; this local economy was still flourishing but was increasingly tied to a regime only too ready to borrow from itself to pay expenses that were not in the long run of much overall profit to the city or region. By 1400, the Sienese had minor roles in a new generation of Tuscan companies with far more modest resources than their predecessors. All this commerce was set in a Sienese state that was probably producing much less wealth from agriculture and from urban industry.

Urban Development

The urban landscape of Siena as we now see it can reasonably be said to have been constructed by the Nine between 1287 and 1355, although much of the cathedral is earlier. Later building consists mostly of fifteenth-century family palaces and work done on medieval churches. The great Palazzo Pubblico (town hall), with its tower and the *piazza* known as the Campo in front of it, was constructed by the Nine, at the center of the tripartite city, to symbolize their own and the city's legitimacy, wealth, prestige, and power. This regime was very much concerned with its own image and with the ordering of Sienese society. The concept "right ordering" prompted the regime to systematize the streets, regulate (partially) the exteriors of buildings, expand the availability of water by building new fountains and completing old ones, and construct several extensions of the walls and gates. According

to Dante, the Nine also gained a reputation for vanity by searching for a mythical river called the Diana that supposedly ran beneath the city. Tunnels supplying the fountains of the upper parts of the town, and elaborate drainage tunnels, honeycombed the hills on which the city was built. The water supply always remained a concern of the medieval Sienese.

Much of this building was done despite the difficulties presented by the irregular topography of the site. The three sections of the city lie on the tops of ridges of three different heights, which had to be protected by long walls running through valleys containing small agricultural plots. A confused tangle of streets, moreover, could not easily or quickly be made into the desired organic, controllable unit.

In addition to major public building projects, the Nine regularly supported the building of churches throughout the city, and especially the cathedral (*duomo*). This regime inherited much of the present cathedral from an expansion begun in the 1250s and 1260s; and c. 1300 it took control of the *opera*, or works administration, of the cathedral. The Nine finished the exterior decoration, added bays, commissioned several altarpieces by Duccio and Lorenzetti, and tried to associate these spectacular works explicitly with themselves. In the 1330s, they embarked on a huge but impractical expansion of this *duomo*. This was left unfinished after the visitation of the black death in 1348, primarily because of technical problems and the political and economic changes of the 1350s and 1360s.

Besides being prompted by administrative and political concerns, all of this urban development was accompanied and driven by fairly regular increases in the population until the devastation inflicted by the black death. Siena was one of the most prominent victims of the plagues of 1348 and 1362. Reasonable estimates of the population have been made: about 20,000 in 1260; about 50,000 at its peak in the 1330s; and as low as 15,000 beginning in the 1350s and 1360s. With this decrease in population, and with the greatly increased political conflict and economic difficulties of the second half of the fourteenth century, urban development stagnated. The Sienese seem to have struggled to maintain what they had and to have limited themselves to smaller architectural projects within the larger and older spaces already constructed.

Art and Architecture

Between the late thirteenth century and the mid-fourteenth century, the commune of Siena produced and employed some of the most important artists of the period. Duccio di Buoninsegna, Simone Martini, and Ambrogio Lorenzetti were among the most influential painters of the era, well known outside the city and the surrounding region. Working in the shadow of these three figures, many other painters, sculptors, and architects contributed to Siena's enduring reputation for art. Modern studies of their work, especially fresco painting, have led to some extremely complex, and occasionally acrimonious, disputes. These debates have centered on difficult issues of chronology, attribution, repainting, restoration, archival verification, and relationships between images and texts, and have greatly enlarged our knowledge. Still, much remains to be done in all these areas, and consensus will be difficult to reach, especially with regard to the boundaries between art and society.

Certain themes emerge in any attempt to describe Siennese art and architecture. Since the dedication made at the time of the important victory at Montaperti in 1260, the Virgin Mary has been prominent in Siennese iconography; she is portrayed in some of the most important works of art produced by Siennese artists in Siena and elsewhere. In civic, communal, republican, and public culture and patronage, an ideology affirming the value and worthiness of the city's rulers was consistently present. The earthly city and its ruling group were linked to a just environment prompting peace and security in this world and salvation in the next. All this was sanctioned and promoted by the Virgin and God, to whom the commune owed and paid a special devotion. Siennese artifacts should be considered, at least initially, within this civic ritual and devotional context.

In addition to the mendicant churches of Siena, the history of the construction and decoration of the *duomo* and the Palazzo Pubblico can serve to define and exemplify Siennese art between c. 1200 and 1400. The fiscal and spiritual disasters of the mid-fourteenth century altered the patronage behind the "golden age" of Siennese art associated with the regime of the Nine (1287–1355). As a redistribution of wealth deprived the commune of much of its opportunity for, and interest in, promoting its synthesis of civic and religious art, ecclesiastical entities replaced it

as the main sponsor of art and architecture. Accordingly, the content became more explicitly religious.

Very little survives of artistic production from before 1200; only a few altarpieces or fragments and remnants of rural parish churches remain. Not until the rebuilding of the cathedral in the mid-thirteenth century can we identify artifacts, date them, and associate them with any clear provenance. This almost never-ending project of construction and modification was the physical context for the most important sculptors of the city. An earlier church, standing at least as early as 1200, was transformed slowly, in particular after 1245, from a Romanesque structure into the basically Gothic building existing today. Changing liturgical and civic concerns demanded a larger and more impressive structure. Nicola Pisano carved his spectacular pulpit in this new building between 1265 and 1269, assisted by his son Giovanni and Arnolfo di Cambio. Giovanni stayed on in Siena and carved the statues of the prophets and sibyls on the new facade. After becoming a Siennese citizen, he served as the chief architect and master of the works of the *duomo* between 1299 and 1302. It was for the main altar of the *duomo* that Duccio painted his famous *Maesta* between 1308 and 1311. On 11 June 1311, much of the city turned out for a great civic festival accompanying the transfer of the *Maesta* to the cathedral, through the heart of the city. By this time, the commune was taking a careful interest in the *duomo* and was consistently associating itself with the images used to decorate it. Therefore, the commune established close control over the *opera*, the body overseeing the building and maintenance of the cathedral, which was now no longer under the control of the bishop or canons. During the 1330s, other major artists were commissioned to paint large altarpieces for the principal side altars of the cathedral. The association of the commune and the regime of the Nine with the Virgin and the four patron saints of the city (Ansano, Savino, Crescenzo, and Victor) became even more explicit in these commissions. The commune tried to bring art more into the life of the city it sought to control.

The largest buildings in the city during the mid-thirteenth century (although little now genuinely remains from them) were the palaces—or, more accurately, the fortresses—built at the heart of compounds controlled by an urban elite. The commune usually held its assemblies

in these palaces, or in churches controlled by or closely associated with them. Not until the regime of the Nine did the commune set about constructing and decorating a building, the Palazzo Pubblico, that could rival the magnates' palaces or the cathedral in size and prestige. The Nine also created the *piazza* in front of the Palazzo Pubblico—the Campo—by paving the space in the shape of a fan. This space was enhanced by the erection of a tower (between 1325 and 1348), a fountain (c. 1343), and a chapel abutting the recently finished Palazzo Pubblico (between 1352 and 1376). The meeting chambers in the Palazzo Pubblico were decorated by artists such as Simone Martini and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Simone Martini's fresco of a Madonna in majesty was painted c. 1315 in the great hall, or Sala del Mappamondo. This Madonna, enthroned and surrounded by a heavenly court of angels and saints, was clearly meant to suggest that the commune was being governed with divine guidance.

Two decades later, one of the great didactic works of the Middle Ages was created on three walls of the adjoining hall of the Palazzo Pubblico, where the inner council of the Nine actually met. Ambrogio Lorenzetti (1295-1348) painted, probably between April 1337 and June 1340, the allegorical cycle of frescoes usually called the *Effects of Good and Bad Government*. On the center wall is a representation of virtues surrounding a figure representing good government exercising authority. On the two facing side walls are images of the effects of good and bad government on the city and the countryside. These paintings have been variously interpreted as representing certain ideologies or texts and the reality and practical politics of Siena, and have given numerous iconographers an opportunity to apply their hermeneutical expertise. The frescoes have been linked with several texts or traditions promoting the values and virtues of peace and a republican form of government, even that of the oligarchies controlling Siena. Various sources or traditions for Lorenzetti's ethical and didactic iconography have been suggested, since there is little if any contemporary evidence of his own or his patrons' intent. These traditions include Aristotle, Roman rhetoric, the biblical (the Book of Wisdom), and scholasticism as associated with Thomas Aquinas and Brunetto Latini. The abstract ideas and pictorial conventions in this complex painting remain rich sources for artistic innovation, textual authority, and perhaps even

political realities in Siena.

Sieneese artistic production underwent considerable change in the mid-fourteenth century. It has long been recognized that the fear and guilt arising from the black death—which struck in 1348 and again in 1362—compounded by economic and political conflict, affected the religious and civic context in Siena. (We should note, though, that changes in artistic taste and religious practice can be traced back even earlier in the century.) Several of the most important artists, such as Ambrogio Lorenzetti, died in 1348. Their places in the world of Sieneese patronage were often taken by members of their workshops, so that much of the technique and tradition developed two or three decades before was preserved. However, as the civic tradition deteriorated, the authority of the church and the clergy was asserted more aggressively. Penitential and hierarchical values became more obvious in the work of such artists as Bartolomeo di Fredi, Luca di Tomme, and Bartolomeo Bulgarini. These themes had of course been present in Sieneese art of the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century; but now the sources of patronage changed, so that art was more specifically tied to the agendas of the institutional church and the distinctions between the laity and the clergy were more clearly defined. At the same time, the empirical, inductive, and quantitative modes of thought of the Sieneese communal ethos became less obvious.

Culture

Sieneese culture was built around civic and religious virtues, but there were profound tensions that increased from the thirteenth century to the fourteenth. These tensions arose from attempts to construct a society in which collective values could be reconciled with particular interests. Republican ideals overlay the harsh realities of a very competitive society characterized by loyalty to family, guild, and neighborhood; by local religious interests; and by economic diversity and political exclusivity. Social integration and the accommodation of diversity were so problematic that violence was often perceived to be close at hand. There were also other values and cultural preferences arising from commercial interests and the commercial mentality, and

From the knightly point of view—which was still vibrant and was sustained by the civic feudalism of Siena's urban environment.

Siena has also been considered a prime example of civic Christianity in which individuals shaped the practice of their piety more broadly than as mere concern with personal salvation. This context fostered ecclesiastical and, to a lesser extent, secular institutions that took an active role in society. Such institutions can be conceived as including the commune itself, because it played an explicit role in ensuring that charity was distributed to the worthy and that both distributive and commutative justice flourished in a polity tied to God and the Virgin.

The main icon of Sienese culture was the Virgin Mary, who [as noted above] was adopted formally by the city as its patroness after its victory over the Guelph Florentines at Montaperti in 1260. From then on, she was invoked in religious devotion and practice and was at the core of much of Sienese religious writing and religious art. The various regimes controlling the city consistently linked her with their own patronage, and in fact with their political power and legitimacy. The Virgin would serve as the point of unification for the sacred and the secular in Sienese life.

Around 1300, the Sienese writer Cecco Angiolieri, although bizarre and extremist in his views, reflected issues of Sienese culture, religion, and ethics. He emphasized the importance of literacy and words as the glue of the commune or voluntary and civil society, and he lamented the tyranny of capital. The vices to be shunned in this world included not only the old-fashioned feudal ethos but also the ills of evolving capitalism, economic development, and competition. Cecco may seem completely self-obsessed, but he and most of the Sienese writers (overwhelmingly religious in one form or another) were concerned with the civic virtues promoted by whoever ran the communal government and its patronage. These virtues included, as one might expect, charity, generosity, circumspection, wisdom, prudence, self-control, temperance, justice, and fortitude—all of fundamental importance in the officially fostered ethical and civic vision of Sienese culture.

A Note on Sources

The selective bibliography that follows includes primarily editions of sources, archival and bibliographical guides, works in English, important older publications, and studies in Italian representative of the work of significant authors. The main journals for the study of medieval Siena are *Rassegna d'Arte Senese e del Costume*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, *Atti e Memorie della Sezione Letteraria e di Storia Patria Municipale della R. Accademia dei Rozzi di Siena*, *Bullettino della Società Senese di Storia Patria Municipale*, *Atti della R. Accademia dei Fisiocritici di Siena*, *Miscellanea Storica Senese*, *Studi Senesi*, *La Diana*, and, especially, *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*.

See also Bartolo di Fredi Cini; Catherine of Siena, Saint; Cecco Angiolieri; Duccio di Buoninsegna; Florence; Lorenzetti, Pietro and Ambrogio; Martini, Simone; Montaperti, Battle of; Pisano, Giovanni; Pisano, Nicola

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Siger of Brabant

Siger of Brabant (c. 1240-1281 or 1284), an Aristotelian philosopher, is often identified as the leader of an Averroistic faction at the University of Paris. Siger was born in the duchy of Brabant and was educated at Liège. He began his studies at Paris c. 1256, meanwhile receiving orders as a diocesan cleric of Liege. By 1264, he was a master of arts. In the late 1260s, Siger began to publish works subjecting a wide range of issues, including sensitive matters of faith, to rational examination. Here he joined a number of other members of the arts faculty—figures such as Boethius of Dacia and Aubrey of Rheims—who had become convinced, by the recently discovered corpus of Aristotle and its

attendant commentaries by the Arab philosophers Averroes and Avicenna, that philosophy was not merely an adjunct to theology (as it had traditionally been considered in the Christian west) but a semi-independent discipline which should examine questions using its own rational criteria. Many of the conclusions reached by Siger and the other masters conflicted with Christian doctrine. Their arguments for the eternity of the world, for example, contradicted creation by God, and their assertion of a single intellect for all humanity could be interpreted as a denial of the individuality of the human soul. When pressed about the heretical implications of these conclusions, Siger and the others insisted that they were merely experimenting with a method of inquiry and that they in fact believed all the truths revealed by scripture. This led critics to accuse them of holding a "double truth" and to dub them Averroists.

The works of these so-called Averroists stirred considerable controversy. Conservative theologians used the situation to condemn all Aristotelian thought; moderates, notably Thomas Aquinas, sought to defend their own use of Aristotle in theological speculation. In 1270, Aquinas published an attack on the doctrine of the single intellect for all humanity, his *De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas*, which appears to be a response to Siger's *Quaestiones in librum tertium de anima*. In the same year, Etienne Tempier, the bishop of Paris, condemned some of the teachings of the Averroists. These challenges apparently chastened Siger. In works written after 1270, he is careful to assert that he is merely explaining the doctrines of Aristotle and Aristotle's commentators, not maintaining their truth. He also criticizes Aristotle and Averroes for their errors.

In 1266, Siger was acquitted of complicity in a kidnapping perpetrated during a dispute at the university. In 1272, he was elected rector of the university by a rump group that had broken with the main body of masters. Both these incidents were once thought to be evidence of Siger's leadership of a powerful and rebellious Averroistic faction at Paris. They are now considered to be unrelated to his philosophical views. This has led some scholars to reevaluate the motives of the Averroists, and to question Siger's supposed leadership of the group.

In November 1276, Siger and two of his students, Bernier de Nivelles and Goswin de la Chapelle, were summoned before the inquisitor of

France, presumably to answer questions about their orthodoxy. The summons was apparently part of a new offensive by conservative theologians at Paris. Four months later Bishop Tempier issued a very extensive condemnation of Aristotelian teachings. Whether Siger managed to vindicate himself here is uncertain. He seems to have left the university after this incident, and in the early 1280s he was at the Roman curia, then located in Orvieto. He was stabbed to death there by a deranged secretary sometime between 1281 and 1284.

Siger's philosophical work was held in high esteem by some contemporaries, and Dante placed him in the fourth heaven of paradise with Aquinas and Albertus Magnus. However, Siger's reputation faded during the fourteenth century, and historians of philosophy did not rediscover him until the twentieth century.

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Averroës and Averroism; Dante Alighieri; Thomas Aquinas, Saint

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Signore, Signoria

See Urban Development

Silk in Italy

Our knowledge about silk and silk textiles in Italy from the fifth century to the fifteenth, whether imported or indigenous products, rests on both written and material evidence. The written sources, which cover more or less the entire period, are fragmentary and unevenly distributed over time and place, though more abundant since the fourteenth century. The material evidence consists of textiles found in tombs or preserved in museums, ecclesiastical treasuries, or private collections, or else depicted in various artistic media, chiefly in manuscripts and paintings. Research on silk has been mainly conducted by historians of textiles and art historians, who have attempted to elaborate typologies of textiles, especially on the basis of extant pieces. To this effect they have increasingly relied in recent years on scientific analysis of fibers and dyes and paid more attention to weaving techniques, in addition to imagery, iconography, and style in decoration, which had previously been the focus of research. Nevertheless, many attributions to specific regions or production centers, whether in Italy or elsewhere, as well as the dating of various pieces, remain unsure and controversial. Historians of textiles have published some general surveys covering the manufacture of silk textiles in specific cities or areas of Italy over long periods, though generally without sufficient regard for written sources or for the economics of silk. Many important issues in this field require further investigation. They include the financing and organization of silk and

textile production, the provisioning of workshops in silk and dvestuffs, the distribution of finished products, the movement of skilled labor, industrial implements and expertise, and the diffusion of looms and weaving techniques as a result of imitation.

Italy imported silk and silk textiles from the Orient since the time of imperial Rome. It also produced silk fabrics from foreign silk. Sericulture, or the growing of silkworms, reached the Mediterranean under Emperor Justinian I (r. 527-565), and from the eastern provinces of Byzantium it spread westward in the wake of Muslim conquests. This process enabled the manufacturing of cheaper silks in several regions around the Mediterranean, and as a result Italian imports became more diversified.

Silks were used in church vestments, hangings, and furnishings since the early Middle Ages. They were also in demand in the upper ranks of the clergy and lay society. Byzantine silks as well as Muslim textiles, the latter produced in western and central Asia, arrived in growing amounts in Italy from the late seventh century on, and were later followed by fabrics from Muslim Spain. These textiles ranged from plain to patterned and figured pieces, some in twill and others in tabby weave. The most precious among them were highly valued for their texture, colors, and interwoven or embroidered decoration made of gold thread, silk, or other materials, to which pearls and precious stones were occasionally added. Beginning in the mid-eighth century, papal records mention the presence of silks of various origin and nature at Rome. In Italy, the Byzantine emperors, in order to further their policies, granted precious silks to Lombard rulers and, from the eleventh century, also to Norman rulers. However, the commercial flow of silk textiles to Italy was far more important than these grants or than gifts to ecclesiastical institutions. From the late eighth century, Venice, later joined by Amalfi, supplied eastern silks to the annual fairs of Pavia, which until the eleventh century served as the main distribution center for northern Italy and lands beyond the Alps under Carolingian and Ottonian rule. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Amalfi also imported silks from Muslim Spain and marketed them in southern Italy and in Rome. Nevertheless, Byzantine silks apparently constituted the bulk of Italian purchases. Their importation was furthered by the political relations of Byzantine emperors with rulers in the west, the

Byzantine presence in southern Italy until 1071, and the particular prestige of these fabrics, deriving from their real or supposed connection with the imperial court.

Continuously rising living standards and refinements in daily life account for the appearance of silk fabrics in urban households in southern Italy in the early eleventh century and their progressive diffusion farther north. This demand in Italy was not restricted to sumptuous silks and was more diversified than it had been earlier. From the late eleventh century on, it was furthered by the expansion of Italian trade in the eastern Mediterranean, the crusades, and the increasing flow of pilgrims visiting the Holy Land, all of which led to a growing acquaintance with Byzantine and Islamic silks. In the twelfth century, Genoese merchants joined the Venetians as main importers of silk textiles to Italy.

There was also indigenous production of silks. Sericulture was introduced by the Muslims into Sicily in the tenth century at the latest and, in response to Byzantine demand, was being extended in Calabria by the mid-eleventh century. By the thirteenth century, it was also practiced on a small scale in other southern regions as well as in central Italy, where climatic conditions were less favorable and the silk was of rather poor and uneven quality. Local silk was used in the domestic weaving of nonfigured pieces of small size, such as belts, veils, head scarves, and pillowcases, mostly made of low-grade floss silk or silk mixed with other fibers and woven on simple narrow looms, as in Venice, Genoa and southern Italy. The production of larger, medium-grade silks was restricted to Muslim Sicily, which exported them to Egypt by the eleventh century. In 1147, King Roger II of Sicily forcibly transferred to Palermo Greek and Jewish silk workers from Thebes and Corinth, cities which he had briefly occupied, in order to raise the quality of fabrics manufactured in his royal workshop. However, there was no corresponding progress elsewhere in the kingdom. The Norman rulers in the twelfth century and Emperor Frederick II in the first half of the thirteenth century were more interested in the revenue accruing from the export of raw silk and certain dyes, furthered by the rise of Italian silk centers, than in the promotion of the silk industry in their realm.

The growing demand for silks in the west was not satisfied by

imported fabrics, whether in volume or variety or in view of their prices. These circumstances enabled the establishment of a silk industry in Italy producing high-grade fabrics and capable of competing with foreign textiles in Italy itself or abroad, Lucca was the first new silk center to emerge in the west, and it retained its leading role until the early fourteenth century. It was followed by Venice in the early thirteenth century and by some minor centers such as Milan, Modena, and Bologna somewhat later. The first stage in the development of silk manufacture in the two main centers was apparently based on a core of domestic silk workers, who were joined by skilled foreign weavers using more advanced silk implements and technology. The introduction of sophisticated draw-loom with figure-harness devices allowed the weaving of intricate and ornate figure designs. At a later stage, imitations and the migration of workers became important factors in the diffusion of silk technology and weaves.

Large-scale production, especially of high-quality fabrics, depended entirely on a steady provisioning of workshops in raw materials, ensured by the extensive trade and shipping networks of Genoa and Venice. In the twelfth century, silk first came from southern Italy and Sicily; raw material from the crusader states of the Levant and Central Asia was later added. The territorial fragmentation of Byzantium in the early thirteenth century, in the wake of the Fourth Crusade, allowed the purchase of silk in Greece, the Aegean islands, and Asia Minor. The extension of the Mongols' rule over Asia promoted a flow of high-grade silk from Cilician Armenia and central Asia, as well as a flow of Chinese silk, which reached the Mediterranean for a whole century after the 1250s. An increasing volume of silk was imported from the Black Sea after the 1260s, the highest grades originating in the Caucasus and the regions bordering the southern Caspian Sea. The most precious dyestuffs utilized in Italian silk manufacture were kermes used for red, mainly imported from Greece and Asia Minor; and indigo for blue, brought over from Iraq and Cyprus.

Italy borrowed its earliest terminology for silk and its earliest types of silk from Byzantium. The two main silk centers, Lucca and Venice, produced Byzantine samites, sendals, and gold brocades; but within a fairly short period they diversified their production under the influence of eastern or Spanish fabrics. In addition, they devised new types of

textiles. By the early thirteenth century, Lucca was exporting high-grade pieces to Christian Spain; somewhat later, it was exporting to areas extending from London in the west to Byzantine Asia Minor in the east. Around the mid-thirteenth century, Venice began to manufacture high-grade half-silks—of silk mixed with other fibers—, both plain and figured, in order to compete with the luxury textiles of Lucca. Since they were cheaper, they indeed enjoyed a broader diffusion in the highly competitive silk market and were imitated somewhat later in Lucca itself, to the extent that it was sometimes difficult to discern between Venetian and Lucchese products. By 1300, Venice was exporting its fabrics as far as Spain and England in the West and Alexandria in the East. The products of both Venice and Lucca are well represented in the papal inventories of 1295 and 1311.

Italy continued to import fabrics from Greece, Spain, and especially the Levant, despite the indigenous production of high-grade silks. In the later thirteenth century, Spanish textiles with Moorish geometrical or arabesque-like patterns and varieties of so-called "tartar" silk fabrics produced in a region extending from the Near East to central Asia became increasingly popular in Italy. In the following period, Italian workshops produced luxury fabrics imitating their designs or incorporating new patterns based on Chinese and Islamic textiles. Fourteenth-century Italian silks display an amazing variety of animal and vegetable motifs within intricate patterns. Giotto, Paolo Veneziano, Bernardo Daddi, and other painters depicted such silks, some of which included Oriental inscriptions or imitations of such inscriptions—a clear testimony to the great favor they enjoyed in Italy. These paintings offer fairly accurate clues for dating various types of fabrics. Interestingly, the acquaintance of Islamic workshops with Italian textiles of that period led to the incorporation of some of their motifs into the decoration of "tartar" silks. These processes clearly illustrate an interaction between the economics of silk and the artistic aspects of silk manufacture. Sumptuous gold brocaded velvet garments adorned with pomegranate motifs in various compositional patterns and colors, some depicted by Piero della Francesca, became highly fashionable in the fifteenth century. A fairly large number of pieces belonging to the silk types just mentioned have survived.

The regulations for silk weaving issued in Lucca in 1376 reflect the

wide variety and qualities of figured and nonfigured textiles manufactured in fourteenth-century Italy. These ranged from very light fabrics to heavy brocades and included lampas weaves. One should add the low-grade small pieces mentioned earlier, the domestic production of which continued outside the framework of silk guilds strictly controlled by the urban authorities. These silks, which answered the demand of modest households, have generally escaped scholarly attention, which is almost exclusively focused on elaborate and costly fabrics.

Italy may be credited with two important technical innovations in western silk manufacture. The production of velvet in Lucca, taken over from Persia, is first recorded in 1311 and must have begun somewhat earlier. Far more important was the invention of the silk-throwing circular machine used in the drafting, twisting, and winding onto reels of silk fibers to produce strong yarn. This machine was a revolutionary technological innovation that offered substantial savings in manpower and lowered the cost of production. Contrary to common belief, it is first attested to at Lucca in 1330 and somewhat later at Venice and Bologna, where it appeared in a water-powered version which for a long time did not entirely displace the man-powered device. The diffusion of the machine was apparently connected with the migration of Lucchese silk entrepreneurs and craftsmen caused by the political turmoil in Lucca, which reached its climax in 1314.

This migration signaled the beginning of Lucca's decline as the major silk center of Italy. The Lucchese settled mainly in Venice, Bologna, and Florence, which benefited from their technical expertise and their distribution network in the west, enhancing the growth of their respective production of silk textiles. These major centers were joined in the second half of the fifteenth century by Milan, Naples, and Genoa, as well as by minor centers in northern and central Italy. By that time, Italian sericulture had been substantially extended and provided a portion of the raw materials absorbed by the silk workshops, although Italy remained largely dependent on imports. The growing diffusion of Italian silks in the west and throughout the eastern Mediterranean, including the Islamic east, which began in the thirteenth century, was not due only to the variety and quality of their weaves, the rich designs of figured pieces, or competitive prices. It was also a result of efficient

distribution within the broader framework of Italian commercial exchanges with foreign countries. These were the main factors that enabled Italy to maintain its supremacy in western silk manufacture and trade until the sixteenth century.

See also Fustians; Lucca; Milan; Wool Industry in Italy

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Simone Martini

See Martini, Simone

Simone Prodenzani

See Prodenzani, Simone

Simone Sardini

See Sardini, Simone

Simony

In the most general sense, simony is the buying and selling of spiritual things. The word derives from Simon the Magician (Magos), who was condemned by the apostle Peter for attempting to buy the power to confer the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:18-24). In the eleventh century, the seller in a simoniacal transaction was often compared to Giezi (2 Kings 5:1–27), the servant of the prophet Elisha, who demanded payment for a cure worked by his master. The *sin* of simony occurred when anyone intended to purchase a spiritual thing; the *crime* of simony occurred when an actual pact to purchase was made.

When Christianity became the state religion of the Roman empire in the fourth century, its prosperity made its offices and clerical grades worth buying. The Christian churches became important landholders, and the clergy became a privileged group, with significant exemptions from taxes and forced labor. The first form of simony to be condemned was the purchase of church offices and holy orders (Council of Chalcedon, Canon 2.451). Between the sixth and tenth centuries,

prohibitions of simony were widely ignored; it became customary for holy orders and church offices at every level to be given in return for some payment. Pope Gregory the Great formulated the classic description of forms of simoniacal payment: *munus a manu* ("gift from the hand") was the transfer of an object of value, *munus a lingua* ("gift from the tongue") was flattery or influence to gain a spiritual thing, and *munus ab obsequio* ("gift from service") was the offering of service in expectation of a reward. Gregory also called simony a heresy because the buyer assumed that the Holy Spirit could be bought and sold, though in fact simony was not usually regarded as a heresy in the strict sense of the word.

The eleventh-century church reform movements, often called the investiture controversy or the Gregorian reform, vigorously attacked simony, as well as clerical marriage and the appointment of clergy by laymen. The more radical among the reformers— e.g., Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida (d. 1061)—argued that simony made the sacrament of orders invalid and required reordination. After debate, the canonists and theologians rejected that view.

From the eleventh century on, the efforts to define, detect, and punish simony created an extensive body of canon law. The definition of simony widened to include many things, such as payment for membership in monasteries, payment for relics, and the exchange of benefices by the clergy. Indeed, medieval critics of the clergy compared almost any association of money and spiritual things to simony. The church's income depended on distinguishing legitimate payments, such as tithes, from illegitimate payments, such as arbitrary fees for sacraments. From the twelfth century on, canonists and theologians worked out theories that protected the income of the church and its clergy, while opposing the grosser forms of bribery and extortion. Although the complicated canon law of simony was largely fixed by the thirteenth century, simony in its many forms remained a serious problem in church life until early modern times.

See also **Papacy**

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Sirventese

The *sirventese* (or *serventese*) is a poetic form that was first used by the Provençal troubadors, such as Peire Cardinal, Marcabru, Bertran de Born, and Folquet de Marselha. Among the Italian poets who wrote *sirventesi* are Ruggieri Apugliese, Guittone d'Ar-izzo, Chiaro Davanzati, Antonio Pucci, and Simone Serdini. The root word, *sirven*, may refer to the servant who praised the *gestes* of his lord. Another interpretation, however, is that it refers to the ancillary role of music that accompanied the recitation of the poem. Whatever its origin, the *sirventese* deals with military and political themes, as in *Serventese romagnolo* and in *Serventese dei Lambertazzi e dei Geremei*, which recounts the struggle between the Guelf and Ghibelline factions in Faenza between 1274 and 1280. Works in this poetic form also dealt with religion and didactic themes. According to Da Tempo (1977, lviii-lxi), there are three types: *simplex cruciatus* (consisting of alternating rhymes of quatrains or tercets, ababcdcd); *duplex et duatus* (consisting

of rhyming distichs, aabb or aaabbb); and *caudatus* (consisting of two or three hendecasyllables and a coda, which was usually a *quinario* that rhymed with the next stanza). In *Vita nuova* (6.2), Dante mentions that he has composed an epistle in the form of a *serventese* (*una pistola sotto forma di serventese*) about the sixty most beautiful women of Florence. Unfortunately, his poem has been lost.

See also Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Poetry: Popular; Italian Prosody

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Slavery

The institution of slavery in medieval Italy was an extremely complex sociological system that varied in nature from century to century and region to region. What is more, the meanings of the very terms that are typically associated with it—such as *servus*, *sclavus*, or *serf*—are often ambiguously applied by both medieval and modern writers to widely divergent social conditions. Consequently, it is difficult to understand slavery fully without considering the phenomenon from a variety of historical, juridical, and theoretical perspectives.

The slave was any individua, who was subjected to ownership by another. This relationship, ssentially inherited in the early Middle Ages from Roman law, was not much modified by early Christianity, On the whole, the church fathers adopted positions similar to those of the Roman Stoics who believed that some people were simply destined by nature to be subservient to others. Although slavery itself was against divine law insofar as all men were equal before God, most theologians made an exception in deference to state law. It was thought that, since heaven could not possibly be created on earth and therefore life was fundamentally "defective," slavery was permissible because no claim was made on the soul of the slave. In other words, only the body was enslaved, while the soul remained free to seek God's kingdom. Slavery was thought to stem ultimately from two sources: men were slaves either by nature, because they lacked moral or intellectual maturity; or by convention, if they had been captured in war. In the sixth century, Isidore of Seville, elaborating an argument originally put forth by Seneca, attributed the existence of slavery to humankind's fall from grace. These rationalizations were frequently cited together with Paul's admonition to slaves to obey their masters (Colossians 3:22) and Augustine's assertion that slavery is the natural consequence of sin (*City of God*, 19), and they contributed to the fostering of institutions such as slavery and coercive authority of other types through the early 1200s.

In fifth-century Italy, following the invasions of the Visigoths, the Huns, and the Vandals, the number of men, women, and children who fell under the yoke of forced servitude grew rapidly. This surplus drastically reduced the price of slaves and, for the first time since the days of imperial Rome, made it possible for even relatively impoverished freedmen and soldiers to own several. By this time,

however, slavery was essentially a rural phenomenon and evolved in relation to the need for manual labor in agricultural areas. In addition to bringing slaves from northern and eastern Europe, the Germanic invasions also disrupted the functioning of large agricultural estates known as *latifundia* on which large gangs of slaves were the prime source of manual labor. This plantation system thrived in southern Italy well into the ninth century but began to be replaced in the north by the distribution of smaller plots, known as *mansi*, c. 700. These plots of arable land still belonged to the landowner but were cultivated by slaves who were also called *mansi*, or *casati*.

The life of a slave was characterized by incessant hardships. In the eyes of the law, he was considered to be no more than a tool with the power of speech (*instrumentum vocale*). As his body was the property of his master, he could be bought and sold at any time and could even be executed if implicated in a crime perpetrated by his master or overseer. For minor offenses, the slave was typically flogged, and for more serious acts he would be stoned. Female slaves who committed unlawful acts risked being burned alive. Marriages between slaves were not respected by the judicial system and were considered to be simple concubinage (*contubernium*) at best. Indeed, the existence of a "wife" or child presented no impediment to transferring a slave to another *mansus*; nor did it impede his sale to another master or even to a half-free peasant. Slaves belonging to the church fared no better. Like landowners, the administrators of church properties, generally bishops and abbots, maintained groups of slaves assigned to plots of land and held the right to inherit all personal effects (*peculium*) on their death.

The assignment of slaves to a particular plot of land represented a significant step in the evolution of slavery in the Middle Ages. As opposed to the slave gangs who worked together on various holdings, individuals who were dependent on their own plot of land for the majority of their sustenance tended to be much more productive workers of the land. For the landowner, this was clearly an advantageous solution to the problems related to the housing and upkeep of large bands of workers, and it increased the productivity of farmland. Once the *casati* were established on plots, however, they began to be seen, especially in the Po valley and the farmland in the south, as competition for (and a less attractive alternative than) free

peasants; these peasants could be hired and, working for personal gain, tended to be even more efficient in the tasks traditionally related to farming as well as mining, quarrying, and forestry. Theoretically, the church considered manumission—the official freeing of slaves—a charitable act; but in reality it was due more to this competition than to moral rectitude that the number of slaves began to decline in the ninth and tenth centuries. This is not to say that slaveholders were indifferent to the religious benefits of manumission; rather, they used it shrewdly to reduce their economic liabilities while performing a pious deed. In this way, many slaves achieved a certain measure of freedom from masters who were on their deathbeds.

Two main types of freedom could be granted to slaves: *manumissio cum obsequio* (manumission with obedience) and *manumissio sine obsequio* (manumission without obedience). The former was significantly more common than the latter. When a slave was freed "with obedience" his social status changed from *casatus* to *colonus* or *servus glebae*. In other words, he received certain privileges previously denied him, but was still legally bound to his master's land as a sort of indentured servant. Therefore, while the number of slaves continued to decline, there really was very little consequence in terms of the size and composition of the landowner's workforce. In tenth-century Brescia, for example, the ratio of slaves to serfs was about 1:6. This transition gradually eroded the competitive advantages of the free peasant workforce and, on a social level, even undermined what little superiority the free peasants had enjoyed, because the upper classes made less and less distinction between the traditional slave and the poor peasant. The indentured farmer, furthermore, was subject to taxation, rent, and conscription. To make matters worse, free tenant farmers often became legally bound to their landlord after extended periods of work on his property. Occasionally, the *servi glebae* would, through hard work or good fortune, succeed in obtaining complete legal autonomy, but these cases were rare. The often ambiguous status of peasants and the working poor at the turn of the millennium has tempted some scholars to classify all landless workers as indentured servants and others to minimize the influence of slavery as a social institution. The true nature of these marginalized groups was probably somewhere in between these positions, depending on the specific

regions and political climates in which they found themselves.

The reduced need for rural slave labor did not extinguish the desire for slaves. The burgeoning economies of Italy and the tendency toward urbanization at this time still demanded human resources. While fewer slaves labored in the fields (mostly in Sardinia), more and more were put to work in other sectors of society as domestic servants, concubines, or the drudges of artisans, small workshops, and merchants. This shortage of human resources coincided with the opening of Italy to the east, accentuated in the eleventh century by the crusades. As a result of the Italians' effort in the Levant, the control of certain areas such as Acre, Beirut, and Tyre was given to Italian cities whose representatives established principalities used for commercial activity. During this time, the major port cities, such as Genoa, Pisa, Bari, and Venice, significantly increased their trade with the Muslim cities of the Mediterranean and the trading centers of the Black Sea. Among the items brought back to Italy by merchants were, of course, the slaves needed in urban centers. Indeed, despite prohibitions by the church, slaves were not only an import but also an export, as the supply continued to flow southward from the Viking possessions in Ireland and Flanders. Pope Clement V expressly denounced the sale of slaves to Egypt in 1311 when the Mameluke armies were conscripting slaves for their defense of the Holy Land. Similar prohibitions were proclaimed in 1317, 1323, 1329, and 1338. Trade with these distant lands provided the majority of human merchandise in all of the Italian peninsula except those areas dominated by the Normans, who still relied in part on the enslavement of defeated cities for their domestic slaves as well as for agricultural purposes such as the production of sugar in Palermo. At about this time, the generic Latin terms *servus* and *ancilla* were replaced in legal and personal documents by *sclavus* or *schiaivo*, which, like the English word "slave," comes from the word meaning Slav. The great majority of slaves in northern Italy, especially those sold by the Venetians, came from Russia, Poland, and the Balkans. In fact, it was not uncommon to find in inventories and bills of sale references to slaves with "yellow skin" and "almond eyes," a fact which suggests that the slave routes stretched far into the east. In southern Italy, many of the slaves were acquired not only through trade but also as one of numerous fruits of piracy. These were generally Saracens, who were doubly unfortunate in that the

church consistently upheld the right of Christians to own "infidels." By the second half of the twelfth century, greater numbers of Muslim and Moorish slaves began to appear in the major slaving cities. This increase remained relatively slow— despite the conquest of Valencia by the Aragonese in the 1230s, which put a number of Moors on the market—until the Turks took Constantinople in 1453, effectively ending Italy's supply of slaves from the Black Sea region and increasing the number of slaves taken from Africa. In 1261, the Byzantines granted the Genoese exclusive rights to the Black Sea passage, previously held by the Venetians. This change dramatically influenced the source and type of the typical domestic slave, who at this time was nearly always of Slavic descent.

The scholastics upheld the theoretical positions on slavery laid out by the canonical understanding of Aristotle as expressed by Augustine. The institution was in essence a manifestation of punishment for the evils of the postlapsarian state. It was but a small cognitive step from there to the concept of the master-slave relationship as a reflection of the dichotomy between the righteous and sinners. The generalization of this concept from the individual sinner, or slave, to entire populations seemed entirely natural to theologians and jurists. Aquinas elaborated Aristotle's notion that slavery, even if devised by man, was in accordance with natural law (*Summa contra Gentiles*, 3), and he supported his position by emphasizing the obvious usefulness of slaves in society (*Summa theologiae*). Bonaventure asserted that this social institution was a reflection of divine order. Those who were more intelligent were thought to be natural masters, while those less intellectually capable but more physically robust found their logical niche in a subservient condition. This was, of course, an exceedingly convenient perception and carried with it the added advantage to slaveholders of being able to see themselves in a positive, even benevolent, light inasmuch as their power over those they owned provided a corrective to the slaves' innate tendency toward sinfulness. The apparent responsibility to serve as the spiritual guide of the slave, however, brought inherent contradictions. The introduction of non-Christian peoples into Italy was often accompanied by their baptism before sale, making the church's position on the ownership of Christians ever more problematic. This difficulty was generally shrugged off with

the repetition of stock sophisms. The conventional baptism was in fact frequently regarded as a mere formality and received little credence. Franco Sacchetti, for example, compared the validity of such conversions to the baptism of oxen and argued for a perpetual state of servitude without the possibility of becoming real Christians (*Sermoni evangelici*, 29).

Since most slaves were destined for work in urban households, slaveholders typically preferred young females under the age of twenty-three who were willing to learn or already possessed the skills most in demand: washing, weaving, cooking, caring for children, and so on. Naturally, living space in cities was scarce, and slaves resided with the families who owned them. This physical proximity, especially in contrast to the living arrangements of rural slaves, increased the contact between male members of households and the female slaves. In Genoa, for example, domestic concubinage was apparently widespread and led not only to the birth of children but also, though infrequently, to marriage as well. Fortunately for scholars, Italy provides the most complete historical evidence for unions of this kind, and studies of the phenomenon are often quite detailed. A child born to a slave mother could either be raised as a slave or given over to a church, which would then be legally declared its "father." Only rarely do we find evidence that a mother was granted freedom in order to marry. Should the father of the child not be the slave's owner, the law decreed that he pay damages not to the woman he had impregnated but to her owner. Unwanted pregnancies and undue attention from husbands, brothers, and sons often complicated the relationships in households. Not surprisingly, it was common for a certain degree of animosity to exist between female slaves and the women of the family that owned them. The lives of young female slaves must have been quite difficult. By law, all members of the slave owner's family had the right to give them orders and to beat them should they misbehave. This privilege was extended not only to adult family members but also to the older children. Accounts of unlawful violence against slaves, and occasionally against masters, survive in juridical records from all of Italy.

The advent of the black death in the mid-fourteenth century drastically influenced the system of slavery. The vast reduction of the population made it easier for surviving servants to find more desirable

employment, often in artisan workshops and other areas not related to the daily operation of the households of the nobles. This led to a shortage of domestic servants. Although the plague had reduced the numbers of slaveholders as well as slaves, the consolidation of inheritances and the eventual reinvigoration of the economies of the city-states aggravated the shortage of labor and brought a relative augmentation of disposable income for those who survived. Those who could afford to do so replenished their supply of labor by increasing the number of slaves. This practice was not limited to private homes; indeed, anyone in need of workers, including shopkeepers, artisans, and priests, could purchase slaves. In 1363, Florence eliminated all restrictions on the importation of non-Christian slaves. Venice, however, prohibited public auctions three years later, preferring to limit new slave purchases to what it called *anime*, young Christians sold into slavery by their parents principally in Albania, Dalmatia, and some of the Greek islands. After ten years of what was called "apprenticeship," these young people were to be given their freedom. A similar system was adopted in southern Italy for a time, but it was later abandoned during the reign of the Aragonese.

The enfranchisement of slaves was on the whole less complicated during the later Middle Ages than it had been centuries earlier. Nevertheless, newly freed slaves normally owned very little personal property and often found the stigma of their social status an obstacle to successful assimilation into the society of free laborers, despite the fact that they obtained the right to possess property and participate in legal transactions. Many freed female slaves were forced by a lack of better options to become prostitutes, and many of the male slaves joined bands of brigands in rural areas. Occasionally, a slave would enjoy a restricted form of patronage from his or her master after the official ceremony of enfranchisement, especially after a long life of devoted service, but there is little evidence that this was particularly common. The ancient custom of giving slaves partial freedom, *manumissio cum obsequio*, was renewed in *manumissio cum conditione*, which continued to exist into the fourteenth century. *Manumissio cum conditione* was decidedly more generous than the older type of limited freedom and generally lasted for a shorter time, anywhere from the time it took to nurse a baby to five or six years. After this period, full liberty was

granted. Slaveholders could atone for a good number of sins through the freeing of slaves, but they could also impose grave punishments on slaves who ran away. Fugitive slaves were considered thieves under the law, because they had illegally dispossessed the master of his property. Citizens had the civic duty, according to Justinian law, to assist in the capture of runaways and to return them to the master who had suffered the loss. One clause in the truce between Pisa and Genoa in 1300 mandated that all slaves who had fled to the Pisan territory of Sardinia be immediately sent back to Genoa. Decrees in Florence in 1363 allowed for considerable fines to be levied against anyone who assisted a slave to escape or conceal himself. Sanctuary for runaways was theoretically provided in churches, from which they could not be taken by force; but in practice this proved to be simply a postponement of their inevitable recapture and punishment. The only exception was the case of a Christian slave attempting to escape from a Jewish master, but even then the doubtful authenticity of the slave's religious convictions could nullify his asylum.

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Soldanieri, Niccolò

The Florentine poet Niccolò di Neri dei Soldanieri (second half of the fourteenth century) was a member of an ancient, aristocratic, Ghibelline family. His extant poems constitute one of the largest bodies of poetic works of the period.

Little is known of Soldanieri's life. According to Carducci (1970, 1973), Soldanieri died on 21 September 1385; however, there is reason to doubt this. According to Miraglia (1947), Soldanieri may have lived in Lucca in 1380, where he would have met Giovanni Sercambi (1348–1424), author of the *Novelle* and the *Croniche*. In these works, Sercambi uses many of Soldanieri's poems in order to color his narrative. Thus, together with several codices—Rediano 184 of the Laurentian Library in Florence, Chigiano L.IV.131 of the Vatican Library, and others—the manuscripts of Sercambi's *Novelle* (Trivulziano 193 of the Biblioteca Trivulziana in Milan) and *Croniche* (Lucca 107 and Codex 266 of the state archives) are important primary sources for Soldanieri's poems.

Soldanieri treats many conventional themes in a variety of forms: madrigals, *ballate*, *cacce*, sonnets, and *canzoni*. His moralistic *canzoni* contributed significantly to his reputation during the *Trecento*. Modern readers have appreciated his shorter lyrics for their fluid and intense lyricism and lively representations of love—as did the musicians of the *ars nova* who set to music several of his madrigals, *ballate*, and *cacce*.

In his shorter lyrics, Soldanieri artfully creates images expressing complex emotions, primarily through the use of animal imagery, puns, alliteration, onomatopoeia, repetition, and dialogue. Madrigals, such as *A forniuoł vo, Come da lupo pecorella presa*, and *I'sono unpipistrel che vo gridando*, represent the poet's mixed fortunes in his pursuit of love. In

these poems, Soldanieri adeptly contrasts the expectation of love with reflection after disillusionment, as in the *congedo* of *Come da lupo pecorella presa: E quel che di tal fatto più mi scorna/è ch'io rassetto il caso e que' non torna*. Here the poet underscores both his present disappointment and his anticipated future regret.

Soldanieri makes ample use of popular language and dialogue, particularly in many of the *ballate* and the three *cacce* (*A poste messe, Chi caccia e chi è cacciato, Per un boschetto fira pungenti spine*). He was one of the first poets to use the *caccia* form, in which he combined realistic and colloquial language with lyric description.

Modern scholars describe Soldanieri as having composed *poesia per musica* (Sapegno 1973) or *poesia sentenziosa e gnomica* (Corsi 1969). Such labels do not capture the diversity and complexity of Soldanieri's poetry, which is worthy of greater critical notice than it has received.

See also *Ars Nova*; *Caccia*; *Italian Poetry: Lyric*; *Italian Prosody*; *Madrigal*; *Sercambi, Giovanni*

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Sonnet

In his discussion of the hierarchy of poetic forms in *De vulgari eloquentia* (2.3.5-6), Dante notes that the *canzone* is the most noble, followed by the *ballata*, which is in turn followed by the sonnet. Moreover, he says (2.4.1) that these "inferior" forms will be treated in the fourth book of his treatise, where the "middle level of the vernacular" will be discussed (*in quarto huius operis, cum de mediocri vulgari tractabimus*). This fourth book was never written, and thus we may only speculate about Dante's reluctance to consider the sonnet as a noble metrical form. Perhaps his reasons had to do with the brevity of the form, or with the fact that it had become a very popular vehicle for the expression of all sorts of arguments in the course of the thirteenth century. The disposition of poems in the early manuscripts of Italian verse follows this generic hierarchy, with *canzoni* being presented first, then *ballate*, and finally sonnets. Such is the case in the largest of these collections, Vatican Codex Lat. 3793, as well as the codex Rediano 9 in the Laurentian Library in Florence and Banco Rari 217 (formerly Palatino 418) in the National Library in Florence.

The sonnet was probably invented by Giacomo da Lentini, a notary attached to the imperial court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen in Sicily. Various attempts have been made to trace the origin of this fourteen-line composition: it may have resulted from a fusion of two *strambotti* (eight-line popular poems in *endecasillabi* in alternating rhyme with a curtailing of the second to six verses); it may represent an attempt to achieve mathematical perfection in terms of Pythagorean harmonies; it may have resulted from imitation of the *canzone* strophe; or it may simply have been invented by Giacomo. In any case, its basic fourteen-line form was fixed from the beginning as a bipartite composition

consisting of an octave in alternating rhyme ABABABAB and a sestet in a variety of schemes (CDCDCD and CDECDE are the most common), all *endecasillabi*. Later on, in the thirteenth century, a new form for the octave was invented by Guittone d'Arezzo—ABBAABBA—and this became the preferred pattern. Numerous rhyme schemes were devised for the sestet—CDEEDC, CDCCDC, CDEDCE, and so on. What emerges is a sense of versatility and flexibility within the artificial restrictions of the fourteen-line composition. Indeed, this short metrical form provided a sort of proving ground for poets, who were eager to test their own poetic abilities within these limits. One case in point is Guido Cavalcanti's sonnet *L'anima mia vilment'è sbigotita*, which has the intentionally asymmetrical rhyme scheme ABBBBAAA CDDCC, standing as the metrical counterpart to the lover's emotional disequilibrium. Without relying on fragmented syntax or harsh language, Cavalcanti is able to convey the sense of imbalance through subtle manipulation of the rhyme scheme, which is unique among the many sonnets written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Early on, the sonnet became the vehicle for poetic correspondence in *tenzoni*, in which one poet would write a sonnet on a particular topic (generally on love, but also on moral issues) and send it to another poet, asking for his views on the subject. The addressee would then respond, generally *per le rime*, i.e., using the same rhymes and rhyme scheme as those in the original sonnet. In addition to this epistolary use, the sonnet also became the basic strophic unit in sonnet cycles (known as *corone di sonetti*), which were composed on such subjects as the days of the week and the months of the year (e.g., by Folgore da San Gimignano) and on longer narratives (e.g., *Il Fiore*, attributed to Dante, presents a greatly abbreviated version of the Old French *Roman de la Rose* in 232 sonnets).

In the first century or so of its existence, the sonnet underwent most of its formal transformations at the hands of adventuresome poets who altered and expanded in various ways the seemingly rigid fourteen-line structure. For example, *sonetti caudati* ('tailed' sonnets) have additional verses (one, two, or three) tacked on at the end: e.g., ABBA ABBA CDC DCD D or ABBA ABBA CDC DCD EE. Invented by Puccianzone Martelli (*Signer senza pietansa, udit'ho dire*), the *sonetto doppio* ("double sonnet") consists of twenty verses with *settanari* added

after verses 1, 3, 5, and 7 of the octave and after verses 10 and 12 of the sestet: e.g., AaBAaB AaBAaB CDdE CdDE. The *sonetto doppio caudato* ("double tailed" sonnet) follows the form of the *sonetto doppio* with the addition of extra verses forming the "tail": e.g., AaBBbA AaBBbA CdDD DdDC EE. Guittone d'Arezzo invented the *sonetto rinterzato* (e.g., *O benigna, o dolce, o graziosa*), which is very similar to the *sonetto doppio*, except that its twenty-two verses have an additional two *settenari* in the sestet: e.g., AaBAaB AaBAaB CcDdC DdCcD (thus giving greater emphasis to a rhyme by repeating it in the *terzine*, the sestet). Finally, the *sonetto raddoppiato* ("redoubled" sonnet, invented by Maestro Francesco) is true to its name in that it has twenty-eight verses, twice the number of the "normal" sonnet: e.g., ABAB ABAB ABAB ABAB CDE CDE FGH FGH (or CDCDCD EFEFEF). Another variation on the basic sonnet form was invented by Guittone d'Arezzo but was brought to perfection by the Florentine Monte Andrea; this is the sixteen-verse sonnet, with a ten line first part: e.g., ABABABABAB CDCDCD.

Perhaps because of its brevity and versatility, the sonnet became the most popular metrical form in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Guittone d'Arezzo composed 250 sonnets on a wide variety of topics. Dante wrote 291 sonnets (including the 232 sonnets that form the elaborate series of *Il Fiore*). Of the remaining fifty-nine of Dante's sonnets, twenty-five are contained in *Vita nuova* and assume special importance and meaning because of their integral position in that work. Approximately one-fourth (fourteen) of these fifty-nine sonnets are part of *ten-zoni* with other poets and thus lose a certain degree of spontaneity and freedom of expression, and the same could be said about the sonnet production of other thirteenth-century poets. The popularity of this metrical form may be demonstrated by the number of sonnets composed by the following poets: Chiaro Davanzati, 122; Dante da Maiano, forty-eight; Monte Andrea, 112; Guido Guinizzelli, fifteen; Guido Cavalcanti, thirty-six; Cino da Pistoia, 134; Cecco Angiolieri, 112; Rustico Filippi, fifty-eight; Cecco Nuccoli, twenty-nine; Marino Ceccoli, twenty-five; Neri Moscoli, 111; Niccolò dei Rossi, 436; Antonio Beccari, forty-four; Francesco di Vannozzo, 153; Franco Sacchetti, 135; and Francesco Petrarca, 317 (in the *Canzoniere*). For Dante and for other poets in the *Duecento* and *Trecento*, the sonnet represented an ideal

initial proving ground, before they embarked on other poetic endeavors.

See also Antonio da Tempo; Dante Alighieri; Giacomo da Lentini; Gidino da Sommacampagna; Guittone d'Arezzo; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Monte Andrea da Firenze; Petrarca, Francesco

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Sordello

The troubadour Sordello (Sordel, 1225—1269) was born in Goito, near Mantua, and belonged to the lower aristocracy. He left forty-two poems and *Ensenhamen d'onor*, a work teaching the rules of high moral standards, especially of honor. After his famous *planh*, his *tensos* are his best poems: vibrant and impetuous, they bear witness to a proud mind and original talent. Sordello's eloquence was admired by Dante in *De vulgari eloquentia* (1.15.2).

Early in his life, Sordello was active as a troubadour in the small courts of the Veneto, but he had to flee rather ignominiously after seducing, abducting, and abandoning the wife of the count of Sambonifacio. He then went to Spain and perhaps even to Portugal. Disappointed in the court of the king of Aragon, he returned to France and finally established residence in Aix at the court of Raimond Berenger V, count of Provence, where he earned fame and honor. Here he met the troubadour Blacatz, lord of Aups, near Draguignan in the Var valley (c. 1190—1237), with whom he became friends and to whose

memory he dedicated a *planh* (elegy) that is one of the most renowned works of medieval Occitan literature. In this poem, he used the old mythical image of the "eaten heart" in a virulent attack on the politicians of his time, urging them to eat of Blacatz's heart in order to acquire some of his qualities. It was this *planh* that impressed Dante, who chose Sordello to guide Virgil and himself in Cantos 6-8 of *Purgatorio*.

In 1246, Charles of Anjou succeeded his father-in-law as count of Provence. Sordello accompanied Charles's army in 1265, but in 1266 he was inexplicably a prisoner in Novara; Pope Clement IV intervened personally to obtain his freedom. In 1269, Charles endowed Sordello with the lordship of several castles in the Abruzzi, where he died the same year, perhaps by violence.

See also Dante Alighieri; Italian Troubadours; Occitan Language in Italy

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Spinello Aretino

The painter Spinello Aretino (Spinello di Luca Spinelli, c. 1350— 1410) was born into a family of goldsmiths. Spinello was active in the principal towns of Tuscany, and his art, like that of his contemporaries Agnolo Gaddi and Antonio Veneziano, is characterized by profound insight into Giottesque concerns with light, space, and form. To this should be added his highly expressive treatment of line and, in certain works, an interest in richly wrought surface textures and luminous color. His skills in narrative composition and design were cleverly applied in the many important monumental fresco commissions that punctuate his career.

1370s-1385: Arezzo and Lucca

It would appear that Spinello spent his formative years in Arezzo, and it is likely that he trained under the local painter Andrea di Nerio, whose influence can be detected in the austere and powerfully modeled forms of Spinello's fresco *Virgin and Child with Saints and a Donor* (1377; Arezzo, Museo Diocesano). By the early 1380s, Spinello had moved to Lucca, where the measured style of his earlier Aretine phase had evolved to take greater account of the decorative qualities of line and color; these developments suggest that he was responding to the sumptuous aspects of contemporary Lucchese artistic culture, especially the art of Angelo Puccinelli. In 1384, it is documented that Spinello had recently executed an altarpiece for the Olivetan order in Lucca; today, its principal components are generally identified as a central *Virgin and Child with Angels* (Fogg Collection, Cambridge, Massachusetts), two flanking panels of *Saint Pontianus* and *Saint Benedict* (both in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg), and three predella scenes (Galleria Nazionale, Parma). The pre-della scenes were designed with a remarkable degree of spirited narrative detail, and some of the motifs indicate that Spinello was familiar with the monumental fresco cycles of the Campo-santo in nearby Pisa. Spinello's sojourn in Lucca culminated in another commission from the Olivetan order: a grand

polyptych for the high altar of Santa Maria Nuova in Rome. Its central panel (now missing) was signed and dated 1385.

1386-1398: Arezzo, Florence, and Pisa

Spinello is documented in Arezzo in 1386. He was in Florence the following year, by which point he had joined the *Arte dei Medici e degli Speziali* and had received payment for two designs of statues intended for the cathedral facade. In this same period, he was commissioned by the Alberti family to work on two great fresco cycles: scenes from the *Life of Saint Benedict* (c. 1387– 1388) for the sacristy of the Olivetan foundation of San Miniato al Monte, and episodes from the *Life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (c. 1390) for the private chapel of the Alberti, the Oratorio di Santa Caterina in Antella (outside Florence). Spinello's powers of narrative composition, which were already evident in the pre-della scenes of the Lucchese altarpieces, are fully developed in both fresco cycles, in which the facial expressions and individual gestures of the robustly modeled figures have been intelligently selected. In these years, Spinello's use of rhythmic line intensified, as can be seen in his next project, frescoes depicting scenes from the *Lives of Saints Ephysius and Potitus* (1390-1391) in the Camposanto of Pisa. Here, Spinello emphasizes the calligraphic forms of the undulating drapery and also exhibits an interest in antique models, for his great battle scenes rely on reliefs from Roman sarcophagi for their effects. Following this commission in Pisa, Spinello returned to Florence, where he probably completed the cycle in Antella, as well as executing frescoes of episodes in the *Life of Saint John the Baptist* (now destroyed) in the Manetti Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine. Spinello is again documented in Arezzo in 1395-1397.

1399-1411: Florence, Siena, and Arezzo



Spinello Aretino (c. 1332-1410), *Saint Benedict Receives King Totila*. Fresco from *Legends of Saint Benedict*. San Miniato al Monte, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Between 1399 and 1401, Spinello was once again working in Florence, where he collaborated with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and Lorenzo di Niccolò on the high altarpiece of Santa Felicita (1401; Accademia, Florence). Spinello's austere saints from the right wing are in marked contrast to his dancing angels in the central panel, whose furious movements and fully activated drapery forms are remarkable for their expressive force. In the following years Spinello was mostly occupied with commissions in Arezzo, but by late 1404 he was in Siena to paint frescoes for the Sant'Ansano Chapel (now destroyed) in the cathedral. His years in Siena culminated in a commission, on which his son Parri Spinelli assisted him, to decorate the Sala di Balia in the Palazzo Pubblico with frescoed scenes from the *Life of Pope Alexander III* (1407-1408); these are remarkable for their engaging anecdotal elements and expressively characterized human figures.

Spinello occupies an important position in the development of Tuscan painting. His interest in the principles of Giotto's art and his competence in monumental mural painting were to influence Masaccio and others; at the same time, his lavish effects of color and pattern, decorative use of line, and freshness of narrative anticipated the late

Gothic style of Lorenzo Monaco and Lorenzo Ghiberti.

See also **Gaddi, Agnolo; Giotto di Bondone**

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Spinola Family

The noble Spinola family—descended from the viscounts of Manesseno, who wielded power in Genoa on behalf of the Marchese family Obertenghi—was among the four most important families of medieval Genoa. The head of the line was Guido Spinola, who took part in the

Genoese expedition to the Holy Land during the First Crusade. Thereafter, from the beginning of the twelfth century up to the 1120s, Guido held the consulship three times in the *compagna*, which formed the nucleus of the later commune. The family name Spinola goes back to him. A great number of family members served the commune as consuls in the twelfth century and at the beginning of the thirteenth century; furthermore, we find them in the sources as commanders and ambassadors in service to Genoa.

The extension of the family's property in the city—from the *borgo* quarter to the hill of Luccoli—led to a division of the family into two branches, named for the places where they lived: the Spinola of San Luca and the Spinola of Luccoli. In the Scrivia valley, the Luccoli branch of the family held imperial fiefs, which were confirmed by Emperor Henry VII on 15 July 1313.

In the thirteenth century, the history of the family corresponds with the history of Genoa. We find the Spinola together with the Doria family at the head of the Ghibelline faction and much involved in civil strife within the city. This led to a "dyar-chy" of the two Ghibelline families in the city in the second half of the thirteenth century: one member each from the Spinola and Doria families formed pairs who, from that time, dominated the government, a situation occasionally interrupted by the rule of a *podestà*. In 1270, the nobles chose Oberto Doria and Oberto Spinola to serve together as captains of the people (*capitanei comunis et populi*). During their government, the Genoese fleet defeated the Pisan fleet in the battle of Meloria (August 1284), which marked the beginning of Genoese supremacy over Corsica and Sardinia and established Genoa as a Mediterranean power.

The civil war at the beginning of the fourteenth century brought chaos to Genoa and caused several changes in political regimes. In 1309, Opicino Spinola of Luccoli tried, but failed, to establish a *signoria* in Genoa. He was exiled until 1311. The civil war in Genoa lasted until 1331, when peace was made between the Ghibellines and Guelfs. The subsequent captaincy of Raffaele Doria and Galeotto Spinola ended with the revolt of the *popolo* in 1339. Simone Boccanegra was elected doge, and all nobles were excluded from the highest communal offices. The Spinola took part in new revolts against the commune, operating from their rich possessions in the Apennines and in the Oltregiogo. In

1378, however, they allied themselves with the commune and were again allowed to take part in the government, as *anziani* (elders). Members of the Spinola also turned up as ambassadors and admirals in the late fourteenth century. For instance, Gaspare Spinola of Luccoli negotiated with the king of Hungary and served as commander-in-chief in the war of Chioggia.

See also **Genoa**

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Spoleto

Spoleto is a city in Umbria about 75 miles (120 kilometers) northeast of Rome on the Via Flaminia. It was settled as early as the seventh century B.C. and became a Roman colony in 241 B.C. It was an important urban center in the late republican and imperial periods.

Like many Italian cities, Spoleto suffered a sharp decline in

population in the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, especially when it was captured by the Ostrogothic king Totila in 545. In the late sixth and seventh centuries, the Lombards made Spoleto the seat of a semi-independent duchy. It remained the chief residence of the Lombard dukes and later the Frankish dukes of Spoleto through the twelfth century. Many of the important churches in and around Spoleto were first built during this period, often with ducal patronage. Spoleto probably organized itself as a commune in the early twelfth century, but the first documented reference to a commune comes in 1173.

Spoleto was sacked by the emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1150, after the commune had refused to pay the customary *fodrum*, or hospitality tax. This began more than 200 years of conflict in Spoleto between imperial and papal political factions whose local manifestations were usually referred to as Ghibellines and Guelfs, respectively. Spoleto was generally a Guelf commune, despite periods in which it was under the control of imperial officials. The imperial duke from 1177 on, Conrad of Urslingen, withdrew from Italy and submitted the duchy to the papacy in 1198. Pope Innocent III personally received the homage of the Umbrian communes, including Spoleto.

Innocent III and subsequent popes struggled to establish and maintain firm control over the duchy of Spoleto, against both the desire of the communes for independence and the increasing pressure from the imperial forces of Frederick II. The formation in 1237 of a Guelf league of communes, headed by Perugia, brought down the emperor's wrath, and troops, onto Umbria. Frederick II captured Spoleto in 1241 but was unable to establish uncontested authority. The papacy attempted to bring Spoleto back to its side through a grant of generous privileges. Cardinal Ranieri's grant of 1247 tried to buy Spoleto's loyalty through such provisions as giving the commune the right to have its own statutes. The existing Spoletan statutes, *Breve populi*, however, date to 1296.

After Frederick's death in 1250, and through the rest of the thirteenth century, the papacy was in control of the patrimony, including the duchy, but tension persisted between Spoleto and the papal rectors. As the papacy tried to increase its control and its revenues, communes such as Spoleto fought against what they perceived as oppression. By the early fourteenth century, resentment against papal rule had

strengthened the Ghibelline faction in Spoleto. The Ghibellines forced the expulsion of Guelf families from the city on several occasions and welcomed the appearance of the emperor Henry VII in Italy. After Henry's death (1313), Spoleto had to make peace with its Guelf rival, Perugia, though the pro-imperial faction continued to dominate. In 1319, the Spoletan Ghibellines attacked the houses and persons of the Guelfs. Some Guelf families were able to flee, but hundreds were imprisoned and subsequently massacred. Perugia led the Guelf forces that eventually forced Spoleto to surrender in 1324. The Ghibellines were expelled, and Spoleto was subjected to Perugian control, which lasted until the 1350s.

In 1354 Cardinal Albornoz subdued the duchy of Spoleto, and a year later he took control of the city itself. At the direction of Albornoz, a massive fortress was built on Monte Elia overlooking Spoleto. This fortress—La Rocca—became the headquarters of papal administration in the duchy of Spoleto from which the rectors exercised firm control well into the early modern era.



Mosaic (1207) on facade of *duomo*, Spoleto. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

See also Alborno, Gil Alvarez Cabrillo de; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Innocent III, Pope; Perugia

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Squarcialupi Codex

The Squarcialupi Codex, compiled between 1415 and 1419 in Florence, is one of the major manuscript sources of Italian *Tre- cento* music. Its provenance designation is Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87. The miniatures can be traced to the Florentine monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and the compiler was probably Paolo da Firenze. The manuscript was owned in the fifteenth century by Antonio Squarcialupi (1416–1480), who was the most famous Italian organist of his generation. He was organist at Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence from 1432 to 1480 and was closely associated with Lorenzo the Magnificent and Guillaume Dufay. The manuscript passed from Antonio to his son Francesco, who then gave it to his uncle R. Bonamici. Bonamici gave the manuscript to Giuliano de' Medici c. 1512, and from there it was given to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

The codex itself comprises 216 parchment folios (40.5 by 28.5 centimeters, or about 16 by 11 inches), two original parchment flyleaves at the front, and five modern paper flyleaves (three at the front, two at the back). The original foliation is i—ccxvi, and the structure is eighteen gatherings of three to ten bifolia each. It may have been copied by one scribe, although two or three similar compilers have not been ruled out.

The Squarcialupi Codex is the most important Italian music manuscript of the late medieval period. Not only does it contain the only surviving music of a number of *Trecento* composers, but it also has a realistic portrait of each composer preceding his musical works. The most famous portrait is of the blind composer Francesco Landini

playing an organ. The manuscript contains 354 pieces, of which two appear twice. There are 115 madrigals, twelve *cacce*, and 227 *ballate*. The musical compositions date from 1340 to 1415 and are arranged in chronological order by composer: Giovanni da Cascia (twelve), Jacopo da Bologna (twenty-eight), Gherardello da Firenze (sixteen), Vincenzo da Rimini (six), Lorenzo da Firenze (seventeen), Donato da Cascia (fifteen), Niccolo da Perugia (thirty-six), Bartolino da Padova (thirty-seven), Francesco Landini (146), Egidius and Guglielmo de Francia (five in all), Zacar (seven), and Andreas de Florentia (twenty-nine). Sixteen folios have been left blank between Lorenzo and Donato for the music of Paolo da Firenze, and there are twenty-three folios left blank at the end of the codex for the music of Jovannes Horganista da Florentia.



Anonymous, music sheet with miniature of musician. Squarcialupi Codex (fourteenth century). Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

See also **Ars Nova**; **Landini, Francesco**

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Statius

Publius Papillitis Statius (c. A.D. 40 or 50-96) achieved literary success

in Rome and was admitted to the court of the emperor Domitian, whom he glorifies in his poetry.

Statius produced three extant poetic works. The *Thebaid*, published c. 91, recounts the attack of the "seven against Thebes" and the struggle between Eteocles and Polynices, sons of Oedipus, for control of the city. Although the *Thebaid* is set in a mythical past, its depictions of fraternal strife, moral crises, and a ruling family's disintegration speak to the ethical and political concerns of Statius's day. Written in hexameters and divided into twelve books, the *Thebaid* explicitly takes Virgil's *Aeneid* as its model; at its conclusion, Statius directs his epic to follow Virgil at a distance and revere his footprints. The *Silvae* is a collection of five books of occasional verse written after the year 92 in various meters. The poems offer a glimpse of the Roman society of the day, commemorating both public and private events, ranging from the emperor's achievements to the marriages and deaths of Statius's friends. Statius's last work, the *Achilleid*, was left unfinished when the poet died after having written little more than one of its projected books. Statius had intended to compose an epic rendering of the life of the Greek hero Achilles but managed to narrate only Achilles' early days.

Statius was enormously renowned in the Middle Ages. His *Thebaid* remained more or less a staple of the medieval literary diet. As a school text, it was esteemed in the Middle Ages for its representation of an unambiguous moral conflict between Olympus and the underworld and for its use of allegorical personifications. His *Achilleid*, too, was frequently copied, commented on, and imitated in the Middle Ages. It was included among the six texts of the *Liber Catonianus*, a popular medieval schoolbook used in grammar curricula, and thus reached a large readership. The *Silvae* fared less well; very few copies of the collection were available in the Middle Ages, and not until a manuscript of the poems was rediscovered in the *Quattrocento* did the *Silvae* begin to circulate again.

Dante, in the *Commedia*, makes liberal use of the *Thebaid* and alludes several times to the *Achilleid* but appears unfamiliar with the *Silvae*. Most notable, however, is Dante's treatment of Statius as a Christian character on his way to paradise. In *Purgatorio* 21, Statius, just released from his penance, encounters Dante and Virgil and accompanies them to the earthly paradise. He narrates the story of his

conversion to Christianity in *Purgatorio* 22, giving full credit for his belief in Christ to his reading of Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*. Since there is no evidence that Statius was indeed a Christian or was considered a Christian in the Middle Ages, it appears that Dante invented the story of Statius's conversion, making use of a popular tradition that understood the *Fourth Eclogue* as a prophecy of Christ's coming.

Statius also plays a special role for Boccaccio, whose epic *Teseida* relies heavily on material in the *Thebaid*.

See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri; Latin Literature

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Stefano Protonotaro

Nothing is known about the life of the poet Stefano Protonotaro. His name is recorded as Ser Istefano di Pronto Notaio di Messina in Vatican Codex 3793 and as Istefano di Messina in manuscript Rediano 9 (Laurentian Library, Florence); the most widely adopted variant, Stefano Protonotaro da Messina, comes from the sixteenth-century Barbieri Codex. He lived toward the end of the reign of Frederick II (d. 1250) and shortly thereafter. Stefano may be identical with a Stefano di Protonotaro mentioned in a document from 1261 and again in 1301; but at least one scholar identifies him with a Stefano da Messina who translated two treatises on astronomy from Greek into Latin.

Stefano Protonotaro is the author of three *canzoni* in a refined mode.

The fame of his *canzone* *Pir meu cori alligrari* is due in no small measure to the fact that it is the only poem of the Sicilian school to have been preserved both in a Tuscanized form and in a more primitive Sicilian form, the latter version appearing in the Barbieri Codex. His poem *Assai cretti celare* is erroneously attributed to Messer Piero delle Vigne in the Lauren-tian Codex. The last of his *canzoni*, *Assai mi placeria*, is anonymous in the Vatican Codex. A noteworthy feature of Stefano's work is his predilection for animal similes, revealing a strong influence from the troubadour Rigaut de Berbezilh.

See also **Italian Poetry: Lyric; Scuola Poetica Siciliana**

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Stephen II, Pope

Pope Stephen II (d. 757, r. 752-757) is sometimes identified as Stephen III

—his predecessor, the original Stephen II, having died in 752 before being consecrated. Stephen became pope at a time of flux that gravely threatened the papacy. Since the late seventh century, the control of the Byzantine empire over its Italian possessions had steadily deteriorated. This decline allowed a succession of popes to assume de facto control over the duchy of Rome and to formulate an increasingly persuasive ideology justifying the right of the successors of Saint Peter to guide the orthodox in Italy, i.e., the true Romans who spurned the heretical iconoclastic policy of the emperors. However, another Italian power, the Lombard kingdom, was eager to exploit the decline of Byzantium. The Lombards became increasingly aggressive, and in 751 the Lombard king, Aistulf (r. 749-756), seized the exarchate, an important Byzantine territory around Ravenna, and threatened to occupy the duchy of Rome.

Stephen's central concern throughout his pontificate was to provide security for what was coming to be called the Republic of Saint Peter. After diplomacy failed to avert the Lombard threat and after approaches to Constantinople made clear that his theoretical overlord was incapable of protecting Rome, Stephen turned to Pepin III, king of the Franks. Pepin was perhaps grateful to the papacy, which had approved his seizure of the Frankish crown in 751, and indicated that he was willing to support Stephen's cause. Stephen thereupon journeyed to Francia in 753–754. After lengthy negotiations, the two parties entered a treaty of friendship, and Pepin agreed to protect the papacy and to restore to it extensive territories described in a written document. For his part, Stephen solidified the claim of the Carolingians to the throne by reanointing Pepin and his sons and by forbidding anyone to replace the Carolingians as kings. He also bestowed on Pepin and his sons the vague title *patricius Romanorum*, which implied that the Frankish rulers were responsible for protecting the Romans.



Pope Stephen II. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 163v.

These negotiations resulted in a successful Frankish expedition to Italy in 755, which exacted from Aistulf a promise to restore extensive territories. However, once Pepin left Italy, Aistulf refused to respect his promise and again threatened Rome, Stephen's appeals led to a second Frankish expedition in 756 and another defeat for Aistulf. Pepin's agents now took possession of formerly Byzantine cities and territories in the exarchate and the Pentapolis and granted them to the pope, in a document known as the Donation of Pepin. Although these territories did not encompass all that Pepin had promised in 754, they and the duchy of Rome constituted the core of what was in effect an independent papal state. Stephen II followed up this success by playing a significant role in the election of Desiderius (757-774) to succeed Aistulf under terms favorable to the papacy.

When Stephen II died, there remained many uncertainties about the exact boundaries of the papal state, the future course of action of the new Lombard king, and the relationship between the papacy and the

Frankish monarchy. However, Stephen's successes in expanding the republic of Saint Peter and in gaining a protector for it marked a turning point not only in papal and Italian history but also in the history of the west and its relationship with the east.

See also Aistulf; Desiderius; Frankish Kingdom; Lombards; Papacy; Papal States; Pepin III the Short; Ravenna

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Flavius Stilicho (c. 350 or 365-408) was born of a Roman mother and a Vandal father. His father served under the emperor Valens (r. 364-378) as a cavalry officer. Stilicho had a distinguished career in the imperial service. His earliest known activities occurred in the 380s, when he served as a praetorian tribune on an embassy to the Persian court. He subsequently was promoted to count of the stable and married Serena, niece of the emperor Theodosius I (r. 379-395). They had a son, Eucherius; and two daughters, Maria and Thermantia, both of whom eventually married the emperor Honorius.

By the late 380s, Stilicho had become count of the domestics (a branch of the imperial bodyguard), in which capacity he probably accompanied Theodosius to Italy in a campaign against the western usurper Magnus Maximus (r. 383-388). At this time, Stilicho met the distinguished Roman senator Symmachus. He then was raised to the rank of master of soldiers, and after campaigning against the barbarians of Thrace he returned to Italy to assist in the suppression of the usurper Eugenius (392-394). In 394, Stilicho was named both supreme master of soldiers and guardian of the young western emperor Honorius. When Theodosius died early the next year, Stilicho became the *de facto* ruler of the west.

Stilicho's administration, from 395 until 408, was marked by his attempts to extend his authority over the east as well. This ambition was opposed by the advisers of the eastern emperor Arcadius (r. 383-408). On several occasions, Stilicho advanced into the Balkans and had the Visigoths at his mercy, only to be ordered by the eastern government to withdraw to Italy. Stilicho's ingrained loyalty to the dynasty, and his reluctance to cause a civil war, led him to obey.

Stilicho was able to defeat a number of barbarian invasions of Italy, such as those of the Visigoths in 402 and of Radagaisus in 406. In 407, Stilicho was faced by a revolt of the common soldier Constantine in Britain and Gaul. Early in the next year, the Goths demanded a large subsidy, which Stilicho obtained, hoping to send them to Gaul to oppose Constantine. In response to the barbarians' threats against Italy, Stilicho also repaired the walls of Rome and denuded the garrisons of Britain and Gaul.

Meanwhile, the situation was complicated by the death of Arcadius in 408. An intriguer at the western court, Olympius, took the

opportunity to circulate a rumor that Stilicho, who never could live down his barbarian ancestry, planned to set his own son Eucherius on the eastern throne. Subsequently, the Italian army mutinied, and Stilicho was arrested. Loyal to the end, Stilicho did not resist but went meekly to his execution. His son Eucherius and wife Serena soon suffered the same fate. Stilicho's death opened the way for the Visigoths' sack of Rome in 410.

Stilicho was one of a number of talented barbarians to reach high office during the later Roman empire. His regency of the western empire was a watershed. Although he was an effective administrator and general, he set in motion precedents and policies that eventually worked to the detriment of the western empire. His administration was marked by increasing antipathy between the eastern and western governments. Never again were both sections of the empire to be ruled effectively by a single person. Although Stilicho was successful in defending Italy against barbarian invasions, his stress on the defense of Italy worked to the disadvantage of other provinces, such as Gaul and Britain. And although Stilicho himself was generally effective in his delicate policy of using barbarians in the service of the empire, the practice of allowing barbarian groups a large degree of autonomy eventually would result in the establishment of independent barbarian kingdoms in the western empire.

See also **Honorius, Emperor; Vandals**

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Strambotto

A *strambotto* is a short Sicilian poetic form (eight-line stanza with strict alternating rhyme: abababab) that emerged in the thirteenth century and is viewed as a metric source from which the sonnet possibly developed. The narrative *strambotto*, for which there is no equivalent English term, generally treated the theme of love, but some *strambotti* were satirical, humorous, or religious. Early *strambotti* were probably an improvised, oral form that also served as work songs. The colloquial language of the *strambotto*, as well as its formal simplicity, indicates a popular poetic form rather than a high, aulic (courtly) form. Later, *strambotti* were composed by humanists and city-dwellers as lighthearted entertainments written in a mock-rustic vein.

The *strambotto* is distinct from other eight-line forms such as the Tuscan *rispetto* (ababccdd) and *ottava rima* (abababcc), which ended in couplets. The *strambotto* and the *rispetto* were single strophe forms, but the octave was used in longer compositions such as *cantari* and epics. The brevity and rhyme scheme of the *strambotto* made it ideal for performance with music, and in the Renaissance its production flourished in northern cities and courts. Noted practitioners included the Venetian patrician Leonardo Giustinian; Serafino Aquilano from Abruzzo, who served as a court poet and musician at Milan and Mantua; Poliziano who composed some 200 Tuscan *rispetti*; Luigi Pulci; and Lorenzo de' Medici.

See also Cantare; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Ottava Rima

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Subiaco, Monasteries of

Subiaco, a commune some 40 miles (64 kilometers) east of Rome, takes its name from the artificial lakes of Nero's villa Sublacum (beneath the lake). According to Book 2 of the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great, Saint Benedict of Nursia fled to Subiaco, disillusioned by the immorality of the city of Rome, where he had been sent for study. He found at Subiaco a monk—Romanus—experienced in the monastic life, who showed him a cave in the rocks above the Anio River. Benedict lived an eremitic life in this cave (later named Sacro Speco) for three years, cared for and directed by Romanus. After preaching to the local shepherds and attempting to rule the recalcitrant monks of Vicovaro (who tried to poison him), Benedict founded twelve communities of cenobites, all under his direction. Sacro Speco and the abbey of Saint Scholastica are thought to have descended directly from Benedict's original twelve. After completing his work at Subiaco, c. 525 or 529, Benedict left for Monte Cassino.

The abbey underwent the depredations that commonly befell Italian

monasteries of this period: it was destroyed by the Lombards c. 601, and twice by the Saracens in the ninth century. During the tenth century, the monastery and especially its abbot, Leo, were favored by the popes, including John X, Leo VII, John XII, and especially Alberic II, senator and prince of the Romans. It was Alberic who transformed the small monastery of Saint Scholastica into a great abbey; subsequently, other powerful people made important donations of land and money.

In 1052, Pope Leo IX visited Subiaco to settle various disputes and to correct abuses; a similar visit was made by Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085), who would create Abbot John a cardinal. The monasteries of Subiaco flourished particularly under Abbot John, who was known and revered as a learned administrator and pious monk. He made Sacro Speco the terminus of a yearly procession and had the altars of the cave reconsecrated. During John's abbacy, Pope Paschal II (r. 1099-1118) removed the abbey of Saint Scholastica from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Tivoli and made it an *abbatia nullius*.



Saint Scholastica, Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 144r.

Cenobitic life began at Sacro Speco under Abbot Romanus (r. 1192-1216). The extant buildings date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Shortly before 1200 there existed a community of twelve, which Pope Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) made a priory dependent on Saint Scholastica, Innocent visited Saint Scholastica in 1202 and increased the revenues of the abbey with generous donations.

In the late Middle Ages, the monastery of Saint Scholastica fell prey to internal strife and dissension. In 1364, by command of Pope Urban V (r. 1362–1370), Abbot Bartholomew of Siena (1363-1369) dismissed some of the incorrigible religious and replaced them with religious from other monasteries, especially from Germany. Pope Urban VI (r. 1378-1389) abolished the custom of electing abbots for life, took away

from the monks the right of election, and gave the administration of the abbey and its revenues to members of the Roman curia.

See also **Benedict of Nursia, Saint; Benedictine Order**

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Sylvester I, Pope

Pope Sylvester I (saint, d. 335, r. 314-335) succeeded Pope Miltiades. Sylvester seems to have become prominent during Emperor Diocletian's persecutions of the Christians. Sylvester did not attend either the Council of Aries (314) or the Council of Nicaea (325), but he was represented at least at Nicaea by two presbyters. A reverential letter (the extant text is partially corrupt) from the bishops assembled at Aries informed him of that synod's decision against the Donatists, a group of primarily African Christians with what later became heretical beliefs

who had appealed to the emperor. Probably in the eighth century, remains of Pope Sylvester I were translated to the church of San Silvestro in Capite near the Trevi Fountain in Rome.

Historically, Sylvester's contribution to the development of the papacy is negligible. However, owing to a fifth-century forgery known as the *Acts of Sylvester*, his legendary baptism of Constantine became part of an eighth-century forgery, the influential Donation of Constantine. According to Constantine's confession in the Donation, pagan priests had advised him to bathe in the blood of innocent children in order to be healed of his leprosy. However, the apostles Peter and Paul had appeared to him in a dream, instructing him to approach Pope Sylvester, who had fled to the Soracte mountain north of Rome. According to the legend, Sylvester's baptism healed Constantine. Saint Sylvester's feast day is 31 December.



Pope Sylvester I. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle).
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 128v.

See also Constantine the Great; Donation of Constantine; Papacy

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Boccard, 1955, pp. cix-cliv, clii-cliv, 170-201.

Sylvester II, Pope

Pope Sylvester II (Gerbert of Aurillac; c. 940 or 945-1003, r. 2 April 999-12 May 1003) was born near Aurillac in southcentral France. He entered a monastery early in life. During a stay in Catalonia, he came into contact with Muslim science.

Gerbert met Pope John XIII while on a trip to Rome. John was impressed by the young monk and sent him on an embassy to Emperor Otto I, who, in turn, appointed him tutor to his son, Otto II. From 972 to 980, Gerbert was at Reims, a center of cultural activity.

In 980, on another trip to Italy, Gerbert met his former student Otto II. Otto appointed Gerbert abbot of the important monastery of Saint Columban at Bobbio in northern Italy. When Otto II died in December 983, Gerbert went to Pavia, where the empress Adelaide (Otto II's mother) resided, together with Theophano, Otto's widow. Gerbert was entrusted by the two women with a critical diplomatic mission to Germany. There, he helped put down a revolt of the nobility and also secured the release of the three-year-old Otto III, heir to the throne, who had been seized by the rebellious nobles.

Gerbert became archbishop of Reims in 991, ousting the previous archbishop, Arnulf. This gave rise to a long dispute, which Gerbert ultimately lost.

In 997, Gerbert left Reims for Germany to join Otto III, whom he had met in 996. Otto III, like his father, was attracted by Gerbert and in 998 appointed him archbishop of Ravenna. After the death of Pope Gregory V in February 999, Gerbert became Pope Sylvester II.

Sylvester had a policy of close cooperation between church and state, vigorous reform, and outreach to Scandinavia and eastern Europe. Hungary and Poland both entered the Roman church during his

pontificate. Sylvester was also important to mathematics, for he introduced Arabic numbers to Europe, replacing the more cumbersome Roman numerals.

See also Otto II; Otto III

MARTIN ARBAGI

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Synods

See Councils, Ecclesiastical

Syracuse

Syracuse (Siracusa), one of the oldest Greek settlements in Sicily, was also an important Byzantine base before the Arab conquest of the ninth century. Its cathedral, incorporating an ancient Greek temple, is testimony to the many religious changes that have taken place in the history of Sicily. The city appears to have contracted in size after the Roman period, and the medieval city was concentrated on the former island of Ortygia, which was only part of the ancient site. Its early Christian catacombs date from the first century to the eighth and contain significant artistic decorations.

Syracuse long remained a preoccupation of the Byzantines in the face of their "barbarian" enemies. Belisarius occupied the city in 535. In 663-668, Emperor Constans II planned to make Syracuse his main base, in lieu of Constantinople, but he was murdered in his bath by opponents of his schemes. The Greeks briefly reoccupied Syracuse in 963. In the tenth century and the early eleventh, under Muslim rule (which began in 878), Syracuse was an important trading station, exporting silk and hides to Egypt, according to the Cairo Genizah letters. By the thirteenth century, it had become an important center of cheese production, including kosher cheeses for Jews in the Levant. Syracuse was closely linked to Malta, for which it provided access to Sicilian and wider markets. However, the fertile grain-producing

hinterland made Syracuse a target for conquest by outsiders.



Cathedral, Syracuse. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

In 1040, the Greek general George Maniakes attempted, unsuccessfully, to capture Syracuse from the Arabs. It later fell to the Normans, in 1085—thirteen years after Palermo and five years before the last Muslim stronghold in Sicily, Noto. The Normans installed a bishopric in the city. Syracuse became the object of Genoa's ambitions in 1162, when Frederick I Barba-rossa, the German emperor, promised the city and part of the countryside stretching toward Noto to Genoa in return for naval aid against the Norman king. In 1194, the Genoese helped Henry VI seize Syracuse, but (despite his confirmation of the treaty of 1162) he refused to hand over the city to them. Frustrated by Henry, the Genoese took advantage of the disorder that followed his death in 1197 to install themselves in the city in 1204. Alamanno da Costa became count of Syracuse, while his fellow Genoese Enrico Pescatore established himself in Malta. Alamanno described himself as "count of Syracuse by the grace of God, the king and the commune of Genoa," though it is unclear whether this title was a personal invention. These two pirates—Alamanno and Enrico—created a surprisingly powerful naval alliance, tacitly supported by Genoa itself; in 1205 they withstood a Pisan siege of Syracuse, which marked the end of a bitter competition between the two great naval powers for control of the

eastern Sicilian ports. The Provençal troubadour Peire Vidal spent time with Enrico and Alamanno, praising both sea captains for their successes, which extended as far east as the crusader county of Tripoli. From 1206 on, Alamanno aided Enrico of Malta in an attempted conquest of Crete, to which Venice had a prior claim; but Alamanno was captured. He was not released until 1218, when the count of Malta renounced his Cretan pretensions in favor of Venice. The count of Syracuse was therefore one of the key figures in the development of a lasting rivalry between Genoa and Venice. However, in 1220 Emperor Frederick II began his program of recovering royal rights in Sicily, and the Genoese were expelled from Syracuse. Indeed, Frederick granted the city the title *fidelissima*.



Castello Maniace, Syracuse. Photo graph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Syracuse, like most Sicilian cities, was much more enthusiastic about the house of Barcelona than that of Anjou during the fight for Sicily that followed the revolt of the Vespers in March 1282. From the reign of Frederick III (d. 1337) until 1538, Syracuse formed part of the *camera reginale*, the lands of the queen of Sicily. The city benefited from tax exemptions after the Vespers. In 1318, Frederick III confirmed the city's statutes, or *consuetudines*. Further rewards followed in the same period after Syracuse put up a stalwart resistance to Robert of Anjou; these included, notably, a monopoly on the loading and unloading of goods

along the southeastern coast of Sicily. King Martin I (d. 1409) made the city a free port and elevated the city council to the title of senate. However, the existence of both a city administration and administrators of the queen's estate within the same town gave rise to occasional trouble, for example in 1448. In the fifteenth century, craft guilds emerged in Syracuse, as in other Sicilian towns. Syracuse was an important exit point for grain produced in southeastern Sicily. In the late Middle Ages, the Syracusans were much involved in trade with Malta, exchanging grain and other necessities for Maltese cotton, which was then passed into the Mediterranean trade routes.

See also **Arabs in Italy**; **Maniakes, George**; **Sicily**

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T

Taddeo Alderotti

Taddeo Alderotti (c. 1206 or 1215-1295), a Florentine, was a physician, teacher, writer, and medical entrepreneur. He had one of the most spectacularly successful medical careers of the medieval period in Italy. His teaching—at Bologna during the height of its fame for its medical studies—was legendary, as were his learning and his great wealth. His medical writings are justly renowned, as are his opinions on philosophy and alchemy, on which he wrote a poem. He even merited mention by Dante, in the *Commedia* (*Paradiso*, 12.82-84).

Taddeo's life is known partly through municipal records of his property holdings, business transactions, loans, and investments; he also gave clues in his own works. However, the best source of his life is contained in the *Liber de civitatis Florentine famosis civibus* of Filippo Villani, written in the later fourteenth century, which, as Siraisi (1981) has shown, is substantiated by other sources.

Taddeo's is a classic rags-to-riches story. He appears to have been born into a Florentine family of modest means, about which little is known. He had two brothers, perhaps a sister, and, by his own testimony, an uncle who was a surgeon. In 1274, he married Adela de' Regaletti, who was from a prominent Florentine family. Taddeo and Adela had a daughter, Mina, but no son; and toward the end of his life, Taddeo petitioned the pope to legitimate his natural son, Taddeolo, so that there would be an heir for his substantial estate, worth 3,000 gold florins and 10,000 Bolognese lire.

Taddeo probably acquired his medical and philosophical education either at Florence or, more likely, at Bologna. About 1265, he began teaching medicine and logic at Bologna. This was the only place where Taddeo taught, but his students went on to teach at other Italian medical schools, and at Paris, Montpellier, and elsewhere. They include some of the most illustrious figures of the thirteenth and fourteenth

centuries: Bartolomeo da Varignana, Mondino de' Luizzi, Dino del Garbo, Turisanus, and many others. Taddeo's patrons included members of noble and royal households, a doge of Venice, King Enzo (the natural son of Frederick II), and perhaps Pope Honorius IV. Taddeo wrote a medical *consilium* for the famous surgeon and bishop Theodric of Lucca. Taddeo's writings also include commentaries on the works of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna, and probably an Italian translation (from Latin) of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.

See also **Medicine; Universities**

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Taddeo Di Bartolo

Taddeo di Bartolo (c. 1362 or 1363-after 28 August 1422) was the most important and innovative Siennese painter active between 1390 and 1420. He also served several times as a political official. His style, like that of other Siennese painters of the second half of the fourteenth century, was based on the tradition established by Duccio, Simone Martini, and the Lorenzetti brothers in the first half of the century. But Taddeo's particular synthesis of sumptuous Siennese decorative effects with bulky, well-modeled figures and effects of space and setting also suggests a move toward the illusionism characteristic of later developments.

Unlike most Siennese painters of the period, Taddeo had a reputation well beyond Siena; he worked for patrons from Genoa, Pisa, Montepulciano, San Gimignano, Perugia, and perhaps also Padua. At the height of his popularity he was the master of a large workshop.

However, as is typical of this period, many documented works do not survive, and how many undocumented works are lost is purely a matter of conjecture. Among Taddeo's most impressive surviving works is a large, well-preserved Gothic polyptych of the *Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin* in the cathedral of Montepulciano. It is signed and dated 1401; in addition, and unexpectedly, the artist has included Saint Thaddeus, his patron saint, who looks out at the observer in what must be one of the earliest self-portraits.

Taddeo's frescoes in the chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena were executed in stages between 1406 and 1414. In the *Last Days of the Virgin*, Taddeo adds a convincing—and, again, unexpected—effect to the scene in which the apostles are summoned back from their proselytizing to bid farewell to the Virgin before her dormition (i.e., her passing from earthly life). Here he shows foreshortened figures flying through the air, making the miraculous quality of the story more evident. The civic subjects include political virtues and Roman gods and heroes, themes planned by two Sienese intellectuals that provide yet another example of the interest in antique subjects during the Middle Ages.

See also Duccio di Buoninsegna; Lorenzetti, Pietro and Ambrogio; Martini, Simone; Siena

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Tagliacozzo, Battle of

In the battle of Taghacozzo (22 August 1268), between Conrad of Hohenstaufen (Conradin) and Charles of Anjou, Charles was the victor. This victory ensured that he would retain the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, which had been won two years previously at the battle of Benevento.

Conradin, the last male iiohenstaufen, had challenged the Angevin claim as the legitimate descendant in the direct line, through his grandfather, Frederick II, of the Norman kings. As Conradin was only sixteen years old, the effective command of his troops was undertaken by Prince Henry, who was the younger brother of the king of Castile and was senator of Rome. The battle took place at Scurcola on the Salto River, about 5 miles (8 kilometers) east of Tagliacozzo, where Henry had gone to avoid being trapped in the narrow defile of Tagliacozzo itself. Conradin probably had the numerical advantage—perhaps 6,000 soldiers to Charles's 5,000. The Angevin troops, however, were veterans and famously loyal to Charles, whereas the Hohenstaufen troops—who included German and Spanish mercenaries, Italian Ghibellines, and refugees from the Regno—were less disciplined and on the whole less interested in the outcome. After a bad start, Charles managed to divide the Hohenstaufen troops and drive them into flight. Henry was captured after the battle; he was to spend the next twenty-three years in prison. Shortly afterward, Conradin too was captured and executed.

Following the battle, Charles, abandoning a policy of clemency adopted after his previous victory at Benevento, viciously repressed many areas, particularly in Sicily, Apulia, and Basilicata, which had risen in sympathy with Conradin. Charles thereby incurred much hatred, which would lead to trouble later.

See also Charles I of Anjou; Conradin; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Hohenstaufen Dynasty

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The Tuscan architect and sculptor Francesco Talenti (c. 1300-after 1369) is best remembered for his contribution to the building of the cathedral of Florence between 1351 and 1369. His son Simone Talenti (c. 1330-after 1383) followed in his footsteps and worked on the cathedral, as well as Or San Michele and the Loggia dei Priori. Francesco may have been the brother of Fra Jacopo Talenti (c. 1300-1362), who undertook building work at Santa Maria Novella.

In the 1350s, Francesco Talenti worked on the campanile begun by Giotto and taken over by Andrea Pisano, designing the two middle stories and the upper section of the tower shaft. During this decade he also worked on the two doorways—Porta dei Cornacchini and Porta del Campanile—in the north and south facades of the cathedral. Opinion differs as to the exact nature of Talenti's role in the final designs for the cathedral; not everyone would agree that he was responsible for the project to include a dome, first mentioned in 1357. As well as producing a model of the choir chapels (1355), Francesco Talenti made a model of the nave piers (1358); carved the capital for the first pier in the nave, assisted by his son (1358); and submitted a design of the choir in collaboration with Lapo Ghini (1366-1367).

See also **Florence; Giotto di Bondone; Pisano, Andrea**

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Tancred of Hauteville, Sons of

Tancred of Hauteville (d. 1041) was a petty Norman noble who held a small fief about 8 miles (12 or 13 kilometers) northeast of Coutances. For Duke Robert of Normandy, he commanded ten men-at-arms from his castle at Hauteville-la-Guichard. Tancred and his first wife, Muriella, had five sons: William, Drogo, Humphrey, Geoffrey, and Serlo. When Muriella died, Tancred married Fressenda, with whom he fathered Robert Guiscard, Mauger, William, Aubrey, Tancred, Humbert, and Roger.

Clearly, Tancred's resources were far too meager to provide much of an inheritance for such numerous progeny. Hence, William (Iron Arm), Drogo, and Humphrey set off for southern Italy c. 1035 to seek their fortune with Rainulf, who had already begun his career from the county of Aversa as his territorial base. The three brothers along with Rainulf contributed to the Lombards' victories over the Byzantines at Montemaggiore on 4 May 1041 and at Montepeloso in September 1041. Thereafter, the Normans assumed more and more control of the Lombard insurrection. After William died in 1046, the leadership of the Normans in Apulia fell to his brother Drogo, who received in 1047 full imperial investiture as duke of Apulia from Henry III (r. 1039–1056). Drogo was killed along with sixty of his followers in 1051. Norman leadership now fell to Humphrey. Along with other bands of Normans, he defeated Pope Leo IX (r. 1049–1054) and Leo's Byzantine allies at Civitate in 1053.

In 1057, Humphrey died, and Norman leadership then fell to Robert Guiscard, the first son of Tancred and Fressenda. Robert continued the conquest of Calabria, which he had begun a few years earlier on his arrival in southern Italy. He moved as far south as Reggio, which he, along with his brother Roger, besieged in 1058. These two brothers quarreled, and Roger accepted the hospitality of his brother William of Hauteville, count of the Principate, who, in the four years since his arrival in southern Italy, had conquered all the land south of Salerno. Robert, who was left to face another revolt of the Calabrians, was quick to patch up his differences with his brother Roger, and eventually the two of them would complete the conquest of Sicily and southern Italy.

At the synod of Melfi in 1059, Robert Guiscard acquired the title of duke of Apulia and now had only to complete its conquest. In October 1060, Robert and his brother Mauger, count of the Capitanata, confronted the invading forces of the Byzantine emperor Constantine X Ducas (r. 1059-1067) and secured the conquest of Taranto, Brindisi, and Reggio. In 1060, Robert landed with his brother Roger in Sicily to initiate the conquest of that island. Called back to the mainland to suppress Apulian rebels, Robert completed his domination of southern Italy with the conquest of the last remaining Byzantine stronghold, the port city of Bari, in 1071. Returning to Sicily, he again assisted his brother in its conquest. In 1072, Palermo fell. Robert was then called back to southern Italy to suppress a rebellion of Norman nobles and to face the hostility of Richard of Capua and Pope Gregory VII, who excommunicated him. Robert triumphed on the battlefield, and Gregory's need for protection against Emperor Henry IV provoked Robert Guiscard to inflict his infamous devastation on the city of Rome in 1084, with the consequent flight of Gregory to Salerno. Robert died in July 1075 at age seventy.

In the meantime, Roger's campaigns in Sicily met such success that finally, by the year 1091, all the Saracens in Sicily as well as those in Malta were defeated. When Count Roger I of Sicily died in 1101, he left a well-organized and well-administered feudal state.

***See also* Byzantine Empire; Leo IX, Pope; Normans; Rainulf, Count of Aversa; Robert Guiscard; Roger I**

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Tancred of Lecce and Roger III, Kings of

Sicily

Tancred of Lecce (c. 1137-20 February 1194) was an illegitimate son of Roger, duke of Apulia, the eldest son of Roger II. Tancred was twice involved in baronial rebellions against William I, was exiled in 1161, and spent at least the last part of his enforced absence in eastern Roman (Byzantine) territory. He was recalled in 1167 or 1168, during the regency of Margaret of Navarre, and in 1169 was made count of Lecce, a small fief on the Salentine peninsula, formerly the possession of what appears to have been his mother's family. He is sometimes thought to have led the Sicilian expeditionary force in Egypt in 1174. By 1176, he was grand constable and master justiciar for Apulia and Terra di Lavoro, a post he continued to hold at least until 1187- He commanded the fleet in William II's failed attempt to take Constantinople in 1185- In the succession crisis of late 1189, he was the candidate of a faction in the central government led by the vice-chancellor, Matthew of Salerno. In December 1189, Tancred was elected king by an assembly of curial magnates who were opposed to the prospect of rule by William's announced heir Constance, or by her German husband, the future western emperor Henry VI. After obtaining the support of the papacy, Tancred was crowned on 18 January 1190.

Tancred was an effective ruler in an insecure position. He put down an Arab-Islamic revolt at the outset of his reign; gained internal support by means of appointments and concessions; suppressed a rival candidate, Roger of Andria, for the throne; and through a combination of diplomacy, military success, and shows of force managed to fend off Henry's major invasion of 1191 and other attempts from 1190 onward to bring the kingdom within the empire. Prominent in this effort were Tancred's brother-in-law and military commander on the mainland, Richard of Acerra; and his admiral of the fleet, Margaritus of Brindisi, a holdover from the previous reign. Like Tancred, Richard had learned firsthand during William II's disastrous invasion of Greece that a new but energetic regime fighting on its own soil could defeat a large enemy army seeking to overthrow it. Margaritus was instrumental in carrying out their strategy, particularly in the defense of Naples in 1191. At Naples, by keeping open its maritime supply lines and winning a naval

victory over Henry's Pisan allies, Margaritus forced Henry to abandon his lengthy siege of this crucial strongpoint, and with it his very expensive campaign of that year.

Tancred was over fifty—and thus elderly by contemporary standards—when he came to power. He provided for the succession in 1192 by having his son Roger also crowned king, as Roger III. In the same year he negotiated an alliance with Isaac II Angelus, the Roman emperor of the east, an accord sealed by a marriage between Isaac's daughter Irene and the young Roger III. Tancred also allied himself with Richard I of England and with the papacy. But in 1193, once Richard had become the prisoner of Henry VI, this was a coalition of the weak and the disabled. Roger III's untimely death on 24 December left only his brother William, still a child, in line to succeed. When Tancred himself died less than two months later, the way was open for Henry's successful invasion of 1194 (funded from the proceeds of Richard's enormous ransom).

Roger and Tancred were both buried in Palermo's then new cathedral. There, on Henry's orders, their bodies were later stripped of crowns and other regalia (when the bodies were examined during a reconstruction in 1767, the remains, since lost, were said to have been headless). As Tancred's official acts were declared invalid by the new regime, the surviving documentation for his reign is scant. Peter of Eboli's illustrated *Liber ad honorem Augusti* lampoons Tancred memorably from a pro-Staufen perspective. Tancred's predecessors on the throne are known for their artistically important buildings in or near the capital; Tancred's own monument, more modest but still impressive, is the convent church of saints Nicholas and Cataldus at Lecce, completed in 1180. This edifice retains much of its original form, and it preserves, especially in its two ornamental portals with their dedicatory inscriptions in Leonine Latin verse, the memory of its donor when he was count and not yet king.

See also Normans; Peter of Eboli; Roger II; William I; William II

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Tancredi Da Bologna

Tancredi (d. 1236) studied canon law in Bologna with Laurentius Hispanus and Johannes Galensis. He also studied civil law with Azo. He commented on the *Breviarium decretalium* of Bernardo da Pavia; on a collection of Innocent III's decretals by Pietro da Benevento (1210); and on a collection by Johannes Galensis filling the gap between those two (1210–1215). Tancredi wrote a widely known guide to legal procedure (c. 1218), basing his work on earlier texts. This text remained popular until the *Speculum judiciale* of Guillelmus Durantis the Elder appeared in 1271. Tancredi became a canon of Bologna and served as the city's archdeacon until his death.

See also **Law: Canon**

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Tavola Ritonda

The *Tavola ritonda* (*Round Table*), one of the earliest examples of vernacular prose narrative, composed c. 1320-1340, survives in eight manuscripts, indicating a healthy circulation for such a text. The anonymous author freely drew on several French sources—the prose *Tristan*, Thomas's *Tristan*, the *Roman de Lancelot*, *Meliadus* by Rusticiano da Pisa, and the *Tristano Riccardiano*. The originality in selection and the arrangement of material combined with several

invented episodes make the *Tavola ritonda* the most elaborate and innovative of the Italian Arthurian romances. Although criticism on this text is not extensive, the varied, even conflicting, interpretations of crucial themes, episodes, and characterizations testify to its complexity.

The Tuscan author reworked his source material—often filled with fabulous adventures—to appeal to the tastes of his pragmatic merchant-class readers. By rearranging and interspersing parallel scenes, he idealizes Tristan as both a better knight and a better lover than Lancelot. The adulterous aspects of Tristan and Isolde's passion are minimized to show their love as more pure and "loyal" than that of Lancelot and Guinivere, indeed as almost divine. This favorable portrayal of adulterous lovers may be a direct response to Dante's condemnation of carnal lust in *Inferno* 5.

Although Arthurian romances typically have love as "heir theme, in this redaction feats of arms are given equal importance. Yet this is a new brand of chivalry that domesticates the errant knight by channeling his energies into the defense of urban *securitas*, an ethos more in line with the civic ideals of communal Italy. There is less gratuitous jousting and more purposeful combat than in earlier versions. In addition, diplomacy can be as efficacious as physical prowess (a portrayal that echoes contemporary Florentine military history). Certain critics have pointed to a "social theme," also consonant with communal ethics: an individual's actions can have an impact, for good or ill, on his entire society.

See also Arthurian Material in Italy; Lancelot; Tristan

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Taxation

See Revenues

Tedaldi, Pieraccio

The Florentine poet Pieraccio Tedaldi (first half of the fourteenth century) wrote in both the amorous-courtly and the comic styles. He wrote forty sonnets and one *tenzone*, all transmitted by a single manuscript, Vaticano Latino 3213.

Although Tedaldi wrote six sonnets following the aulic (courtly) tradition, he is best-known as a comic poet. The comic themes he used most often were condemnations of marriage, wry comments on the overinflated value of money in contemporary society, and lamentations against poverty. He also wrote a series of political sonnets as an impassioned Gueft, two of which are directed against Mastino II della Scala. Moral sonnets that he wrote in his old age include diatribes against gambling; warnings to lawyers, judges, and notaries against corruption; and accusations that society is pursuing sensual pleasures rather than serving God. In religious sonnets from the same period, Tedaldi confesses his own sins and prays for forgiveness. There are also sonnets concerning his blindness, which he considered a divine punishment for past sins. The *tenzone*, addressed to his son, Bindo, accuses Bindo of never taking the time to write his father a letter. Among Tedaldi's well-known poems, *Qualunque voi super far un sonetto* describes how to write a good sonnet, and *Sonetto pien di doglia, iscapigliato* is a *planctus* (lament) for the death of Dante, whom Tedaldi calls "our sweet master."

See also **Italian Poetry: Comic; Tenzzone**

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Teginae, Battle of

The battle of Teginae (Busta Gallorum, 552), the last battle of King Totila, doomed the Ostrogoths' resistance to the eastern Roman armies under Narses. Before the arrival of Narses in Italy (551), neither the Goths nor the eastern Romans had been able to field an army large enough to gain a decisive advantage. Totila knew that the longer he waited, the stronger Narses would become, and so he hastened to attack immediately. The battle pitted a Roman force drawn up in mixed array against Gothic cavalry backed by Gothic infantry. Totila, seeing that his force was greatly outnumbered, delayed, while an additional 2,000 men assembled from nearby camps. He guided his horse to the middle ground between the warring armies and wheeled his mount in a circle—first in one direction, then in the other, tossing his javelin high in the air and catching it. Surely this dance evoked something noble and warlike from Gothic tradition. The Gothic cavalry struck the first blow but was soon pushed back into the protection of the Gothic infantry. There, among the rank and file, without his golden armor, Totila died

along with some 6,000 others.

The survivors fled and rallied under their last king, Teias; but at Mons Lactarius near Naples later in 552, Teias fell. In August 554, Justinian issued his pragmatic sanction for the governing of reconquered Italy.

See also Gothic Wars; Justinian I; Narses; Ostrogoths; Pragmatic Sanction; Totila

THOMAS S. BURNS

Templars

See Military Orders in Italy

Tenzone

Like other early vernacular lyric forms brought to Sicily and to northern Italy by thirteenth-century troubadours, the *tenzone* probably developed from the Occitan *tenso*, or poetic debate. The related *contrasto* evolved from a medieval Latin analogue that contained a philosophical disputation within a single composition by one author, alternating voices stylistically or structurally between strophes; but the typical *tenzone* consists of at least two separate microtexts (normally sonnets; rarely *canzoni*) written by individual poets who are sometimes joined by additional voices. Topics include love, poetics, and politics.

Virtually every poet participated in the huge production of *tenzoni* in the second half of the thirteenth century: Monte Andrea da Firenze initiated a long political debate with various poets; Bonagiunta da Lucca and Guido Guinizzelli participated in a famous debate; Dante Alighieri exchanged poems with Dante da Maiano and with Cino da Pistoia. Several extant *tenzoni* included anonymous women "respondents." A particularly biting six-sonnet *tenzone* between the

young Dante and his future wife's relative Forese Donati (d. 1296) has been a source of unending controversy: despite codicological, lexical, and textual evidence, many scholars cannot accept the possibility that the great poet could have entered into a scurrilous debate.

Since the *tenzone* was a small but ordered grouping of textually related poetic compositions, it may be considered a forerunner of the poetry book. The *tenzone* was recognized as an independent genre by contemporary copyists, who often labeled it as such and even numbered the related texts in their manuscripts.

See also Italian Poetry: Lyric; Italian Prosody; Sonnet

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Terence

Little is known about the life of Terence (Publius Terentius Afer, c. 186 or 185-c. 159 B.C.). He was born in Carthage, and some scholars argue for an earlier birth date than 185 B.C. He came to Rome, perhaps as a slave; there, he received support from noble patrons.

Six of Terence's comedies have been transmitted to us: *Andria*, *Hecyra* (*The Mother-in-Law*), *Heautontimoroumenos* (*The Self-Punisher*), *Eunuchus* (Terence's greatest commercial success), *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe* (*The Brothers*). The plots of these plays are influenced by Attic "new comedy," but Terence's attention to character development represents an innovation in the comic genre. During antiquity, Terence's work was considered dull, lacking in verbal invention and comic ingeniousness, but Terence's focus on psychology provides a point of interest not found in the plays of his contemporaries.

In the fourth century the grammarian Donatus composed an extensive commentary on Terence's plays, and in the Middle Ages Terence was a hugely influential school author. His lucid Latin and didactic tendencies made him very appealing to a Christian readership; his plays were commended for their ethical messages. His central role in medieval school curricula allowed a wide dissemination of his work. In the tenth century Terence influenced the dramatic efforts of the German nun Hrosvitha (Hrotsvitha, Hroswita) of Gandersheim; and in the twelfth century a genre of pseudo-Terentian satirical dramas flourished.

While Dante alludes in a general way to Terence's comedies, there is no concrete evidence that he knew the plays in detail. An inaccurate reference in *Inferno* 18 to the courtesan Thai's, a character in *Eunuchus*, reveals that Dante's knowledge of the play was derived from Cicero's *De amicitia* rather than from *Eunuchus* itself. Beginning with Boccaccio and continuing with Petrarch, however, Terence's plays were copied, studied, and understood, as is evidenced by annotations on a Florentine manuscript of Terence's comedies in Boccaccio's hand.

See also Theater

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Texts, Early Italian: Placiti Cassinesi

The *Placiti cassinesi*, also known as the *Placiti campani*, are a collection of tenth-century juridical documents preserved in the archives of the abbey of Monte Cassino and still in the possession of the abbey. They are generally said to contain the first extant manifestations of intentional writing in the *volgare* on the Italian peninsula. Each document consists of a body of text in Latin, with single sentences of a formulaic nature, in what appears to be a rather faithful rendering of the language of the time and place. The purpose of the documents is to establish disputed ownership of lands.

The earliest document was drawn up in Capua in March 960 and is thus widely known as the *placito capuano*, or alternatively as the *placito d'Arechisi*, after the judge in charge of the proceedings. The case pits the abbot of Monte Cassino against a private citizen named Rodelgrimo, who claims to have inherited lands that the abbot claims have been the property of Monte Cassino for thirty years. With neither side in possession of documentation of ownership, the judge orders the abbot to produce three witnesses, each of whom then repeats the words *Sao ko kelle terre per kelle fini que ki contene, trenta anni le possette parte S(an)c(t)i Benedicti* and swears that this is true.

I he *placito of Sessa*, from March 963, reports a similar case between the abbot of the monastery of San Salvatore and a citizen named Gualfrid. Here, however, the abbot is able to produce documentation showing that the land was in part purchased, in part received as a donation, from a certain Pergoaldo. Three witnesses are then called on to testify that this previous owner had been in legitimate possession, which they do by reciting *Sao cco kelle terre p(er) kelle fini que tebe monstrai P(er)goaldo foro que ki contene et trenta anni le possette*.

Two further documents deal with land disputes in the district of Teano. The earlier of these two, dated 26 July 963, is known as the *Memoratorium of Teano*-, it contains the oath *Kella terra p(er) kellefini q(ue) bobe mostrai S(an)c(t)e Marie è et trenta anni la posset parte S(an)c(t)e Marie*. The later of the two, the *Placito of Teano*, has four repetitions, one for each witness, of words nearly identical to those of the oath taken at Sessa: *Sao cco kelle terre p(er) kelle fini que tebe*

mostrai trenta anni le possette parte S(an)c(t)e Marie.

The prime interest of these documents is both historical and linguistic. Some scholars suspect that the disputes may have been preventive measures brought against straw men, for the purpose of establishing ownership of lands whose status could have been subject to genuine dispute in the absence of firm legal documentation. In this view, the use of popular language for the oaths would have served to make the essential information clear to any reader. Other scholars argue that certificates issued just a few years earlier by competent local authorities precluded any need for such legal reassurance, and the fact that only these documents contain testimony in the *volgare* may be due to their being originals. Others, which survive only in copies, have very similar oaths, invariably in Latin, arguably the result of emendation by copyists: e.g., *Scio quia ille terreper illos fines et mensuras quas Paidefrit comiti monstravimus per XXXa annos possedit pars Sancti Vincencii* (sworn in 954, also before Arechisi).

The Latin that frames and introduces the testimonies in *volgare* is unremarkably typical of practical papers of the time, lacking the accurate classicizing tone of highly trained authorship, and penetrated by localisms in Latinized form. It was once believed that the vernacular of the oaths was a conscious attempt at a refined version of the speech of the area, but various scholars have shown that they are almost certainly very accurate phonemic renderings of popular speech, with occasional phonetic detail, and few spurious Latinisms. Consider, for example, *Sao cco kelle terre* ("I know that those lands"). Although today dialects in Campania normally have a reflex of *sapio* ("I know") along the lines of *saccio*, the form *sao* ("I know," Italian *so*) is still common in southern Italy (along with, e.g., *fao*, "I make" or "I do"). *Co* (also spelled *ko*, and derived from *quod*) is still widespread in the south; and the simple [k], rather than [kw] (Italian *quella*) of *kelle* (derived from *eccu illae*, "those") parallels modern Neapolitan *kidde* (further evolved in the raising of [e] to [i] and the delateralization /ll/, from /dd/). These and other features appear to guarantee that the language of the *placiti* is genuine and thus is a valuable early documentation of evolved Romance speech.

See also **Language, Italian: History and Development**

Texts, Early Italian: Ritmo Laurenziano

The *Ritmo laurenziano* is so called because it is contained in the last folio of a codex in the Laurentian Library in Florence; it is also known variously as the *Ritmo giullaresco toscano*, the *Cantilena monorima*, or the *Cantilena di ungiullare toscano*. It is generally considered the oldest surviving Italian poetic composition with literary pretensions. The text is of uncertain date but is in a hand that suggests the late twelfth century or the early thirteenth century; the identity of the author is unknown.

The *Ritmo laurenziano* consists of twenty double octosyll-lables. The allusions made (apparently to the *Physiologus* and to the *Disricba Catonis*) and the poetic structure (recalling the Provençal *Sancta Fides*) reveal some learning on the part of the author. The ends, however, are practical: a *giullare* spares no hyperbole to sing the praises of a bishop (Villano, of Pisa, according to some scholars, but the bishop of Iesi now appears more likely), in hopes that the bishop will see fit to present him with the gift of a fine white-footed horse, which he will then display to the bishop of Volterra, Galgano. Though it was once thought that the language reflected an eastern Tuscan origin, this opinion has been shown to have little foundation. Until recently, parts of the text remained obscure. Lacunae and illegible script in the manuscript itself, along with puzzling lexical items, left the way open for numerous suggested readings of crucial passages. Castellan! (1986) made definitive corrections of earlier scholars' hypotheses, including the probable identification of the bishop to whom the work is addressed: *lo vescovo senato*, in which *senato* was once thought to have been a Tuscanized borrowing of a precursor of French *sent* ("wise"), is much more plausibly local usage deriving directly from Latin *aesinas*, producing "of Iesi." Castellani's informed philological analysis suggests that regarding origins all we can say with certainty is that the linguistic character of the text is genuinely Tuscan; also, both linguistic and nonlinguistic evidence hints that the author may have come from the diocese of

Volterra.

See also Italian Prosody; Language, Italian: History and Development

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Textiles

See Fustians; Silk in Italy; Wool Industry in Italy

Theater

Theater was an essential part of medieval life and consequently encompassed more than today's restricted notion. However, the practice of going to the theater as a paid public event, purely for the purpose of entertainment, lapsed during the Middle Ages, even though formally structured plays with costumed actors, prepared speeches, scene changes, and music had been performed in ancient Roman theaters, and the ruins of these Roman edifices survived in medieval Italy.

Forerunners of popular theater in Italy were the numerous public spectacles, ceremonies, propitiatory processions of spiritual groups such as the flagellants, and even races, games, and athletic contests which developed distinct regional variations. To celebrate the rites of spring, rural Tuscan towns held popular dramas known by different names (*giostre* near Pistoia, *bruscelli* near Siena, *maggi* in Pisa and Lucca). Self-conscious displays of power and prestige by individual families or

political groups were prevalent in the late fourteenth century and the fifteenth century and constituted a kind of unofficial theater. Mummers and maskers in France and England had their parallel in the elaborate carnival parades and costumes of late medieval Florence and Venice. In Medici Florence, wagons (*carri*) bearing tableaux of costumed figures accompanied by music and singing often used mythological themes. Lorenzo de' Medici (il Magnifico) himself contributed texts for several carnival songs and is even credited with developing this genre.

Orally performed epics and *cantari* are a secular strain that fed into the development of theater in Italy. The *giullari*, later called *cantastorie* or *canterini*, would have used gestures, movements, simple sound effects, and a range of vocal inflections to enhance their texts, performed with the accompaniment of stringed instruments. Performers availed themselves of a raised platform such as a stone bench or staircase to make themselves more visible and to project their voices better. We can surmise this from one Italian noun for singers of tales: *cantimbanchi*, literally, "songs on the benches." These were extremely popular in Bologna, Florence, and Perugia, as documents indicate. Elements of this epic performance style survived in nineteenth century and early twentieth-century street theaters of Sicily and Naples.

The religious strain of early theater has left more written traces. Mystery plays were performed throughout Europe to illustrate Christian stories and principles, and Italy was no exception. The combination of text, music, costumes, sounds, and simple props or backdrops had the powerful effect of heightening spirituality. Subjects included Old and New Testament stories, especially the more dramatic episodes; saints' lives; and other sacred legends. These could have been simple (though costumed) tableaux "acted" by priests during a mass, or longer stories that were actually performed. *Luoghi deputati*—multiple sets used in succession—were used for religious dramas and were paralleled in the visual arts: frescoes and altarpieces often depicted a series of events in the life of Christ or a saint, each action in its own separate section or panel. In fact, a modern word for the formal stage preserves this early sense: *palcoscenico*, "scenic box."

Extant documentation indicates that religious plays were widespread throughout the peninsula and in Sicily. Since there were no established

commercial theater buildings, plays were performed within monasteries or convents, inside churches for special festivals, or in public squares. Without a clear stage separation from the audience seating area, such "interactive" dramas resembled modern experimental theater: actors could enter through the crowd, and audience members would have been physically much closer to the drama. The grotesque devils in Dante's *Commedia* (*Inferno*, 21-22) preserve a glimpse of the frantic tragicomic activities of demons issuing from "hell's mouth," a frequent element in the intermezzi of mystery plays.

The concept of plays for didactic purposes developed from *laude*, vernacular hymns of praise. These *laude* were of Umbrian origin and were used by Saint Francis and his followers in the early thirteenth century; they were sung or chanted and could also be accompanied by dancing as a popular expression of religious zeal. The *lauda* "Lament of the Virgin Mary" by Jacopone da Todi—which is in effect a mini-drama—is a moving dialogue between the Virgin and her son, who is dying on the cross. Each of the alternating stanzas represents the "speech" of a "character." Early *laude* survive from Perugia, Assisi, Gubbio, Orvieto, and Aquila.

Written scripts for many religious spectacles have survived, and archival documents and records of payments further indicate what kinds of theatrical activities took place. In the urban centers of late medieval Italy, civic and religious institutions inevitably came into contact. Their functions intermingled in a complex symbiosis, with public spaces being used for sacred displays, sacred spaces being invaded by individual propaganda, and financial support often deriving more from political opportunism than from charitable motivations. Churches and lay confraternities organized special dramatic spectacles for important feast days such as the Annunciation, Epiphany, and Ascension day. Companies of artisans and laymen dedicated themselves to these annual representations, just as today certain charitable or civic groups sponsor parades or local festivals in their communities. Scenery, lighting effects, and stage machinery became quite elaborate.

The *sacra rappresentazione*, a Tuscan phenomenon that flourished in the fifteenth century, was essentially popular in nature. Feo Beicari (1410-1484, Florence) is the best-known author in this genre. His surviving sacred plays, written in octaves, had as their themes

Abraham and Isaac, the Annunciation, the life of the blessed Giovanni Colombini, and Saint John the Baptist in the desert. A short *San Panuzio* is also attributed to him. Lorenzo de' Medici produced a single dramatic work, the *Sacra rappresentazione di Santi Giovanni e Paolo*. Such plays demonstrate a certain relationship to the epic in their meter, tone, and style. Their form was free, with no unity of time, place, or action. A closing epilogue provided the moral.

By the late fifteenth century, with the influence of humanism, *sacre rappresentazioni* were including more and more secular elements. An important contribution of humanism with respect to the history of theater in Italy was the rediscovery and actual performance of old Roman plays by Terence and Plautus, especially in the north, at Ferrara and Florence. Authors of the time imitated these ancient plays; for example, Machiavelli's *La Clizia*, performed in 1525, was based on Plautus's *Casina*.

See also **Cantare; Giullari**

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Theodahad

Theodahad (d. 536, r. 534-536) was a king of the Ostrogoths. He was the son of Amalafrida, nephew of Theodoric, brother of Amalaberga, and father of Theudegisclus and Theodenantha. He led the life of a rich Roman recluse, *vir spectabilis* and later *vir inlustris*, devoting his leisure to literature, especially Plato. His wealth included lands belonging to the royal *patrimonium* and estates inherited from his mother (d. 527) but did not satisfy his avarice: before becoming king, he illegally evicted poor Gothic landowners and sometimes enslaved them, thwarted only by their appeals to his predecessor, King Athalaric.

The death of Athalaric (534) left Theodahad, the senior male member of the Amali family, in a peculiar and uncomfortable position. His cousin Amalasuntha, as a part of her program to frustrate the nobles who were opposed to her, asked him to succeed her son Athalaric in name only and actually to be a co-ruler with her. This proved unacceptable to Theodahad and the Gothic nobility. Amalasuntha was exiled and killed (535). She had, however, opened negotiations with Emperor Justinian I, and her death provided a pretext for him to commit his troops. Theodahad tried to explain himself to the emperor and gain Justinian's support, apparently even offering to trade his

personal estates for a comfortable life in Constantinople. However, his offer was rejected and his explanations were dismissed. War came swiftly, and no organized opposition to Justinian's forces emerged. The nobility rose and raised one of their own, Witigis, as king (536).

Theodahad was executed while in flight to Ravenna. He was the last Amalian king and the first barbarian ever to put his own portrait on a Roman coin.

See also **Amalasuntha; Gothic Wars; Justinian I; Ostrogoths; Witigis**

THOMAS S. BURNS

Theodora

Theodora (c. 500-548) became empress of Byzantium in 527. She had been born in poverty and had spent her youth as a notoriously virtuosic courtesan in Constantinople. But she reformed, and her cleverness and strong personality attracted the young Justinian, who made her his wife and, on his ascent to the throne as Justinian I, his consort.

Although Theodora differed with Justinian on theology and, as a strong adherent of Monophysitism, sometimes worked against his policies, she was his invaluable ally and counselor. Her advice helped him rescue his throne during the Nika riots (532), and her death from cancer in 548 was a grievous blow to him personally and politically.

Theodora had risen from the dregs of society and never felt totally secure on her throne; she intrigued constantly to ward off any challenge she saw to her husband or to her own standing with him. Thus, it is said, Theodora became jealous of the Ostrogothic queen of Italy, Amalasuntha, who was famous for cleverness and beauty, and—anxious lest this woman come to the capital and attract Justinian—conspired to have her murdered as a part of the dynastic tangles of the Ostrogothic court. Theodora's support of the Monophysites was played on by the Roman legate Vigilius, who promised her his aid in return for her influence in having him made pope (537). However, Vigilius found it impossible to keep his promise, and Theodora became his implacable

foe. At her urging, Justinian had Vigilius abducted and brought to Constantinople to be coerced into supporting religious policies that Theodora had helped frame. Vigilius's degradation was Theodora's last triumph before her death.

Several portrait busts surviving from this period have been identified as Theodora, notably one that is now in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan. Even more striking is her austere portrayal, together with her retinue, in a famous mosaic panel in the church of San Vitale in Ravenna. Fired by the sensational account given of her by the historian Procopius, artists and writers of modern times have continued to be fascinated by her image: she has been the fanciful subject of an opera by Donizetti, a play by Sardou, numerous novels, and at least one (Italian) movie.

See also Amalasuntha; Justinian I; Monophysitism; Procopius of Caesarea; Vigilius, Pope

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Theodoric

The Ostrogoth king Theodoric (Theodoric the Great; Thiudareiks,

"leader of the people"; c. 454—526) was the son of Thiudmir. As a boy of seven or eight, he was sent as a royal hostage to Constantinople to be reared along with other aristocratic children. That Theodoric remained unable to write never constrained his love of literature and theological discussion. He returned to his people as a man in 471 and with the aid of his father immediately began to assemble a following and lead them in battle. Thereby designated to succeed his father as king of the Ostrogoths, he did so in 474; but he then had to contend with Theodoric Strabo, leader of a rival line and *magister militum praesentalis*, for the rest of the decade. Their struggle was a competition for imperial support, political and economic, which was pivotal in securing the loyalty of the Ostrogoths then resident in the Balkans. Despite his eventual triumph and his own rise to the magistrship (483-487) and the consulship in 484, Theodoric the Great's relationship with the government in Constantinople remained strained. In 489, he was invited to lead his people into Italy as allies of the Romans and depose Odovacar, who was *patricius* and "king." After four years of war and attempted compromise, Theodoric hewed his adversary in two with his own hand. Theodoric then ruled from Ravenna until his own death.

Theodoric the man was complex, sometimes extremely volatile, but usually careful and calculating in the pursuit of his personal vision of the new realities within the Roman empire. His exact position remained ambiguous: *rex*, *Flavius*, *patricius*, *pius princeps invictus semper*, but never *Augustus*. He expanded the Amalian network of family alliances to include most of the ruling families of contemporary Germanic kingdoms, suggesting—as his correspondence also suggests—that he saw himself, his family, and the Ostrogothic kingdom as leading the western empire. He was also regent for the child king of the Visigoths, Alaric II. The Visigoths soon regarded the Ostrogothic forces dispatched by Theodoric as foreign and obtrusive. Theodoric's careful use of titles and attempts to have these confirmed or clarified by the emperor in Constantinople reveal that he thought of his and the other Germanic kingdoms as peculiar regional variations under Germanic kings serving simultaneously as imperial officials within the *imperium Romanum*, not as replacements for it.

Within the Ostrogothic domain, Theodoric envisioned that the Gothic and Roman populations should complement one another with

clearly recognized spheres of expertise allocated to their ruling elites—specifically, leadership in the military for the Goths while the administration of the civil bureaucracy remained in Roman hands. The two branches of one society would come together only in his hands or those of his family. In other words, Theodoric tried to stand at the apex of the countervailing currents of an age that saw itself as very much a part of the universal Roman empire. Beneath the royal family, he tried to control the peaceful fusion of peoples and cultures. In fact, however, his reign provided many unregulated opportunities for Ostrogoths and Romans to share ideas and blood without regard to royal wishes. Theodoric's vision was not lost on his successors, who continued to reach back to him for guidance and legitimacy. The *Nibelungenlied* enshrined Theodoric as Dietrich von Bern, and the writings of Cassiodorus and Jordanes left the Latin world ample testaments of Theodoric's subtle governmental policies.



Tomb of Theodoric, Ravenna. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

Although Theodoric was an Arian Christian, he tolerated Orthodoxy and Judaism, saying that no king could tell his people what to believe. Such an enlightened attitude, combined with the peculiar relationship he maintained with Roman institutions, at once inside but independent, supported a religious and cultural flowering during his rule among the Roman populations. Pope Gelasius I and others took advantage of the independence of Italy within the imperial system to fashion a similar theoretical autonomy for the papacy and the Christian church in the west. Boethius and a circle of aristocratic scholars in support of

Theodoric saved much of ancient Greek philosophy from extinction by their devotion and their Latin translations. Cassiodorus (fl. c. 507-580) wrote extensively, thereby serving history and Christianity as loyally as he served Theodoric and Theodoric's successors. It is difficult to separate the vision of Cassiodorus and his student Jordanes from that of Theodoric. However, in areas where Theodoric's independence of thought cannot be doubted—such as in coinage, architecture, foreign policy, and titles—Theodoric himself clearly stands out as the seminal craftsman of his age. Cassiodorus was in sympathy with him and, in a sense, became his mouthpiece. In his own statements and actions, Theodoric was acutely conscious of displaying the imperial virtues of leadership—justice, clemency, piety, and manliness. He was also a proven warrior and general. His support of a gifted intellectual circle and numerous building programs in Ravenna, Verona, Rome, and elsewhere ensured that his virtues would receive lasting recognition. For him and a few other Germanic contemporaries, these attributes denoted their own successful leadership of Roman-Germanic society, naturally in the line of Augustus, but divorced from the office of emperor and therefore accepted within the emerging pattern of western rule. Ornaments for personal dress inspired by Ostrogothic tastes and manufactured in Ravenna flowed northward far beyond the Alps.

Theodoric's jurisdiction included all of Italy, Sicily, Provence in France, Bavaria, southern Austria, and northern Yugoslavia, with a regency over Visigothic lands in southwestern France and Spain. In most of the outlying areas Theodoric ruled through a few agents or garrisons. Yet in many areas Theodoric was the last effective representative of Rome. His final years were filled with disappointment. He suspected many members of his Roman-Orthodox aristocratic circle of treason against him and ordered Boethius executed; most of his marriage alliances with fellow Germanic kings ended in failure; his grandson and successor Athalaric was a minor.

Theodoric died of dysentery in 526 and was buried in Ravenna. His mausoleum is much like the man—a strange and complex mingling of Germanic traditions within Roman forms.

See also **Boethius; Cassiodorus; Gelasius, Pope; Jordanes, Chronicler; Odovacar; Ostrogoths; Ravenna; Visigoths**

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Theophano

Theophano (Theophanu, c. 955-c. 991) was a Byzantine (eastern Roman) princess who married Otto II of the Saxon dynasty. The father of Otto II—Otto I—had been rebuffed at least once in an attempt to arrange a marriage between his son and a Byzantine princess. But when the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus II Phocas was overthrown by the more pro-western John I Tzimisces (Zimisces) in December 969, a union was successfully arranged. Theophano arrived in Italy in 972 and married Otto II in April. They had three daughters—Adelaide (b. 977), Sophia (b. 978), and Matilda (b. 979)—and a son, Otto III (b. 980). When her husband died while her son was an infant, Theophano assumed the regency. On Theophano's death, Adelaide, who was Otto II's mother and Otto III's grandmother, came out of retirement and took over the regency.

The question of Theophano's influence on Otto III's attitudes and policies has been overshadowed by a controversy about precisely who she was. There can be no doubt that she was a Byzantine aristocrat, though she is mentioned in no extant Greek sources. Two theories have been offered about her exact identity: first, that she was a sister of the future emperor Basil II; and second, that she was a kinswoman of John I Tzimisces. Recent scholarship indicates that Theophano was most likely John's niece by marriage, the daughter of his brother-in-law, the patrician Constantine Sclerus, and Constantine's wife, Sophia.

See also **Otto II; Otto III**

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Thomas Aquinas, Saint

Saint Thomas Aquinas (Tommaso d'Aquino, c. 1225–1274) is perhaps the most broadly influential philosopher and theologian in the entire Catholic tradition—his only serious rival for the title would be Augustine. Thomas was born at Roccasecca, near Aquino (whence his customary toponymic), to an aristocratic family. He was presented at an early age as an oblate to the Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino. He studied there and in Naples (after 1239) before disappointing his family's hopes for his ecclesiastical preferment by developing an interest in the then recently founded Order of Preachers (Dominicans), which he entered in 1244. Despite initially intense opposition from his family (who went as far as imprisoning him for nearly two years in an attempt to break his resolve), he spent the rest of his life serving the Dominicans as a teacher, scholar, preacher, and writer. His studies took him far afield: first to Paris, where he had a decisive intellectual encounter with the theologian Albert the Great; then, following Albert, to Cologne in 1248-1252; then again to Paris, where he remained until 1259, pursuing the normal career path of an academic theologian by giving courses of lectures on the Bible and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and taking his master's degree in theology in 1256. Returning to Italy in 1259, he taught in various places (Anagni, Orvieto, Rome, Viterbo) until being appointed to a chair of theology at Paris in 1268. His brief tenure there was marked by fierce controversy with other Parisian masters, including Siger of Brabant, whose well-known rivalry with Thomas is reflected in their presence—suitably reconciled—in the same sphere of Dante's *Paradiso*.

In 1272, perhaps (and, if so, understandably) weary of academic infighting, Aquinas returned to Italy and settled down to a life of study at a Dominican priory in Naples. This life was interrupted by a summons to attend the Council of Lyon in early 1274. While staying en route at the Cistercian abbey of Fossanuova, he died suddenly—poisoned, according to an unconfirmed but persistent contemporary legend, on the instructions of Charles of Anjou. Whatever its cause, his death did not appease his Parisian rivals, who worked energetically (and with some success) for the condemnation of his teachings in the

1270s; but in 1278 the Dominican order granted his writings official protection (at least within the order itself), and thereafter his reputation grew steadily. He was canonized by Pope John XXII in 1323. By the mid-sixteenth century, his importance to Catholic thinkers had reached a point where he could be seen by many as the presiding genius of the Council of Trent and, indeed, of the whole phenomenon of the Counter-Reformation: Pope Pius V proclaimed him a doctor of the church (*doctor angelicus*) in 1567. A modern rediscovery of Thomas's thoughts and writings among both lay and clerical thinkers, beginning in the 1870s with Leo XIII's laudatory bull *Aeterni patris* (1879), inspired the major current in twentieth-century Catholic thought known as neo-Thomism; and non-Catholic philosophers have shown increasing interest in him since the Second Vatican Council (1262-1265) inaugurated an era in which it became easier to consider the intellectual substance of his work independent of its confessional affiliation.

That substance is not easy to sum up in a few words, especially given Thomas's dauntingly vast output of writings. Speaking generally, however, it may be said first of all that Thomas, as both philosopher and theologian, sets a high value on the existence and workings of human reason (rather than disparaging it, as a mystic might). Therefore, he grants philosophy a specific and indeed crucial role in his overall scheme, as an intellectual activity which is both distinct from and inferior to theology but which is also an indispensable prolegomenon to theological study and is itself capable of exploring and expounding truths about the world and humanity's place in it. The relationship between reason and faith; the attempt to define their respective spheres of operation; and the consequences of such a definition for the individual human being's understanding of self, the world, and God thus stand at the very center of Thomas's preoccupations throughout his works. These works proceed from his early commentaries and manuals of *quaestiones disputatae* (derived from his teaching); through the *Summa contra gentiles*, begun c. 1258 as a handbook of natural theology for use by missionaries against the nonbelievers"; and many more treatises, commentaries, and expositions of biblical and Aristotelian texts; to his masterpiece, the *Summa theologiae*, begun in the mid-1260s and left unfinished at his death. The *Summa theologiae* has been recognized down to the present day as a uniquely

authoritative achievement in the systematic exposition and analysis of Christian doctrine.

All these writings are based on Aquinas's absolute faith in revelation, but with the conviction that revelation is susceptible, up to a point determined only by the limitations imposed by our essential humanness, of being *understood*. He therefore stands in the Anselmian tradition of *fides quaerens intellectum*, but, far more than his eleventh-century predecessor Anselm, he sets out to deepen *his fellow* Christians' understanding of their own faith by using intellectual and analytical tools bequeathed to him by pagan traditions of thought: Neoplatonism and, above all, Aristotelianism. His many commentaries on Aristotelian texts thus stand beside his biblical commentaries not in opposition (as a strong current of antipaganism in Christian thinking, harking back at least to Jerome, would have wanted), and not as hostile demolitions of intellectual straw figures, but as respectful recognitions of incomplete gestures in the direction of truth that he is seeking to integrate into his own attempt at intellectual synthesis. The rediscovery (and translation into Latin) of Aristotle's works, which had been ongoing in the west since the twelfth century, enabled Aquinas to revivify both philosophy and theology. The greater subtlety and precision of argument made possible by the adoption of concepts and terminology from the Aristotelian corpus were as useful in debates about the workings of human reason as they were in debates about the proper understanding of divine revelation—debates which, for Thomas himself, were in the last analysis no more than mutually interdependent efforts to advance from different starting points toward the same resplendent truth.

See also Albertus Magnus; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Averroes and Averroism; Dante Alighieri; Dominican Order; Peter Lombard; Siger of Brabant

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Thomas of Celano

Thomas of Celano (c. 1190-1260) was a Franciscan hagiographer, the author of the first two lives of Francis of Assisi. Little is known about Thomas's early life, except that he was apparently from a noble family and received a good education. He joined the Franciscan order in the first years of its existence, probably in 1215, and volunteered for the first Franciscan mission to Germany in 1221. He seems to have shown administrative talent, for the next year he was made *custos* of a substantial part of the central European province, and in 1223 he was appointed vicar for the entire province while its minister was in Italy. In 1224, Thomas returned to Italy. He may have been present when Francis died in 1226.

Thomas's reputation as a preacher and stylist and his status as a relatively early follower of Francis seem to be the reasons Pope Gregory IX commissioned him in July 1228 to write an official life of the saint. While preparing the work, Thomas amassed a huge collection of anecdotes from friars and laymen that became a source for several later lives of Francis. By February 1229, he had finished what would come to be called *Vita prima*. Written in *cursus*, or rhythmical prose, the *Vita prima* is a skillful attempt to convey the interior life of Francis as early Franciscans knew it. But in many ways it is also a conventional stereotyped hagiography. It emphasizes Francis's spiritual journey and ideals but omits some of the quirkiest and most compelling episodes of the saint's life. In 1230, Thomas edited the *Vita prima* into a liturgical epitome, the *Legenda ad usum chori*.

Although the *Vita prima* was greeted with enormous enthusiasm when it first appeared, by the early 1240s many friars were voicing dissatisfaction with it, apparently because so many favorite stories about Francis had been left out. In 1244, the Franciscan general chapter invited all friars who had known Francis to submit their reminiscences so that a new, more complete *vita* could be composed. Thomas was once again called on to be the author. From materials he had not used in his first life and from recently submitted anecdotes, Thomas crafted the *Memoriale in desiderio animae de gestis et verbis sanctissimipatris nostri Francisci*, usually called the *Vita secunda*. Like the first life, it tells the story of Francis's conversion; but in its second part the anecdotes are arranged as a kind of prolonged character study of the subject. The *Vita secunda*—unlike the *Vita prima*—confronts matters of controversy within the order, especially a growing dispute over the relaxation of the rule. Thomas clearly depicts Francis as favoring a strict adherence to the rule and lamenting the corruption of his order by those who sought to relax it.

If "laxists" found the general message of the *Vita secunda* distasteful, many throughout the order complained that it gave insufficient attention to Francis's miracles, a subject that had been carefully elaborated in the *Vita prima*. To remedy this, Thomas composed a *Tractatus de miraculis* in 1255-1256 that detailed almost 200 of Francis's miracles. Thomas may also be the author of the *Legenda sanctae Clarae*, a life of Francis's friend Saint Clare written in the mid-1250s.

Thomas died in 1260 at Tagliacozzo. His works survived, despite a directive of the Franciscan chapter general of 1266 ordering that they and all other lives of Francis be destroyed to facilitate acceptance of Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* as the only official version of Francis's life.

See also Bonaventure, Saint; Francis of Assisi; Franciscan Order

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Tiepolo Family

The Tiepolo family, a merchant house, is first recorded at Malamocco in the Venetian lagoon but evidently immigrated to Venice in the later eleventh century. Members of the family were trading in Constantinople in the 1080s and thereafter maintained strong interests in the Orient. They entered public life in the twelfth century and reached their greatest prominence—twice occupying the office of doge—in four consecutive generations between the early thirteenth century and the early fourteenth.

Of the two Tiepolo doges, the first (Venice's forty-third) was Giacomo (Iacopo, Jacopo), who had achieved distinction in the east. His election in 1229 broke the hold on the chief magistracy of the ancient patrician houses, particularly those of Ziani and Dandolo, who resented the upstart's rise, while a lasting rivalry between *nobiles* and *populares* was emerging. Giacomo showed extraordinary skill in his dealings with the hostile emperor Frederick II, Ezzelino III da Romano, and other powers, though he was to be chiefly remembered for commissioning a new legal code (1242). Under him, the *comune* approached the ideal of maximum authority with maximum consensus, and his firm rule was credited with the peace and prosperity of the years immediately following his death (1249).

Giacomo's son Lorenzo became the forty-sixth doge (1268-1275), having married a niece of John of Brienne, Latin emperor of Constantinople, and having made his name by leading the reconquest of Acre (1258) with a crushing naval victory over the Genoese. Lorenzo was a very popular choice, and on his election he formally reconciled his house with that of Dandolo. He subsequently placated the guilds by allowing them limited self-government.

On the death of Doge Giovanni Dandolo (1289), a favored possible successor was a second Giacomo Tiepolo, who was the son of Lorenzo and was another victorious admiral. However, in electoral circles this Giacomo was seen as representing a threat of a hereditary *signoria* such as was taking shape elsewhere—something the evolving Venetian constitution resolutely opposed. In the event, Giacomo served Venice by avoiding election and the social strife that would have ensued.

Baiamonte, son of the younger Giacomo, did not share his father's deference to public interests. In 1310, he led an armed rising against the regime headed by Doge Pietro Gradenigo, whom he sought to replace. The insurrection failed, however, and Baiamonte was exiled by a ten-man commission established to deal with the emergency, a body that subsequently became known as the *consiglio dei died* and developed into a permanent and prominent institution of the Venetian state. The Baiamonte episode prompted the oligarchy to take still stricter measures to stifle any personality cult.

Partly, it may be inferred, as a result of Baiamonte's failure, the family was never so conspicuous again. It is reckoned to have been in Venice's top ten families in the 1260s, but a social chronicle of the 1350s places it in the second twelve, and a modern assessment has it just outside the top forty around that time. Later, the house produced its most illustrious scion of all, the Rococo painter Giovanni Battista (1696-1770). It is still today a respected component of Venetian society.

See also Venice

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Tino Di Camaino

Tino di Camaino (c. 1280 or 1285-1337) was a Siennese sculptor. Although his works are numerous and varied, representing the range of

activities of a late medieval workshop, Tino is best-known for a series of important sepulchral monuments carved and erected in Siena, Pisa, Florence, and Naples.

Tino was born in Siena, the son of the sculptor Camaino di Crescentino. Camaino was for many years associated with the *opera del duomo* in Siena, for which he served as *capomaestro* between 1317 and 1320. As a young sculptor, Tino surely worked with his father at the cathedral, and there both father and son may also have been associated with the workshop of Giovanni Pisano. In certain passages of linear grace and fluidity, Tino's works show the influence of Giovanni Pisano; however, Tino, his own workshop, and his clients seem to have shied away from Giovanni Pisano's dramatic "expressionism" in favor of a more "classical" manner that resembles the art of Giotto and the Lorenzetti brothers. Tino's first documented work, a baptismal font for the cathedral at Pisa, dates to 1311. His first sepulchral monument, the tomb of the emperor Henry VII, was installed in the cathedral of Pisa in 1315. This wall tomb, with carved sarcophagus, recumbent effigy, and accompanying figures, was of a type that Tino would repeat and vary throughout his career.

Although Tino served as *capomaestro* of the cathedral of Pisa while carving the emperor's tomb, he temporarily left his position in 1315 to take part in an unsuccessful defense of Pisa against the *condottiere* Uguccone della Faggiuola. Tino escaped capture in the battle of Montecatini (1315), only to be deposed from his job as *capomaestro*. He then returned to Siena, where he executed the tomb of Cardinal Riccardo Petroni (c. 1318). The Petroni tomb, in the cathedral of Siena, is the best-preserved of Tino's sepulchral monuments in Tuscany. Tino was appointed *capomaestro* of this cathedral in 1320, but in 1321 he left to work in Florence. From 1321 to 1323, he is documented in Florence, where he executed the tomb of Gastone della Torre, the patriarch of Aquileia, in Santa Croce; the tomb of Antonio degli Orsi, the bishop of Florence, in the cathedral; and statues for the exterior of the Baptistry,

In 1323 or 1324, Tino was called to Naples, probably by King Robert of Anjou. He worked there, in the service of the Angevin court, for the remainder of his career. In Naples, he carved the sepulchral monuments for Robert's mother, Mary of Hungary, in Santa Maria Donna Regina; and for Robert's daughter-in-law, Catherine of Austria, in San Lorenzo.

In the church of Santa Chiara, he carved the tombs of Charles of Calabria and Mary of Valois. Tino also produced tombs for Philip of Taranto and Giovanni of Durazzo in San Domenico Maggiore.

In Naples, Tino was also active as an architect. After 1329, he was involved in the construction of the monastery of San Martino and Castel Belforte; he also directed work on the Angevin arsenal and was put in charge of the enlargement of the harbor of Naples. From 1334 to 1336, he assumed temporary control of Giotto's workshop in Naples. Pietro Lorenzetti became the guardian of Tino's children after Tino died in 1337.

See also **Pisano, Giovanni**

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Tithes and Tithing

See **Church Organization and Functions**

Titles, Official

A title is a label bestowed on a specific individual by a higher authority in recognition of the person's office, service, status, or accomplishments. A title could denote membership in a particular social or political class; participation and status in a profession or occupation; status within a hierarchy; extraordinary achievement in a field of endeavor; or license to exercise certain powers, authority, or functions. During the medieval period, each Italian region and phase of history recognized its own roster of titles. Some of these titles retained older terminology while changing meaning; some remained constant over centuries; and some were regional variations, such as the Venetian *doge*, from the Latin *dux* ("duke"). In general, medieval Italy recognized only two ultimate authorities who could legitimately bestow titles: the emperor and the church. All other authorities—kings, nobles, cities, and universities—derived their authority from these two.

Barbarian societies in Italy had used special labels for warrior leaders, but early on, these societies adopted imperial forms (*rex*, *comes*, *dux*), as the functions and conditions of administration became more complex. Among the Ostrogoths, some of these titles were directly related to the royal court and demesne (*praepositus*, or head of the royal household; *comes rei privatae*, or manager of royal estates); some were related to viceregal administration (*saiones*, or royal vicars of low birth); and some were related to civil and judicial functions (*iudex*).

The interspersing of Roman, Lombard, and later Frankish legal cultures required a new clarity that had to serve until the revival of Roman law in the eleventh century. Lombards retained many Roman-styled officers, including the *decani* and *centenari*, who appear to have been in charge of villages; fiscal officers, such as the *referendarius* and *actionarius*; and ducal (later regal) court functionaries, such as the *maior domus* and *vesterarius*. Under the dukes, the main regional and civic authorities were the *gastaldi*, who often retained their authority under the Franks as well. The Carolingians weakened the autonomous authority of the Lombard dukes, introducing the counts (*comites*, later *conti*) who either served under the dukes or reported directly to the Frankish king.

In Byzantine Sicily, southern Italy, and the exarchate, eastern Roman titles and offices remained intact and often donated nomenclature to later invaders. In Sicily, the titles *catapan*, *strategos*, *logothete*, and

archonte continued in use even during the Norman period. The Arabs, during their 300-year domination of the island, certainly introduced their own officials and titles (*admiral emir*, *cadi*, and the financial official, the *dīwān*) and many of these were also absorbed by the Norman rulers. Under the early Normans, the same official was known as the "emir of emirs" and the "archonte of archontes." Linguistically, the *dīwān* evolved into the *dohana* or *douane*, and in various Romance formulations this term is still used today with regard to customs officials. The feudal Normans, of course, also contributed their own titles, such as seneschal and justiciar, and reintroduced Latin-based official terminology alongside the Greek (Byzantine) and Arab terminology.

Throughout feudal Italy, members of the various classes were designated by official terms of status classification: at the highest level of vassal stood the *capitanei*, who had as vassals the *valvassores*, who in turn subinfeudated their property to the *milites*, or knights. In this system, the relationship indicated by the title was usually sealed with an oath that had both personal and religious connotations.

The Roman Catholic church also developed a broad roster of titles, many with deep roots in imperial Rome. As a hierarchical organization with territorial dispersion, especially in the face of political disarray and outright anarchy, the church also needed as clear a chain of command and duties as possible. Secular titles adopted by the church included *episcopus* ("bishop"), *vicarius*, and "deacon"; the terms "pontifex" and "priest" derived from pagan and Jewish religious offices, respectively. The prefix "arch" before "bishop," "priest," or "deacon" indicated a higher status within the ecclesiastical rank, and generally greater administrative responsibility. The title "cardinal" is really an adjective that denotes a higher rank of bishop, priest, or deacon. The cardinals who were organized into the college of cardinals in the eleventh century were generally cardinal bishops, appointed as such by the popes. The title "pope" (*papa*), for the bishop of Rome, and the use of "father" for a priest evolved from popular usage; and "brother" (*frater*, or *fra*), attached to monastic or later mendicant religious, also evolved over time within the orders. Administrative titles within religious orders, such as "general" and "prior," derived from secular usage.

The revival of urban life and of Roman law in the eleventh century created new opportunities for creating and bestowing titles. Imperial authority to bestow offices and titles had, generally speaking, devolved by usurpation or purchase to civic governments. Bishops in cities often had the political authority of secular counts ("comital" authority), and in 1183 these gained the power from the emperor to invest imperial civic chief executives with the Latin title *consul*. With the eventual triumph of the communal movements in much of northern Italy, this power and title were divorced completely from imperial, feudal, or ecclesiastical authority. Other civic and guild offices with their attendant titles emerged from necessity and the template of the civil law code. A further important step in the development of civic identity and autonomy was the power to create notaries, who could then adopt the title *ser*, and knights (*milites*), who could then use the title *messer*, along with lawyers and properly feudal lords.

Accompanying the revival of towns was the development of the university system. Vital to its identity as a *societas* or *universitas*—a self-regulating association (in this case, of masters and students)—was the right to bestow universally recognized academic degrees and licenses that gave the holders the right to use certain titles (*magister*, *dottore*, *messer*) and to exercise certain functions. This right was contained in its institutional charter, granted by a sovereign authority such as the church, king, or emperor.

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Tivoli

Tivoli, 18 miles (about 29 kilometers) east-northeast of Rome, is perched on a spur of the western slopes of the Sabine hills looking out over the Lazio plain. In its deep gorge, the Aniene River curves around the eastern and northern sides of the town, providing both protection and a natural boundary. During ancient times, Tivoli's beauty attracted people who were seeking to retreat from Rome. Remains of numerous ancient buildings dot the surrounding landscape and are incorporated into the medieval and modern buildings. The most famous, the villa of the emperor Hadrian, was built between A.D. 121 and 137 on the site of an older villa.

The town's fortunes were tied to those of Rome during the struggles against the Germanic peoples; Byzantine officials in Ravenna, at the time of the Lombard invasions, recognized Tivoli to be within the jurisdiction of the *ducato Romano*. The papacy, meanwhile, provided an alternative locus of stability and organization; beginning in this period, many monasteries were founded in and near Tivoli, including Santa Maria Maggiore in the fifth century. In the contest for local control and dominance between the papacy, represented by the bishop quartered at the sixth-century *duomo* of San Lorenzo, and the *ducato*, Tivoli pursued its independence. The struggles between the Guelfs and Ghibellines offered it a chance to appeal, successfully in 1155, to the Holy Roman emperor for autonomy. This phase of Tivoli's history is attested to by medieval tower houses, the remains of the walls, and the organization of the town into quarters. When the authority of the Holy Roman emperors in the region declined at the end of the Middle Ages, Tivoli turned to the papacy as its protector.

In the following centuries, Tivoli once more attracted those seeking respite from Rome. The most notable was Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este of Ferrara, who became governor of Tivoli in 1549 and then commissioned the grandiose building and gardens of the Villa d'Este.

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Todi

Todi—in Umbria in central Italy—dates at least as far back as the late Roman empire, when it existed as a small community on the Via Veietana, a branch of the Via Cassia. In the fifth century, Todi was already Christian, and—owing to its relative isolation, brought on by the destruction of surrounding communities by Alaric and his hordes—it looked to its bishop as the central authority. The power of the bishop of Todi remained considerable even as Odovacar (Odoacer) brought

Rome to its knees. Under Theodoric's Gothic regime of the late fifth century and the early sixth century, Todi was permitted to retain Roman policy and jurisdiction over civil and administrative matters while the Goths concerned themselves with military issues. As a result, the church was generally free to prosper, as is attested to by the great number of churches established during this period, and the attendant power of the bishop grew even more. The prestige of Todian bishops was further augmented by a sixth-century bishop and saint, Fortunatus (whose death is variously recorded as having taken place in 541, 542, or 565). Many of Fortunatus's miracles, recorded by Gregory the Great, involve distinctly secular issues reflecting the bishop's integral role in Todian political affairs. The Byzantines' victory over the Goths in 553, however, all but eradicated the growing security of the church, and in particular the security of the bishop of Todi. Todi was situated at the heart of much of the fighting, and it also witnessed and experienced much of the famine and pestilence that devastated Italy in the years following the Goths' retreat.

The situation was hardly improved by Alboin and the Lombards' invasion of Italy in 568, for in Todi there was initially no decisive Lombard victory, Todi was seized by Faroaldo c. 579 and switched hands several times before coming under Lombard rule. Probably owing to the instability caused by the discontinuity of administration, not to mention the strife of war, little is heard of Todi during the next century. Yet even in this period, Todi's continued religious focus and its ties to the papacy—in particular the election of Saint Martin, a native of Todi, as Pope Martin I in 649—are documented. This connection was made explicit in the eighth century, when the papacy claimed *plenitudo potestatis* over Todi.

In 760, under the Lombard king Desiderius, the boundaries of the diocese were formalized to coincide with those of the *contado*, again emphasizing the coincidence of ecclesiastical and secular power. The victory of the Franks in 774 and the crowning of Charlemagne as Holy Roman emperor in 800 removed any remaining impediments to the primacy of the popes in Todi, which nominally formed part of the duchy of Rome until the late ninth century. However, Todi, like so many other cities in this period of decentralized power, was essentially independent, and the most notable events under Frankish

administration are rather local—the appointments of various bishops and the founding of a number of monasteries.

In Todi, as in many other Italian cities, the decline in the Carolingian dynasty toward the end of the ninth century brought about the emergence of the great families that would influence civic affairs for several centuries. In Todi, the emergence of the Atti is evidenced by the appointment of one Atto or Attone as bishop in the tenth century. Similarly, the Arnolfi, who would oppose Pope Alexander in 1063, start to appear in the documents around this time. It is reasonably certain that in the mid-eleventh century Todi was under the dominion of Goffredo, the stepfather of Matilda of Canossa. Notwithstanding the position of the Arnolfi, there is no archival evidence suggesting that when Matilda inherited power in 1076, Todi was not faithful to her and her pro-papal policy. In the next centuries, however, these two opposing positions would lead to armed conflict.

The twelfth century saw a significant evolution in the government of Todi. There is some dispute as to the source of its status as a *comune*, but whether the grant was from Emperor Otto I, Emperor Otto III, or Pope Sylvester II, the documents clearly indicate that Todi was a *comune* by the late twelfth century. In 1207, Todi joined several other *comuni* and feudal lords in reconfirming their allegiance to the papacy, but at the same time Todi maintained its right to hear appeals from its own judges without reference to the papal curia. Furthermore, in Todi it was the *podestà* (city magistrate) who presided at heresy trials as defender of the citizens—a privilege that even Venice did not gain until 1289. Occasionally the pope intervened in the life of the commune to mediate between local opposing groups; but more often than not, such mediation was done internally or with the help of another *comune*.

As a *comune*, Todi took a positive and active role in conforming the intimate details of family, social, and economic life to the requirements of community development. Its communal status brought about a new prosperity; and in the thirteenth century Todi sought to expand its control of the surrounding territory. The result was a half century of intercommunal wars between Todi and its neighbors Orvieto, Perugia, Spoleto, and Narni. When Frederick II Hohenstaufen defeated the Lombard communities at Cortenuova in 1237 and then turned to subdue Tuscany and the papal states, Todi readily allied itself with

Perugia, *Foligno*, Gubbio, and Spoleto against this threat. Nevertheless, in the same year Todi tried—though unsuccessfully—to take from Orvieto the territory of Lugnano. That defeat, along with growing power of the Hohenstaufen, led the Todian Ghibellines, the supporters of the emperor, to join in revolt with noblemen of a neighboring ally, Amelia. Todi defeated them, though, at Ponte del Paglia in 1238.

In 1241, after gaining entry to Spoleto and Foligno, mostly through diplomacy, Frederick took Amelia by knocking down the Roman walls, although he did not succeed in taking Narni, Perugia, or Todi. However, when Frederick's opponent, Pope Gregory IX, died in 1241, Todi was led to swear fealty to the emperor. That oath notwithstanding, Todi built a second set of walls in 1244 enclosing the Borgo Nuovo ("new town"), making the town virtually impregnable; and when Frederick left in 1246, the danger of imperial rule passed. By 1256, Todi had succeeded in securing control of the two nearest *comuni* to the south—Amelia and San Gemini—and forcing them to accept Todians as *podesta*. Still, further attempts at expansion proved fruitless.

Though Todi was reasonably well-regulated as a *comune*, it still experienced interfamily disputes among the previously independent feudal lords, who had now moved into the city. Between 1257 and 1269, increasing violence attributed to the traditional vendetta made it more and more difficult for the two consuls, elected by the great council to work in conjunction with the bishop, to keep the peace. To fulfill this task, the great council (consisting of 300 members of the leading families) looked more and more to the *podestà*, who was usually brought in from another community and was therefore, in theory, impartial. With the office came three judges; seven notaries, of whom two served each judge and one was the town recorder; and a number of household retainers. All of them stayed in the *palazzo del comune*. Though the *podestà* was more effective in quelling civic strife, it was impossible to ease the growing tension between the traditionally pro-papal Guelfs and the traditionally pro-empire Ghibellines, which came about when the post-Carolingian emperors found themselves at odds with the church. In Todi, perhaps not surprisingly, the Ghibellines for the most part came from the rural nobility and the Guelfs came from the bourgeoisie. The Ghibellines' victory at Montaperti in 1260 led to a Ghibelline revival; thereafter Todi, which was predominantly Guelf,

introduced a Guelf institution, the office of the *capitano del popol*, and the *anziani*, a council of leading guild members—but neither gained a strong foothold. The *podestà* remained the central authority, although the presumed impartiality of the office seems to have given way to factional allegiance. The office of *podestà* alternated from year to year between Guelfs and Ghibellines, and factional skirmishes erupted throughout the countryside. In 1269, a virtual civil war broke out; as a result, the great council brought in a Guelf *podestà* and passed a series of laws prohibiting bearing arms and holding meetings in churches. A riot broke out nonetheless, after which a Ghibelline *podestà* was put in place. In 1270, the term of office of *podestà* was reduced to six months. The office of *podestà* continued to switch back and forth, and in 1274 two *podestas* were elected, one from each party. But the situation did not improve. In 1275, a law was passed requiring that the *podestà* be elected by an even number from both sides, with the deciding vote going to the bishop if necessary.

Notwithstanding domestic and external strife, Todi achieved the peak of its power in the last half of the thirteenth century. In 1294, a survey conducted for the purpose of taxation shows the *contado* (countryside) extending effectively to Civitella on the west, Collepepe on the north, Castelvecchio on the east, and Castelfranco on the south. Although nominally Guelf (propapal), Todi operated effectively independent of both empire and papacy. Gradually, the *comune* gained sufficient power and prestige so that by the end of the thirteenth century Todi was dealing with powerful nobles such as the counts of Marsciano through negotiations rather than war. Similarly, in 1291 Todi simply bought the fortress of the counts of Montemarte, finally resolving the issues between it and Orvieto. Such newfound skills were essential to maintaining effective independence from papal control—independence that required continual negotiation.

Culturally, thirteenth-century Todi coincided with the poetic tradition of the so-called *siculo-toscani*, and the educated people of Todi would have been familiar with the *stilnovisti* and the courtly poetry of the *scuola Siciliana*. More characteristic of Todi of this period, however, is the extreme spiritualism that swept Umbria in the years after the death of Saint Francis of Assisi in 1226. Following the example of Francis's *Laudes creaturarum* and his invitation to his followers to

become *joculatores Domini*, and spurred on by a prophesy that the year 1260 would bring the age of the Holy Spirit of the Fifth Gospel, laymen throughout Umbria formed groups that specialized in singing poetry of praise known as *laude*. This movement is reflected in the work of Todi's most famous poet, Jacopone da Todi (b. 1236).

Jacopone was a lawyer who had studied at Bologna and was apparently reasonably well off. After his wife died in a tragic accident in the 1260s, Jacopone converted to a life of poverty and charity, living as a mendicant preacher and writing *laude*. In July 1294, the hermit Pier da Morrone was elected to the papacy as Celestine V; he soon abdicated, and Cardinal Benedetto Caetani, who had been educated in Todi, became Pope Boniface VIII. Jacopone, and many other Spiritual Franciscans, struggled to have Boniface removed. Although Celestine died in 1296, this effort continued. On 10 May 1297, Jacopone, along with many other Spirituals and the Colonna cardinals, signed the *Manifesto di Longhezza*, which challenged Boniface's election and called for a general Vatican council. In September 1298, Boniface captured Jacopone and imprisoned him for life in an underground cell in a monastery in Todi. Much of Jacopone's writing, including many of his *laude*, can be traced to the period of his imprisonment.

Boniface died in 1303—greatly to the detriment of Todi. In the absence of the papal protection that had long helped the city maintain its prosperity, internal familial and political discord, along with mounting debts, plunged the *comune* into decadence. In 1306, further conflict with Perugia erupted. The series of wars that followed in the fourteenth century resulted in Perugia's preeminence and essentially precluded any chance of economic or political recovery for Todi. Although the name of the *podesta* elected in 1300 is recorded, the archives in Todi stop shortly thereafter.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Italian Literature: Religious; Italian Poetry: Lyric; Jacopone da Todi; Perugia

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Tolls

See Revenues

Tolomei Family

The Tolomei were an ancient house, in legend descended from the Egyptian Ptolemies but more plausibly traceable to the Carolingian line, although they are documented only from the first half of the twelfth century. They were fundamentally bankers, and during the mid-twelfth century they were one of Siena's five dominant families (the others were the Malavolti, Piccolomini, Saiimbeni, and Saracini). The Tolomei owned tower-houses and palaces in a square which still bears their name and where the thirteenth-century Palazzo Tolomei is a bank to this day. Opposite is the church of San Cristoforo, of which the Tolomei were the patrons; the council of the republic held meetings there before the Palazzo Pubblico was built. The family also had lordships in the Sienese Maremma. Since virtually all the wealth of the Tolomei was invested in France, they were bound to maintain the Guelf alliance.

The family was exiled in 1262–1263 as a consequence of the anti-magnate policy of the *comune* but was readmitted on payment of a large ransom. When the peace of Cardinal Latino (1280) ended hostilities between the Guelfs and Ghibellines, the Tolomei made their own peace with the Salvani. During the Italian campaign of Henry VII of Luxembourg, they and other Guelf families of Siena aligned themselves with the Florentines in opposition to him. A centuries-old

feud with the Salimbeni flared up anew in 1314 and kept the whole city in an uproar between 1320 and 1326, when Carlo of Calabria, Siena's *signore*, imposed peace (as it turned out, only temporarily) on the rival houses. The Tolomei bank was one of many that collapsed in the early fourteenth century, though it recovered and was still prominent in the sixteenth century.

Various family members distinguished themselves in politics, the law, and letters. Meo de' Tolomei (fl. 1279–1310) was a comic poet whose work resembles that of Cecco Angiolieri. The blessed Bernardo (Giovanni) de' Tolomei, founder of the Olivetans (1319), died in 1348 caring for fellow citizens afflicted by the plague.

See also **Meo dei Tolomei; Siena**

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Tomaso Da Modena

The painter Tomaso da Modena (c. March 1325 or May 1326-c. July 1379) is first mentioned in a Modenese archival document of March 1339. From then until February 1346, his name appears regularly in Modenese documents. A triptych in the Galleria Estense at Modena depicting the *Madonna and Child*, the *Descent into Limbo*, and four saints bears Tomaso's signature and a damaged, repainted date that

may read 1345; it is often regarded as his earliest surviving work. He considered himself a resident of Treviso when he returned briefly to Modena in January 1349 to dispute an estate, and by June he was back in Treviso. His presence in Treviso is documented at close intervals until December 1351, and again in March 1354. The celebrated frescoes in the chapterhouse of San Nicolò in Treviso, depicting forty distinguished Dominicans seated in cells engaged in scholarship, are signed and dated 1352. In the remaining documents, Tomaso is back in Modena: in July 1358, in January 1359, and from June 1366 to March 1368. Then, after a long interval, a Modenese document of July 1379 indicates his recent death.

Two signed works by Tomaso are in the castle at Karlštejn near Prague, which was built for the Holy Roman emperor Charles IV. One of these is a damaged diptych of the *Madonna and Child* and the *Man of Sorrows*, generally dated c. March 1357, when the main portion of the castle was completed. The second work is a triptych of the *Madonna and Child* and two saints: Wenceslas and evidently George (not Palmatius, as was previously thought). This work is in the Holy Cross chapel in the "great tower," which was finished late and consecrated in February 1365. The chapel was apparently decorated by April 1367 by a Bohemian painter, Master Theodoric. Tomaso's triptych was cut down to fit Theodoric's scheme, and its background is entirely modern. It is not known whether it was painted somewhat earlier for another place in the castle and then reused, or whether it was done for the Holy Cross chapel and mutilated after its arrival from Italy, to conform to a new program. In either case, though, there is no evidence that Tomaso visited Bohemia.

The most important of the unsigned and undocumented works that may be attributed to Tomaso are as follows: a pier fresco of saints Jerome, John the Baptist, Agnes, and Romuald, and two donors, in San Nicolò in Treviso, probably painted soon after the chapterhouse; damaged frescoes, mostly from the legend of Saint Ursula, detached from the church of Santa Margherita in Treviso and now in the civic museum, done during his extended stay in that city or during an unrecorded visit shortly after his return to Modena; and the central panel of a triptych, featuring the Last Supper and three Madonnas seen in different settings—reading, nursing, and knitting—in the Pinacoteca

at Bologna, probably painted in the middle to late 1350s. There is general agreement on these attributions, though not on the attribution of the badly damaged frescoes in the Gonzaga chapel in San Francesco, Mantua. In the Gonzaga chapel, Tomaso probably painted the *Life of Saint Louis of Toulouse* and other scenes on the south wall and was not involved in the scenes of Christ on the remaining walls. These scenes of Christ may be attributed to Serafino Serafini, whose arrival in Mantua from Ferrara is promised in a letter of July 1375; the letter seems to provide an approximate date for Tomaso's frescoes as well as Serafino's.

Tomaso probably received his training from his father, who died in 1343 and by whom no paintings are known. At that time Modena was, artistically, provincial, but nearby Bologna had a major painter, Vitale. As early as the Modena triptych (possibly 1345), Tomaso's work shows the influence of Vitale; by this time, Tomaso was apparently an independent painter in Modena. The other major influences on Tomaso were the school of Rimini and the Sienese, particularly Simone Martini. Although Vitale was also influenced by these sources, his art is far more expressionistic, whereas Tomaso's is more realistic. Tomaso's realism is more developed in his frescoes than in his panels. To take the best-known example, the features of the Dominicans in the chapterhouse at Treviso are highly individualized, even by northern Italian standards (which are characterized by less generalization and less idealization than would be found in Tuscany); and the scholarly paraphernalia are minutely observed. No Italian artist of his time comes as close to the art of the northern European Renaissance.

Tomaso influenced Bohemian painting during the last four decades of the fourteenth century. In Italy, his influence was confined largely to his native Modena and to Treviso, where it was superseded around the time of his death by that of Altichiero.

See also Altichiero da Zevio; Rimini, School of, Vitale da Bologna

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Tommaso Di Sasso Da Messina

The identity of the poet Tommaso di Sasso da Messina (thirteenth century) is unknown; however, his origin in Messina may be confirmed by documentary evidence for the name Sasso in that city. Scandone (1904) found a Thomas Sasus in a list of harbor officials in Messina and concluded that Thomas could very well have been the poet, although Bertoni (1947) considered this identification highly unlikely and Torraca (1902) had uncovered no traces. Tommaso di Sasso's poetic legacy consists of two *canzoni*—*D'amorosopaese* and *L'amoroso vedere*—which are attributed to him by two authoritative codices: Vatican Lat. 3793 and Laurentian Redi 9. Both *canzoni* show Tommaso to be strongly influenced by the Notaro, Giacomo da Lentini.

See also Giacomo da Lentini; Scuola Poetica Siciliana

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Torcello

Torcello is an island in the Venetian lagoons north of Murano and of Venice itself, and west of Burano. The island takes its name (according to one explanation) from a small lookout tower that was supposedly there in very early times. According to tradition, Torcello was founded as a settlement in 452 by the population of Altinum on the mainland as they fled from Attila's Huns. In fact, some settlements must go back to the earlier Roman era itself, when there were Roman villas (some of them praised by the poet Martial) on the nearby shore. The first definitive evidence of settlement in Torcello—and, indeed, the first epigraphic document of settlement in the entire lagoon area—is an inscription dated to 639, during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, recording the building in that year of its cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The settlers were, again, from Altinum; at this time, they were being pressed by the Lombards. Supposedly they brought with them for reinterment the relics of their patron saint, Heliodorus, Altinum's first bishop. They also brought building materials and artistic *spolia* from Altinum, to be reused in their new constructions.

Torcello became a focus of steady population transfer from the mainland into the lagoon area during the eighth and ninth centuries, at a time when the Rivo Alto (Rialto) area—which was eventually to become the Venice we know—had not developed very much. Indeed, as Torcello emerged it continued to rival Venice. Torcello prospered as an active center of maritime trade and in salt production, and it developed a particularly strong woolen industry. At its peak, it was said to have a population of about 20,000, its own episcopal seat, and administrative jurisdiction over surrounding islands. One of the two Venetian merchants who were said to have stolen the relics of Saint Mark from Alexandria was a Torcellan, and local lore insists that Mark's remains were briefly housed on Torcello—where a church of Saint Mark can still be traced—before being transferred to the first San Marco in Venice itself. A tenth-century Byzantine source singles out Torcello as a great trading center within the empire.

By the eleventh century, as Rialto-Venice became more clearly defined, more central, and more self-important, Torcello began a slow

decline. As late as 1247 Torcello had its own *podestà* with a grand council and a lesser council, and in 1464 it was still recognized as a *civitas*; but during the late medieval period its prosperity and population were diminishing. By the fourteenth century, its neglected buildings had become a quarry for decorative materials. Its woolen industry decayed from the fourteenth century on; and during the same period the silting up of its main channel, the Sile, restricted its access to the sea and worsened the problem of malaria. The deterioration of Torcello was signaled by its steady degradation to the status of a local village. In 1689, its bishopric was transferred to Murano; by 1810, its remaining religious institutions were dismantled; and in 1818, it was placed directly under the patriarchate of Venice. The population had been gradually abandoning the island: when the Venetian republic fell in 1797, Torcello had barely 300 inhabitants. The island soon became a collection of swampy gardens and farm fields with few residences. A modest revival was eventually generated, but only for present-day tourist facilities.

Though the remains of a few medieval buildings have been found on the island, the glory of Torcello, and its attraction, is still its small complex of surviving monuments at what was once its civic center. Facing its fourteenth-century municipal buildings (now used as a museum for fragments of the island's lost structures) are two remarkable churches. The smaller of the two is Santa Fosca, built in the eleventh century, perhaps replacing a seventh-century church, intended as a *martyrium* to contain the relics of an early Christian martyr that were transferred to the island. The church is in the form of a Greek cross with short arms within an octagon, surmounted by a circular drum that is topped by a conical wooden roof. No decoration survives in the heavily restored interior, but the bare brickwork presents an elegant picture of structural design; the apse exterior also displays some handsome brickwork patterns.

The most striking monument, however, is the adjacent cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, whose eleventh-century campanile can be seen like a beacon from many points around the upper lagoons. This cathedral—replacing the one that had first been built in 639 and had been expanded in 824—was rebuilt in its present form beginning in 1008, when Bishop Orso Orseolo, son of the Venetian doge Pietro

Orseolo II, arrived in Torcello. Before its plain facade and a fourteenth- and fifteenth-century portico are the rediscovered foundations of the original seventh-century baptistery. On the outside of the nave may be seen hinged stone slabs that are the shutters of the high clerestory windows, as installed under Orso. The church is laid out on a basilican plan, with a high wooden ceiling, and still preserves Orso's original *opus alexandrinum* marble pavement largely intact. The eleventh-century choir screen and the thirteenth-century ambo (pulpit enclosure) to its left were created out of sculptural fragments from the earlier church—in the case of the ambo, some of them were brutally trimmed for this reuse. The panels mounted over the screen depict the Virgin and apostles; they are by a fifteenth-century Venetian painter. The remounted altar table is set over a Roman sarcophagus supposedly containing the remains of Saint Heliodorus.



Cathedral and Santa Fosca, Torcello. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

In the central apse conch, over the bishop's throne, is one of the church's glorious mosaics, a magnificent representation of the Virgin and Child that is apparently by Byzantine artists, possibly working c. 1185. It is of a Byzantine type called *hodegetria* ("indicator of the way"): that is, with her right hand the Virgin indicates the child, who is on her left arm. Outside the apse arch above her are mosaics (perhaps thirteenth-century) of the two figures of the Annunciation; below her is

a mosaic band (perhaps eleventh-century) representing the twelve apostles. Below that, on the right, the wall preserves fragments of earlier fresco decoration, possibly by Byzantine artists of the late tenth or early eleventh century. Mounted in the wall farther to the left is the restored inscription of 639. In the side chapel to the right of the apse, the conch contains a smaller but also impressive mosaic representation of Christ enthroned between two archangels, in Byzantine style (possibly from the twelfth or thirteenth century), above four saints (possibly from the ninth to twelfth centuries). In the vaulting above, four angels hold the medallion of the mystic lamb (perhaps from the eleventh century), in a style reminiscent of the mosaics of Ravenna.

The most spectacular mosaic in the cathedral, a Last Judgment, occupies the entire interior west wall. The episodes are displayed in a series of descending bands: framed by two archangels, *Christ* rises from the grave in a characteristically Byzantine *anastasis* (resurrection) scene; the enthroned Christ, flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist in a Byzantine *deisis* scene, presides between two rows of the apostles; angels prepare the throne of judgment (the Byzantine *etoimasia*), before which Adam and Eve kneel, while on either side trumpeting angels summon the dead from land and sea; and an angel and a demon contest the weighing of a soul, while the blessed elect look on in two tiers from one side and on the other side angels herd the damned into hell. In between, in a lunette over the door to the earlier Baptistry, a Byzantine Virgin is shown in prayer (*orans*). This great composition is generally dated to the twelfth century, with some revisions in the thirteenth, plus subsequent restorations.

It should be stressed that all the datings for the mosaics in this church involve conjecture and are disputed, and a definitive investigation has yet to be completed. Nevertheless, these mosaics are magnificent works of art and are also important testimony to the artistic links between Italy and Byzantium in the central Middle Ages. Their study is closely linked to understanding the earlier phases of the mosaic decoration of San Marco in Venice.

See also Lombards; Ravenna; Venice

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Torriti, Jacopo

Jacopo Torriti (fl. c. 1270—c. 1300) was a Roman mosaicist and painter; his reputation today rests principally on two great apsidal mosaics, both signed, in the Roman basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore (c. 1295) and San Giovanni in Laterano (1291; some sources give 1290 and 1292 as alternative dates). The status of the patron, Pope Nicholas IV (r. 1288-1292), and the highly prominent and prestigious location of the surviving projects confirm that Torriti ranked among the most admired artists of Rome in the late *Duecento*. To judge from the surviving work and from the known artistic commissions of the period, Torriti, perhaps with technical assistance from Byzantine craftsmen, revived in Rome the tradition of mosaic decoration on a monumental scale.

Forriti's mosaic at the Lateran—San Giovanni in Laterano—was

entirely reworked in the late nineteenth century and formed an essential part of a wider program of restoration of this venerated building founded in the Constantinian era. The iconography includes a hovering bust of Christ the redeemer; the cross, from which flow the four rivers of paradise; and a wealth of animal life. All this suggests that Torriti was deeply impressed by early Christian models, and he may have been instructed simply to copy the preexisting fourth-century mosaic design. The latter proposal seems all the more plausible in light of contemporary papal policy: Nicholas IV, like Nicholas III before him, attempted throughout his reign to recover something of the associations of power and splendor of early Christian Rome by redecorating the surviving Constantinian basilicas or by commissioning new works of art in the spirit of the fourth- and fifth century Roman church. However, the inclusion of the principal saints of the Franciscan order—Francis and Anthony of Padua—as well as the Franciscan Pope Nicholas IV would have added a contemporary note to what was ostensibly an early Christian figurative program.

The better-preserved mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, which were executed shortly after those of the Lateran, testify to Torriti's consummate skill in the technique of mosaic. The central focus of the design, which rises above a band comprising five *Episodes from the Life of the Virgin*, is a monumental *Coronation of the Virgin* (a recently introduced iconographic type), at the side of which are standing saints, including, once again, Francis and Anthony of Padua; a kneeling Pope Nicholas IV; Cardinal Colonna; and a choir of angels. Much of the upper half of the apse shell is filled with vigorously spiraling scrolls of acanthus that are inhabited by birds. These motifs, together with the river landscape below, are imbued with the spirit of late antique naturalism, and Torriti's design undoubtedly echoes the preexisting fifth-century mosaic scheme, which, according to a lost inscription, Nicholas IV had replaced.

Aspects of the style and iconography of the supporting Marian narratives are closely indebted to rather conservative Byzantine formulas, but the giant Virgin and Christ at the heart of the composition are less so. In these figures, there is a greater sense that the properties of light have been used to define form and texture: from the simple but effective modeling of the faces to the gentle chiaroscuro of

the pliant fabric that falls in voluminous folds over the body of the Virgin, it is evident that both the descriptive and the expressive qualities of light have been exploited. Perhaps as a response to the work of Arnolfo di Cambio and Pietro Cavallini, who were both active in Rome at this time, Torriti's queen of heaven is endowed with a convincing sense of sculptural form. Allied to light is Torriti's play with color: from the subtle shades of ivory and rose of the flesh tones to the dazzling effects of a gold background and the sumptuous contrasts of the red and blue of fabric, Torriti's work offers the highest quality of visual excitement.



Jacopo Torriti (fl. c. 1270-1300), apse mosaic (nineteenth-century restoration).
San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Although Torriti signed the Lateran mosaic with, the title *pictor* (painter), no securely documented work by him in the medium of painting survives. On the basis of stylistic similarities with the signed mosaics, however, it has been proposed that he and painters in his direct circle were responsible for a number of frescoed scenes from the Old and New Testaments in the upper church of San Francesco in Assisi (c. 1280s-1290s). Given that Torriti's principal Roman patron, Nicholas IV, had been minister general of the Franciscans and, as the first Franciscan pope, had promoted the shrine of Saint Francis, the proposal

that Torriti might have been involved in the decoration of the upper church is very convincing. Another important artistic project with which Torriti was connected was a mosaic (now destroyed) for the tomb of Pope Boniface VIII (1296).

The prestige of his papal commissions notwithstanding, Torriti is today overshadowed by Cavallini and Arnolfo, who also received prominent projects in the flourishing artistic world of late *Duecento* Rome. Torriti's complex relationship with the art of Byzantium, as well as the survival of signed work in the more conservative medium of mosaic, may partly explain this widespread neglect.

See also Arnolfo di Cambio; Cavallini, Pietro; Mosaic

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Totila

Totila (d. 552, r. 541-552) is considered the second greatest Ostrogothic king, after Theodoric. Totila led his people during their most severe trials, waging war first against Belisarius and then against Narses. After the capture of Witigis in 540, those representing what survived of Gothic independence rallied to Totila rather than accept the punitive taxation of the eastern Roman victors. Ultimately, Totila was able to reassert the Ostrogoths' control over most of Italy, and he attempted to bring both Italians and Goths under his banner; however, he remained primarily an Ostrogothic ruler.



Totila. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle).

Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. I45v.

There was little respite from the warfare of Totila's reign and its attendant ills. The strains of fighting were combined with pestilence as the first widespread outbreak of bubonic plague struck. Totila besieged and took Rome twice, and although he steadfastly forbade its destruction, this was not true of numerous other towns that were taken and retaken during the protracted struggle. Both sides, desperate for recruits, freed slaves and encouraged desertion among the enemy forces. At one point, Totila manned a fleet to cut Rome off from Sicilian grain. As he pressed the countryside to support his men, the tax system collapsed. Dead bodies could be seen everywhere, and many hostages were taken. However, in 549 Totila gave the last games ever held in the Roman Circus; his coins continued to portray, and his policies continued to reflect, Theodoric's central theme of concord; and he tried to continue regular civilian government.

Totila died fighting in the front ranks at the battle of Teginae (Busta Gallorum) in 552.

See also **Belisarius; Gothic Wars; Narses; Ostrogoths; Rome; Teginae, Battle of; Theodoric; Witigis**

THOMAS S. BURNS

Traini, Francesco

The painter and illuminator Francesco Traini (Francesco di Traino, fl. 1321 -1345) is generally considered the most important Pisan artist of the second quarter of the *Trecento*, when Pisa was under the rule of Francesco Novello della Gherardesca. Traini's career is still a focus of debate among scholars, but all would agree that he was one of the most original painters in fourteenth-century Italy. Traini's only surviving signed work is an altarpiece depicting Saint Dominic between eight scenes from his life (1344–1345; Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo). Since the nineteenth century, this altarpiece has been a valuable point of reference in attempts to identify a larger body of Traini's work.

Documented Life and Career: 1321-1345

Nothing is known about Traini's formative years; but to judge from his securely identifiable work, he was indebted to Sienese artistic traditions, especially the art of Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi, who were both active in Pisa in the early fourteenth century. This debt is evident in Traini's expressive treatment of line, his use of richly wrought surface textures, and his interest in spirited narrative detail. In addition, the Giottesque traditions of Florentine painting in general and the San Torpe Master in particular have been identified as possible sources for the more forcefully expressive elements in Traini's recognized oeuvre. Traini must already have been established as an independent painter with a certain reputation c. 1321, for in July and August 1322 it is recorded that he was paid for having decorated two important rooms in the Palazzo degli Anziani in Pisa. His success during the following decade is indicated by the fact that in December 1337 he committed himself to taking on an apprentice (by the name of Giovanni) for a period of three years. Traini is next recorded in December 1340 and February 1341, when he was involved in a commission to paint a banner for the confraternity of the Laudi of the cathedral in Pisa. In 1344 and 1345, Traini received payment for the signed Saint Dominic Altarpiece, which adorned an altar in the powerful Dominican church of Santa Caterina in Pisa. Albizzo delle Statere, a wealthy Pisan citizen who was active in public life, had allocated funds for its execution in his will of 1336; the status of this commission suggests that Traini's art was held in high regard by his contemporaries. Traini is not thought to have survived the black death in 1348.

Panel Paintings, Frescoes, and Illuminations: 1320s-1340s

The Saint Dominic Altarpiece is considered one of the greatest achievements of Pisan *Trecento* panel painting. It shows a monumental standing figure of the saint, whose solid form is crisply delineated and

defined by robust modeling. At each side of the saint are four episodes from his life, contained within quatrefoils; these are characterized by a remarkably fresh sense of narrative. For example, in one scene—*Saint Dominic Saving Pilgrims from a Shipwreck*—the painter was careful to evoke a variety of responses ranging from a desperate struggle for life by those in the water to the gratitude of the drenched figures who have been saved. Profound insights into psychological nuances and individual characteristics are evident throughout the altarpiece and are a hallmark of Traini's style generally, as can be seen in the *Saint Anne with Virgin and Child* (1330s; Princeton University Art Museum) and the *Archangel Michael* (c. 1330s; Lucca, Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi). The *Saint Anne with Virgin and Child* has a highly innovative design: an immobile and matronly Anne with a wizened face is juxtaposed with a suave, youthful Virgin who tenderly supports a lithe and nimble infant. The *Archangel Michael* depicts a heroic figure whose activated pose and spirited drapery convey a powerful sense of energy.

There are still differences of opinion regarding the exact nature of Traini's activity as a fresco painter in the Camposanto of Pisa. Since 1974, when Bellosi attributed the *Triumph of Death* and stylistically similar frescoes to Bonamico Buffalmacco, some scholars have held that Traini's contribution was limited to the bold designs of the Crucifixion (1330s). Traini's career as an illuminator is less contentious, but it too is a subject of divergent critical opinions, which concern the role of collaborators or intervention by a shop. The quality of Traini's illuminations is perhaps best seen in Lucano Spinola of Genoa's copy of Dante's *Inferno* (c. 1330; Chantilly, Musée Condé), which manifests a remarkable sensitivity to glance, gesture, and the fall of drapery.

The legacy of the marked expressive power of Traini's art can be discerned in the work of a number of important younger painters active in northwestern Tuscany. These painters include Francesco Neri of Volterra and Angelo Puccinelli of Lucca, both of whom used Traini's robust chiaroscuro, powerful volumes, and eccentric characterization of figures.

See also **Buffalmacco, Bonamico; Pisa**

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Trani

Trani is a small, attractive city on the Adriatic coast of Puglia between Barletta and Bari. According to ancient traditions, it was founded by a son of the Homeric hero Diomedes, Tirenus, from whom it took its ancient name, Tirenium. However, its actual origins are obscure, and Trani seems to have had little importance or identity through the Roman era, at least until the fourth or fifth century after Christ. In the ninth century, the much older and more important Roman city of Canosa di Puglia was sacked by the Saracens, and its bishopric was transferred to Trani, which also became a stronghold of the Lombard duchy of Benevento.

Trani first came into its own when it became part of the restored Byzantine rule in southern Italy. The Byzantines gave its ecclesiastical life a new, Greek flavor. Above all, taking advantage of the city's

natural harbor and its links with other Adriatic ports, the Byzantines connected Trani's merchants with the marts of Constantinople and the Levant. This gave Trani a new status in international trade from the eleventh century on. Its commercial life was so active that Trani produced, in 1063, the first maritime code created in medieval western Europe, the *Ordinamenta maris*; this was almost two centuries before the celebrated Amalfitan code.

Trani took on further importance when it was annexed by the conquering Normans, under whom it enjoyed liberal privileges and favor. It became a diverse and cosmopolitan community, with colonies of merchants from various other Italian maritime cities, and it cultivated good relations with Venice. Trani reached a peak of prosperity during the reign of Frederick II, who continued earlier patronage and built one of his strong fortresses for its defense. There was also traffic by pilgrims and crusaders; as a port of passage to the east, Trani competed with Brindisi and outstripped Bari. Among the military orders, the Templars made Trani one of their important bases.

With the coming of the Angevins' rule, however, Trani entered a decline. It was battered in the Angevin dynastic wars and was also caught up in a conflict with Venice (1308-1316). There was some revival of prosperity by the fifteenth century, but then Trani found itself caught between the conflicting claims of the Angevins and the Aragonese. The city tried to play a balancing act involving shifting alliances, amid mounting internal dissension and in the face of occasional sieges. Ultimately, it acknowledged Aragonese rule (1435). In 1496, Ferdinand of Aragon, who was deeply in debt, pawned Trani to the Venetians, who ruled it until 1509. When Spanish rule was restored, Trani continued to decay; and in general it did not revive until the twentieth century.

The *centro storico* of Trani, around its port, still preserves much of the city's medieval flavor. The noteworthy monuments include Frederick II's fortress (built in 1233-1249), to the northwest of the port; and, close to the harbor shore, the elegant little Romanesque church of the Ognissanti, which was built in the early twelfth century by the Templars and was a part of their headquarters in Trani until the order dissolved in 1312. Several other small churches received later refurbishing but still retain some of their earlier character. The oldest is

Sant'Andrea (eleventh or twelfth century), built on a Greek-cross plan in Byzantine style with a central cupola. San Francesco was originally built (in 1176-1184) by the Benedictines as a church of the Holy Trinity, but it was taken over in the sixteenth century by the Franciscans and accordingly rededicated. Outside the old city to the southwest is the eleventh-century Abbey of Santa Maria di Colonna, much revised and now a museum.

Trani's most commanding monument by far is its magnificent Romanesque cathedral, which is strikingly situated on the Adriatic shore between the fortress and the port and is one of the finest buildings in southern Italy. It was begun in 1097, on the foundations of a much earlier church dedicated to Saint Mary. The new cathedral was dedicated to Saint Nicholas the Pilgrim, a Greek holy man who fell ill at the earlier church, died nearby in 1094, was canonized two years later by Pope Urban II, and was quickly made the patron saint of Trani. Construction took place in several phases, especially during the twelfth century, and was not completed until the mid-thirteenth century. The exterior of the cathedral is decorated with fascinating sculptures, and an elaborate lion portal on the facade, atop an impressive staircase, frames finely decorated bronze doors (1175-1179) by Barisano da Trani. The interior is, in effect, two churches, one on top of the other. The upper church, the cathedral proper, has been restored to recover as much as possible of its original character. On the lower level directly below the high altar is a richly columned crypt, the original shrine to Saint Nicholas, who is entombed there, replacing the altar and presbytery of the older church. This gives access to the rest of the lower level, directly under the upper nave. Substantially, this part of the lower level is the nave of the earlier church of Santa Maria, which incorporated Roman architectural *spolia* and includes some frescoes from various periods. Below its own floor is the hypogeum of Saint Leucio, an early Christian bishop of Brindisi, whose relics were transferred there for safekeeping in the seventh century.



Cathedral, Trani. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

See also Angevin Dynasty; Bari; Benevento; Brindisi; Bronze Doors; Byzantine Empire; Canosa di Puglia; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Military Orders in Italy; Normans; Venice

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Transhumance

Transhumance, a form of stock management involving the seasonal movement of livestock to different pastures, was found in medieval Italy on various scales reflecting the social and economic status of the farmer concerned. Contrary to the deterministic views of geographers in the earlier twentieth century, transhumance has never been a result simply of the contrasts of relief characteristic of the Italian landscape.

Although transhumance is likely to be endemic on a small scale in almost any region of Italy, the large-scale movement that involved many thousands of beasts on journeys of hundreds of miles or kilometers did not develop until the later Middle Ages.

The evidence from the early Middle Ages suggests that a wide range of livestock would have been kept in most regions, with an emphasis on cattle (important as plow animals) rather than sheep or, in forested regions, swine. A certain amount of movement of all main types of livestock, including swine, took place, but it was on a relatively modest scale compatible with "normal" farming practices and thus aroused no contemporary comment. In principle, stock is moved off the home farm or out of the home territory only if demand (number of animals) exceeds resources (carrying capacity in the season of shortage). Thus transhumance may be considered a result of bad management (or greed) as often as it may be considered an example of a sophisticated partnership between those having more stock than land and those having more arable land needing manure than animals to provide that vital commodity. The few animals of an individual peasant or farmer in medieval Italy might never have had to be moved at all, being stall-fed (especially during mountain winters) on fodder gathered earlier in the year. Some form of transhumance, regulated by customary or written codes, would have taken place only where either single or aggregated flocks or herds resulted in larger numbers of animals than could be fed locally year-round. Even then, the shorter the distance involved, the better.

In intraregional transhumance, all movement is contained within a community's territorial boundaries, which often ran so as to include both upland and lowland. At Pistoia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, small flocks of 200 or 300 animals were pastured around the city in the winter, manuring the fallow land; and on the rich mountain meadows, less than 13 miles (20 kilometers) away, in summer. Larger flocks—4,000 head or more—had to be sent from the Tuscan Apennines to the coastal marshes of Lucca and Pisa, about 35 miles (50-60 kilometers) away, or even to the thinly populated Maremma of Siena, nearly 90 miles (more than 140 kilometers) distant. Such interregional transhumance involved complicated negotiations with the many communes through which the livestock traveled, as well as negotiations

over the leasing of grass on distant pastures. Farmers undertaking interregional transhumance in medieval Italy were owners of arable estates (lay or ecclesiastical) who were raising flocks and herds to provide the essential draft and manure; butchers investing in cattle (like those of twelfth-century Pisa who had to send their beasts into the Calci hills); or landowners who were in a position to respond to the growing market for wool by specializing in sheep raising, buying more land if necessary, or even promoting enclosure. Much transhumance was operated by each landowner independently. Thus during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, monasteries in the hills around Bergamo (Astino, Pontida, Vall'Alta) were sending stock about 20 to 30 miles (30-50 kilometers) away to spend the winter on the pastures of the Po lowland. But there are also records of "company" flocks, like a flock shared in the late thirteenth century between a family in Pisa (who had it for six months) and the family's partners in the Garfagnana (who had it for the other six months). In regions where the nobles began to specialize in sheep raising, such as Tuscany in the thirteenth century, their feudal prerogative to grant *pascuum* (the right to graze animals on estate land) brought them power as well as wealth. They devolved the obligation of protecting arable land from flocks onto lessees but still charged tolls on flocks moving across, resting on, or feeding from their land. Large-scale transhumance, then, needed financing: shepherds had to be equipped and paid, and money had to be advanced for the hire of distant pastures and for food and tolls.

Such transhumance also needed political stability, and it tended to flourish in a state whose policies were sympathetic to the pastoralists. These conditions were first met in medieval Italy in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Exploiting newly amalgamated territory, Frederick II published a constitution at Melfi in 1231 that not only reestablished something of the old Roman system of transhumance between the Abruzzi and southern Italy (notably Apulia and Basilicata) but also ensured that the state both controlled and benefited from it (through the *fida* or pasture tax). Even so, nothing equivalent to the Castilian *mesta* (1273–1836) existed in Italy before the fifteenth century. Then two major state institutions were created: the *dogana dei pascoli* ("customhouse of the pastures") of the papal states (in 1402), for the wintering of Abruzzi flocks and herds in the Roman Campagna and

elsewhere in Latium; and the *dogana delle pecore* in the Kingdom of Naples (in 1443), for transhumant pastoralism along the eastern side of the peninsula from the Abruzzi southward. The *dogana delle pecore* was strengthened by Alfonso of Aragon in 1447 along Iberian lines to become the central institution for the single most important economic activity of the Neapolitan state: the wool trade. Through this *dogana*, the state controlled a vast network of herding routes (*tratturi*)— the longest journeys covered nearly 500 miles (more than 800 kilometers). The state rented out the extensive winter pastures (*locazione*) of the Tavoliere, and it administered from its base in Foggia all land-use and legal and commercial business. In 1447, the Neapolitan *dogana* already controlled 1.7 million sheep; three centuries later there were 7.5 million.

See also **Agriculture**

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Translatio Imperii

The term *translatio imperii* refers to a medieval theory accounting for the transfer of the empire of the Romans to other peoples. The concept began to take shape in the patristic age, when ideas about the transfer of power from one people to another articulated by pre-Christian Roman historians were linked with biblical exegesis identifying the Roman empire as the last of the four universal empires referred to in the book of Daniel, destined to survive until the coming of the Antichrist. In succeeding centuries, various ideas were developed to explain the survival of that empire. By the twelfth century, these ideas were distilled into a theory according to which the coronation of Charlemagne in 800 had involved a *translatio* of the unified Roman empire from the Greek Byzantines to the Franks, from whom it passed to the Germans with the coronation of Otto I in 962. Although there were differing views concerning to whom this transfer could be attributed, by the time of Innocent III the papacy claimed to be the effective agency in the *translatio imperii* by virtue of the role played by Pope Leo III in the coronation of Charlemagne. The curial theory prevailed until it was gradually eroded in early modern times in the face of new views of history, political authority, and scriptural exegesis.

See also Charlemagne; Holy Roman Empire; Innocent III, Pope; Leo III, Pope; Otto III

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Trapani

Trapani, on the extreme western edge of Sicily, is situated amid salt pans at the foot of the great mountain (the medieval Monte San Giuliano) crowned by its neighboring city, Erice. In the Middle Ages, Trapani was a major port linking Sicily to North Africa and to Spain. It was the entry point for the Vandal invaders of Sicily in the fifth century, and it flourished under Muslim rule, as the geographer al-Idrisi attests. Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1160) mentions Trapani as an important source of coral. In the Norman period, Trapani began to function as one of the bases for Genoese and Pisan penetration of the island. The Pisans hoped that, under the terms of their treaties with Frederick I Barbarossa and Henry VI (1162, 1191), they would acquire possession of the city if the Germans captured the Sicilian kingdom; but after Henry VI became king of Sicily, he ignored any such claims. Trapani was a departure point for ships bound on Saint Louis's disastrous crusade against Tunis in 1282 (and also for Charles V's expedition in the sixteenth century); and it was off Trapani that much of the Franco-Sicilian fleet was wrecked on its return. The city supported Peter III of Aragon against Charles I of Anjou in the rebellion known as the Sicilian Vespers; and Peter landed at Trapani in August 1282 on his way to conquer the island, swearing in the city to observe the statutes of his new kingdom. The Angevins were defeated at sea off Trapani in 1284, and an Angevin siege of Trapani was repelled in 1315. As late as 1432, the Angevin claimant to the throne of Naples, Louis III of Anjou, tried to seize Trapani from his rival Alfonso V of Aragon, who, with his customary magnanimity, granted the city the title *invictissima* for resisting.

Trapani had an important Jewish community, living in an area still known as the Via della Giudecca. However, the Palazzo della Giudecca or Ciambra is in fact a sixteenth-century structure, possibly on the site of a former synagogue. About 2,000 Jews were still at Trapani in 1492,

and after the expulsion of the Jews from Sicily that year, many remained as converts (*neofitt*); these included members of the powerful Sala family. The original church of San Domenico stands on the site of a former synagogue, given to the friars by a convert c. 1221. However, the Dominicans moved in 1288 to the present much larger site; there, the tomb of Frederick III's son Prince Manfred was decorated with rich coverings supplied by the local Jews.

The Christian merchants of Trapani were also active; in 1406 there was correspondence between the city council (*università*) and the city of Candia in Crete. The Catalan-Aragonese invasion brought many Catalan merchants to Trapani. A Catalan consul was in the city by 1301 (possibly as early as 1285); by 1345, he had deputies in several coastal ports of great importance in the grain trade, such as Sciacca, Licata, and Marsala. The Catalans and Majorcans appear to have taken over the old "street of the Amalfitans," which became the "street of the loggia of the Catalans" (it is now Corso Vittorio Emanuele). A hospital for the Catalans was erected in 1303. In 1374, the town had 2,608 hearths (i.e., households). Royal privileges were showered on Trapani between 1312 and 1351; these enabled the city to benefit from tax reductions on exports, and exempted Sardinian goods imported by the Catalans from import charges, among other commercial advantages. The monarchy under Frederick III and his successors thus well understood the critical importance of the prosperity of Trapani to the overall well-being of the kingdom.

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Trento

Trento, or Trent, is a bishopric and town in northern Italy. Owing in part to its advantageous geographical position in the middle of the Adige valley (in Latin, *vallis Tridentina*), at the confluence of the Sugana and Judicaria valleys, the town was already serving as an important stronghold against invasions from the north in late antiquity. A bishop is known to have been in the Roman *municipium* Tridentum since c. 350. Christian missionary activity had largely been concluded by c. 400, finishing under Bishop Vigilius, the later patron of the bishopric. From the sixth century on, the diocese belonged to the metropolitan see of Aquileia. In 569, the town became the seat of the Lombard dukes, who at times found themselves in conflict with the neighboring Bavarians and Franks but at other times maintained friendly relationships with them. At the time of Bishop Agnellus, whose episcopacy between 577 and 591 is well documented, Abbot Secundus of Trento wrote a historical account, of which only a few excerpts have been preserved by Paul the Deacon. During the Carolingian period new town walls were erected, and the bed of the Adige River, which had been in the process of changing its course, was regulated. There is hardly any documentary evidence of the bishops from the seventh century to the ninth.

The Italian politics of the Ottonian rulers first enabled the bishops of Trento to achieve political importance, largely owing to the geographical position of the Adige valley. Probably, Emperor Henry II, in 1004, conferred the *contado* (countryside) of Trento on the church of Trento and conferred a donation of land in Carniola on the bishop of Bressanone, as a token of recognition for services rendered and in order to secure the route across the Brenner Pass—an important route for the German kings who would journey to Rome to be crowned emperor. In 1027, Conrad II extended the donation to the bishop of Trento to include the counties Vinschgau (Venosta valley) and Bolzano. In making these decrees, the German rulers paved the way for the creation of the prince-bishopric of Trento, endowing the bishops with the necessary authority, i.e., supreme power of jurisdiction in this area.

During the investiture controversy, the bishops mostly took the side

of the emperor. The idea of church reform was introduced by Bishop Altmann (r. 1124–1149), who founded the canonical convent at San Michele all'Adige (before 1145) and the Benedictine monastery of San Lorenzo at Trento (1146). Bishop Adelpret II (r. 1156–1172) was murdered by vassals of his church; he was later beatified. In 1182, Frederick I Barbarossa confirmed the rights of the bishop in relation to the town of Trento and thereby forbade the town to do such things as elect consuls, erect towers or fortifications, or establish weights and measures. All these rights were again conferred on the bishop or the bishopric, and no consul, no count, no *podestà* appointed by the emperor, and no rector would be allowed to contest the bishop's rights. The town was to be governed *sicut et aliae regni Teutonici civitates ordinatae*. Henry VI renewed these comprehensive rights of the bishop in his town of residence in 1191 and prohibited any sort of *coniuratio* or *societas* in the town and duchy of Trento. The massive intervention on the part of Frederick I (1182) and Henry VI (1191) to preserve the authority of the bishops in the face of increasing communal liberties does not, however, allow us to conclude that consular rule following the Lombard model had already effectively been introduced in the town. Their intervention seems rather to have been aimed against attempts (possibly just commencing) to introduce consular rule. Still, during the first years of the thirteenth century the citizens of Trento were actively participating in the more important decisions of civic life. Furthermore, their powers were being extended beyond the confines of the town, so that the town inhabitants stepped in as a decision-making body alongside the cathedral chapter and the *curia vassallorum*. Thus there were undoubtedly communal elements in Trento; what was missing was an effective alignment of organs of communal self-government.

The economy experienced an upswing from the twelfth century on; this involved an increase in trade and traffic along the Adige, silver mining, and coin minting. From 1185 to 1214, we possess copies of documents relating to mining rights in the area of Monte Calisio north of Trento, where silver ore was exploited. They contain provisions for the so-called mining liberty and for hereditary mine shafts; further technological, social, and legal innovations; and the oldest European mine regulations, dating from 1208.

Bishop Frederick of Wangen (r. 1207–1218), who was the uncle of

Count Albert of Tirol and was related to the house of Hohenstaufen, proved to be extremely clever and energetic. He succeeded in having the regalia confirmed by all the emperors who reigned during his tenure of office. In addition, he had the rights of the Trento church documented in an extensive collection of deeds, and in 1213 he was named imperial legate and vicar by Emperor Frederick II. The bishop also had a new town wall built and began the rebuilding of the late Romanesque cathedral. In the first decades of the thirteenth century, Franciscans (c. 1221), Poor Clares (1229), and Dominicans (1235) settled in Trento. In 1250, building started on the *castello* Buon Consiglio, the bishop's fortified residence at the edge of the town.

Presumably mostly for strategic reasons, in 1236 Emperor Frederick II forbade Bishop Alderich to exercise any secular powers and appointed an imperial *podestà* in Trento. The last and most influential of these podestas was Sodeger de Tito, who managed to maintain his position in Trento after Frederick II's death. After 1250, Sodeger received increasing support from Ezzelino da Romano, with whom he had seigneurial ties. In 1255, however, their cooperation came to a halt, the town of Trento having broken with Ezzelino in the spring, and no further mention is made of Sodeger as *podestà*.

Count Meinhard II of Tirol (1259-1295), taking advantage of the fact that his ancestors had been serving as bailiffs of the Trento region since 1150, seized from the bishops much of their means of income and rights, so that the territory the bishops were in the process of creating was limited to the southern part of the episcopacy. From c. 1300 on, the confluence of the Avisio and Adige rivers (about 3 miles, or 5 kilometers, north of Trento) constituted the boundary between the bishopric of Trento (belonging to the *regnum teutonicum*) and the county of Tirol. In addition, the Tirol territorial princes—particularly the Hapsburgs, who began to rule in Tirol in 1363—exercised enormous influence on appointments to the bishop's chair. Through contractual agreements, these princes also achieved decisive military power within the area of the bishopric, which was threatened from the south by the Scaliger (della Scala) family and later by Venice.



Duomo and fountain, Trento. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The Venetians began to force their way into the Adige valley at the beginning of the fifteenth century; in 1416-1417, for example, they took the castle and market town of Rovereto in the Lager valley by force. This had a stimulating effect on Rovereto, which then served as the administrative center of Venetian rule in this area and as a well-fortified military bastion; it remained part of Venetian territory until 1509. Trento's participation in the Falcon League—a pact formed in 1407

by more than 120 members from all parts of Tirol to protect the interests of the nobility—took place during turbulent developments in the bishopric. Bishop George, from the Moravian line of the Lichtenstein family, had attempted to consolidate his position inside and outside. The measures he took to this end—in particular, the fact that he brought counselors and retainers with him from his home country—provoked a revolutionary uprising of the nobility against him in 1407. The Hapsburg duke Frederick IV supported the uprising. However, although the prince and the apposition in Trento had initially been linked by common interests, this tie soon weakened. Rodolfo Belenzani, who rose to the post of *capitano del popolo* of Trento, was seeking an opportunity to extend the authority of the civic bodies over the entire bishopric. In the ensuing struggles against the Tirolean troops, Belenzani met his death in Trento, and Duke Frederick eventually took over the administration of the whole Trento area.

During the episcopacy of Bishop John Hinderbach (1405-1486), there was a sensational court trial involving the Jews of Trento, who were accused of the ritual murder of a two-year-old Christian boy, Simon Unverdorben, on Maundy Thursday in 1475. The accused confessed under torture, and fourteen Jews were condemned to death. Although the highest-ranking church officials were reserved about the case, the cult of the presumed victim spread rapidly, encouraged by the bishop himself. The cult was also promoted by book printing; the earliest product of this technology in the old crown territories of Tirol was *Geschichte des zu Trient ermordeten Christenkindes* (*Story of the Murdered Christian Child from Trento*, 1475).

The famous Trent Codices were arranged during the same period. These codices reflect the polyphonic repertoire of churches and court orchestras in southern Germany and northern Italy (and perhaps the repertoire of the imperial court as well) between c. 1400 and 1475. They contain mostly anonymous music, but also harmonies by Dufay, Binchois, and Ockeghem; pieces by composers from Italy (Zaccaria da Teramo) and England (Dunstable, Power); and German works. The manuscript was presumably not intended for practical use, since it is small (about 12 by 8 inches, or 30 by 20 centimeters) and completely mixes the genres. Rather, it reflects the findings of an ardent humanist collector, who may have compiled the repertoire especially for Bishop

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Treviso

Treviso, a town north of Venice, is situated in the Veneto plain only 49 feet (about 15 meters) above sea level, at the confluence of the Sile and Botteniga rivers, which are more like two canals running on the flanks of the city. As it enters the city, the Botteniga divides into three canals: the Roggia, Buranelli, and Cagnan.

Treviso was founded as a municipality by the Romans under the reign of Claudius as Tarvisium, on the site of a former Veneto-Gallic settlement. Its links with Christianity are traced to Saint Mark, who is reputed to have traveled to Treviso from his seat in Alexandria to convert the residents to Christianity. By the third century, Treviso had become the location of the council of bishops of upper Italy and Istria. In the sixth century, it was the seat of a Lombard duke, Oderzo, an Arian, at which time the bishop moved to Torcello. Charlemagne made Treviso capital of a marquisate (c. 798). When the Carolingian empire collapsed, the Hungarians invaded northern Italy in 898 and again in 911. In 1116, Emperor Henry V came to Treviso; he was followed by Frederick I Barbarossa in 1157. In opposition to these German

incursions, Treviso joined the *lega* Veronese, along with Padua, Verona, and Venice; this alliance later became known as the Lombard League, which was united against the German Holy Roman emperor. Treviso became an independent (free) town after the peace of Constance (1183), and its communal period lasted until the late thirteenth century.

Together with other cities in the Veneto (Vicenza, Verona, Padua), Treviso was ruled by the Ghibelline tyrant Ezzelino III da Romano, who died in 1259. Ezzelino's brother Alberico, who had also made Treviso his seat of operations, was, together with his entire family, captured and put to a horrible death (an extant fresco in Treviso depicts these events). Near the end of the thirteenth century (1283-1306), Treviso achieved its cultural high point under the rule of the Guef Gherardo III da Camino, whom Dante praises in *Purgatory* (16.124) as *il buon Gherardo*. The rule of the da Camino family ended in 1312, when the counts of Gorizia came to power. The city then came under the protectorate of the bishop of Venice, which lasted until 1328. In 1318, a university was founded in Treviso by the Venetian bishop, who was also its governor. From 1329 to 1339, Treviso was subject to Verona, having been conquered in July 1329 by Cangrande della Scala, who died shortly thereafter (on 29 July). He was succeeded by Mastino II and Alberto II, the sons of his brother Alboino. In 1339, Treviso once again came under the control of Venice, where it remained for many years. Like other European cities, Treviso was struck by the plague in 1348 and again in 1371.

The cathedral of Treviso, dedicated to Saint Peter, was founded in 1141 and restored in the fifteenth century. Its crypt still retains the original Romanesque structure. The Romanesque church of San Nicolo contains a fresco of the Crucifixion which blends Romanesque and Gothic styles. The Romanesque baptistery dates from this early period, but the largest number of works of art surviving in Treviso date from the Gothic period.

Medieval Treviso reveals a renewed civic identity with the crenellated Palazzo dei Trecento (begun in 1207) and the similarly designed Palazzo del Podestà (1218–1268), followed by the important addition of the Torre del Comune. The Loggia dei Cavalieri was begun during the rule of Giacomo of Perugia (1276-1277) and was intended as an atrium in the Byzantine manner for the "solace of the nobles"; it was completed in 1314. The Loggia was constructed of Istrian stone, a

common building material used in Treviso and in other towns in the Veneto. The Biblioteca Capitolare, which dates from the twelfth century, has a rich collection of manuscripts and materials pertinent to the religious and civic history of the city. The church of San Francesco is the burial place of Dante's son Pietro (d. 1364) and Petrarch's daughter Francesca (d. 1384).

Treviso presents a mix of styles reflecting several factors: its strategic position for travelers across Italy and for visitors to Venice, influences from the east, and commerce and travel over the Alps. The two major influences were the Byzantine east and the Lombards. Nowhere is this merging of styles more apparent than in domestic architecture and in the pictorial decoration of houses, some of which are as early as the eleventh century. Treviso was once as colorful as Venice, with numerous houses featuring painted facades, inner courtyards, and private chambers. Although most of these were built during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the tradition continued well into the eighteenth century.

The Dominican church of San Nicolò was celebrating the divine office as early as 1231, but the present church was constructed between 1310 and 1352, as was the church of Santa Lucia. Santa Lucia still contains the fresco of the *Madonna delle Carceri* by Tomaso da Modena, the leading painter of Treviso in the second half of the fourteenth century. Other frescoes represent the events of Holy Week and the lives of saints James and Christopher, both patron saints of travelers and pilgrims. For the former monastery of San Nicolò, Tomaso da Modena also painted a series of frescoes of famous Dominicans in the Chapter Room (1352). Tomaso's compartmentalized and detailed style is thought to have influenced Jan van Eyck, who came to Italy in the early fifteenth century. Fine works from the Gothic period can be found in the Museo Civico; all these suggest a prosperous and dynamic community in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

See also Ezzelino III da Romano; Lombard Leagues; Tomaso da Modena; Venice; Verona

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Tristan

The Celtic legend of Tristan was widely diffused in England and France by the end of the twelfth century. It centers on the love of Tristan for Isolde, the wife of his uncle, King Mark. In its many rewritings and retellings over the centuries, the basic story of the love triangle has been embellished with a wide variety of episodes that include love potions and duels as well as the lovers' ostracism and eventual death.

The legend seems to have made its first full-fledged appearance in Italy in the *Tristano Riccardiano* (c. 1272-1300), a not overly imaginative compilation of previous texts about Tristan composed in the French and Iberian traditions. The fundamental elements are all present in this prose work, but what is left of it abruptly comes to a close before Tristan's death. Its widespread and immediate popularity is confirmed by the abundance of extant versions of the work and by the many pictorial representations that had been commissioned by the beginning of the fourteenth century. There is no shortage of allusions to the love affair of Tristan and Isolde—or to episodes commonly

associated with it—in medieval Italian literature in general (e.g., Giacomo da Lentini's *canzone Madonna mia a voi mando*, the fifth canto of Dante's *Infemo*, and several tales in the fourth day of Boccaccio's *Decameron*). However, integral versions of the legend are comparatively few. The *Tristano Riccardiano*, together with the stock versions in Old French, served in part for a more comprehensive adaptation of the Arthurian cycle in the anonymous *Tavola ritonda* (c. 1325—1350), a much more inventive combination of inherited plots told in an interesting and original manner. Additional, though less influential, compilations written in this period include the *Tristano Panciaticiano*, the *Tristano veneto*, and the *Tristano corsiniano*.

Alongside these written versions, there were also oral renditions: these are the so-called *cantari*, which were intended for listeners. We have very little way of knowing just what the content of these performances originally was. The poems have survived, in large measure, in the forms given to them by fourteenth and fifteenth-century transcribers. Generally speaking, the verses deal with single episodes of the legend of Tristan, such as his birth (recounted in the *Cantare dei cantari*), his various single adventures (*Tristano e Lancielotto al Petrone di Merlino*, *I cantari del falso scudo*, etc.), and his death (*Le ultime imprese e la morte di Tristano*).

See also **Arthurian Material in Italy; Lancelot; Tavola Ritonda**

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Trivium

See Liberal Arts

Trotula of Salerno

Trotula is the name given to a number of medical treatises on the diseases of women, most of which seem to have come from the medical university of Salerno. Whether a twelfth-century Trotula of Salerno actually existed, whether Trotula was a woman, and what and for whom Trotula wrote have been a subject of scholarly debate for many years. Benton (1985) suggested that a female physician named Trota

wrote a *Practica* (*Practice of Medicine*) containing obstetrical and gynecological material while teaching at Salerno. Unlike many other universities in the Latin west, Salerno was formed by a community of medical practitioners who were not necessarily clerics; this anomaly would probably account for the remarkable presence of a woman teacher. The *Practica*, in Latin, was not copied after c. 1200; it was supplanted by other Latin works on gynecology and cosmetics taken from various male writers. The name Trotula (probably a diminutive of Trota) was attached to these later writings, which were in turn translated into a number of European vernaculars. Benton held that the genuine writings of Trota were more practical in character than those of her fellow Salernitan physicians, but this conclusion is difficult to support.

See also **Medicine; Salerno**

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Troy, Legend of

Although Petrarch had Homer's *Iliad* translated into Latin in 1354, the

vast body of medieval literature related to the fall of Troy does not stem from Homeric roots. The knowledge of the Trojan war that passed from generation to generation goes back ultimately to two chronicles that were thought to be authentic eyewitness accounts of the ten-year battle. These are the *De excidio Troiae historia* of Dares Phrygius and the *Ephemeris de historia belli Troiani* of Dictys Cretensis. Dictys's work was originally composed in Greek around the first century after Christ; but it circulated widely in its Latin translation, which dates from about the fourth century. There is no extant Greek version of Dares's text, though it is commonly believed to have been composed at roughly the same time. Its Latin translation, of which several copies survive, was finished around the turn of the sixth century. Both works are poorly written; remarkably, however, both were greatly respected by medieval writers as genuine factual documents, and they provided the principal sources for subsequent historical and literary compilations. Dictys, whose narration is from the perspective of the Greeks, was more popular in the Byzantine east. Dares, the more synthetic of the two, told of the war in pro-Trojan terms and was exceedingly well received in western Europe, where several national mythologies, including that of Italy, credited the Trojans with the founding of their nations and principal cities. The two narratives are relatively free of fantastic events, such as the intervention of the gods in battle; and it is probably due in part to this characteristic that medieval readers gave so much credence to their first-person claims to veracity.

In the twelfth century, there appeared in France more modern" tellings of the legend of Troy: the *Roman de Thèbes*, the *Roman d'Enéas*, and the very famous *Roman de Troie*, written c. 1160-1170 by Benoît de Sainte-Maure. Benoît's version was certainly the most widely known of the three and the most influential in Italy. It was based loosely on the works of Dares and Dictys, with, however, a significant addition of events inspired by the Old French romance tradition. New to the legend are innovative love stories (from which developed the tale of Troilus and Cressida), detailed descriptions of exotic people and places, and a general indulgence in authorial imagination. The *Roman de Troie* was quite popular in Italy from about the beginning of the thirteenth century on. The literary tradition blossomed in Sicily with Guido delle Colonne's completion of the *Historia destructionis Troiae* c. 1287 for the

bishop of Salerno. Essentially a prose translation in Latin of Benoît's lengthy poem, the *Historia* is still told in the *roman degeste* style but is addressed to a more learned public and contains quotations from Virgil and Ovid as well as moral and philosophical commentary. Its success throughout Europe was unprecedented, and it is the chief source for many of the subsequent European versions of the legend of Troy. Guido never explicitly mentions Benoît by name but does cite Dares and Dictys on several occasions in an attempt to lend an air of accuracy to his history. During the fourteenth century, a number of vernacular translations of Gui-do's *Historia* appeared throughout Italy. The most important are those of Filippo Ceffi (1324) and Mazzeo Bellebuoni (1333) in Tuscany; an anonymous Sicilian version (of uncertain date); a Neapolitan translation; and the rather popular *Libra chiamato Troiam*, a Venetian version that combined the work of Guido with tales adapted from French romance. In addition to these, numerous dialect versions of vernacular translations, whole or partial, were commonly found in almost all regions of Italy.

Allusions to Troy and the Trojan cycle appear in Brunetto Latini's *Tesoro* (1.32), the *Conti di antichi cavalieri* (*conto de Agamenon*), the anonymous *Novellino* (13), Ser Giovanni Florentine's *Pecorone* (15.2), and the works of chroniclers such as Rjcordano Malispini and Giovanni Villani. Alongside the prose renditions of the legend there also existed several in verse, which gave rise to a large part of the medieval oral tradition. The rich legacy of the legend of Troy was enhanced in the work of later authors by the "rediscovery" of Virgil, Livy, and other classical writers. Dante utilized several episodes, including the destruction of the city (*Purgatory*, 12.61; *Monarchia*, 2.3), Aeneas's arrival in Italy (*Inferno*, 1.74; *Convivio*, 4.5), and the ruse of the wooden horse (*Inferno*, 30.98-129). Giovanni Boccaccio made an enduring impact on European literature with his retelling of the story of Troilus and Cressida in the *Filostrato*.

Libro

Ioue ingenero Tantaloe Tantalio ingenero Pe-
lopeti Pelopon ingenero Atreot Atreo ingenero
agamemnon Menelao e Penetima. Et p tanto fe
dice che Apollo drizo larcho contra Achille: p
cio che Achille iprouiso fu morto da Paris pro-
uadato. Perche e da fape che la hystoria conta
coe Priamo hãe una fua figliola chiamata Poli-
fenax: la q̃l cõe Achille la uide fe lamoro: & uolẽ

uerito in puaa cenere. Adate exemplo che lanti a
quello mondo non e conuile & d nollro corpo e come
cenere. Ea perciò dice la fua fcripura Memento homo
quata cinis es & ce & qui finit le duodecimo libro.

LIBRO TERTIODECIMO DE OVI-
DIO METAMORPHOSEOS.

DE LA CONTROVERSA DE LE
ARME DE ACHILLE.

Capitolo. i.

Vidio narra nel
prefente capito-
lo: che hauẽdo
Agamemnon rimẽto nel
populo che cõcedeffero
larme de Achille ad chi
parea loro: & effendo no-
minati fra il populo: co-
me Aiax e Vifile le ha-
ueano domandate: cada
no il configliose: quale co-
fi adiuato le aconciarono



tiera illaueria prefa p moglie. Ma pche egli ha-
uea gia morto Heetor: Priamo non ce la uolfe
dare: ma cõ ingano fece rifpõdere a Ecuba fua
dõa. Vedẽdo Achille che Ecuba gli attendea li
pmeffe che fe la gli daua Polifea p moglier: che
faria che lioffe fe partira da Troia: & uedẽdo
q̃llo Ecuba mado p Deiphebo e p Paris e diffe
gli. Voi podete fe uolete pigliare uedeta di uo-
ftri fratelli. Percio che achille mha mado a di-
re ffo gli uoglio dare Polifena p moglie che fa-
ra parate lioffe. Onde io gli mandaro a dire
che mi uegna a parlare nel tempio: & uoi fiate
li proueduti & fi lo faciate: & cofi fu facto: & p-
tato Ouidio che apollo ftefe larcho. Ma li poe-
ti dicono che gli fu morto in battaglia: p fare la
morte fua piu hoefia: & fotto quello colore li
Greci feruicio li facti loro & poneuano tutti li
modi e la fine di loro maggiore piu honore uolet
& fpecialmente quelle cofe che refultauano in
loro uergogna: & cofi fe dimoftra la fciẽtia
del tefto del duodecimo libro de Ouidio.

Algoria. La prefente expofitione ha biſogno
pochẽ parole: percio che manifeſto e che gli
tutti li corpi loro li uideuano Achille fua mor-
te da Paris come e diſto e quonſio arto e con

a federe in forma de una coronacioe che li piu
nobili fedeano piu alto & li mezzani piu baffo &
li minori nel intimo loco: & cofi de grado i gra-
do erano poſti intorno come corona che e con-
da: & li fuoi grigli e fiori fecẽdo lor nobilita: qua-
le ſta piu alto: quale ſta piu baffo. Nelqual ceſſi
glio le leuo Aiax domandando larme de achil-
le le quale erano coperte di sette chori de boie:
& Aiax diuide la fua diccria in sette parte. Ne
la prima pone lo exordio. Ne la feconda la nar-
ratione. La terza la diuiſione. La quarta la
petitione. La quinta la confideratione. Ne la
ſexta pone el difciamento. Nela ſeptima e
ultima la conſuſione. Dice lo auctore che le-
uandofe Aiax nel deputato loco ſi fe gloriar-
ua: & ſperaua che larme de Achille gli fuſſe
ro concedute per la uictoria: la quale egli ha-
uua habuta de li nauili defendendoli da li Tro-
iani: & incomincio in tal modo a parlare. Si-
gnori ſecundo el mio parere noi contende-
mo e adoperamo il noſtro parlare indarno:
& queſto Viſile el quale e qui prefente uolẽ
con meo inducere brigare: el quale da le brighe
fugĩ quito puo: & di cio ui diro lo exẽpio a que-

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See also Boccaccio, Giovanni; Dante Alighieri; Guido delle Colonne; Virgil

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Turin

Turin—in Italian, Torino—is in northwestern Italy, on the Po River. The ancient Roman city of Augusta Taurinorum (a name derived from

Taurasia, principal city of the Taurini) was situated at the confluence of the Doria Riparia and the Po and was the most important convergence of land and water routes south of the Alps. It remained a major military point throughout the Roman era.

The first recorded bishop of Turin was Saint Maximus in 415. The position of importance implied by a bishopric continued into the early barbarian period. In 569, after the fall of Milan, Turin came into the possession of the Lombards; it was in turn a Byzantine and a Lombard duchy, a status corresponding to its importance as a major ecclesiastical center. In the late eighth century, both Pepin and Charlemagne seized Turin, which became the seat of a Frankish duchy. The city was contested by Guido of Spoleto and Berengar of Friuli, among others. Around 940, King Hugh of Aries established a follower, Arduin, as count of Turin and founder of a dynastic regime dominating the surrounding region as a sort of marquisate. Under these dynasts and in collaboration with the powerful bishops of Turin, the region enjoyed considerable prosperity despite attacks by the Magyars and the Saracens.

Around 1097, Umberto II of Savoy assumed the title of count and marquis, but he was unable to take direct control of the city. With the support of German emperors, the population of Turin mounted opposition to the rule of the Savoy family, and this struggle dominated most of the twelfth century. In 1155, Frederick I Barbarossa granted to the bishop recognition of seigniorial rights, striking a severe but not fatal blow at the hopes of the Savoy family. For a while, Count Umberto III was able to win Frederick's favor, but this failed to win him control of the city. After the peace of Constance (1183), Frederick renewed his support of the populace and recognized the episcopal control of the city. After 1190, Henry VI renewed the effort to establish imperial control; he imposed his own *podestà* on Turin, thereby curtailing the bishop's authority and encouraging greater assertiveness by the commune.

In 1210, Tommaso (Thomas) I of Savoy supported Emperor Otto IV against the claims of Frederick II. In response, in 1218, Frederick II recognized the bishop as his imperial vicar, thus checking the ambitions of both the count and the commune. Tommaso I initially persisted as an opponent of Frederick II, but in 1226 submitted to the emperor, who made him imperial vicar in Italy. Turin itself joined the second

Lombard League. In 1235, after long struggles, the city of Turin made peace with the count of Savoy; but following the battle of Cortenuova, Frederick II established his own regime in the city, which ruled harshly until 1247. Frederick II was in residence in Turin for some time, and during that period Pope Innocent IV excommunicated the popular regime for refusing to accept the bishop whom he had designated. Pressed by his difficult situation, Frederick II moved to accept the house of Savoy in the person of Tommaso II, to whom he granted Turin as a fief. Tommaso II secured the city in 1251, following Frederick's death, and after a reconciliation with Pope Innocent IV was granted papal confirmation in 1253.

Conflicts with neighbors prompted an expulsion of Savoy rule in 1255 and the reestablishment of a free commune, which became dependent first on the neighboring city of Asti and then on Charles of Anjou. In 1276, it fell under the control of Marquis William VII of Montferrat, who was, however, forced to yield the city in 1280 to Tommaso III of Savoy. Tommaso III succeeded in establishing secure relations with the commune, recognizing its internal autonomy to some degree. Under his successors, this autonomy was further consolidated as the counts established their residence in Pinerolo. In 1334, Theodore Palaeologus of Montferrat was briefly admitted to the city. Turin became the focus of a bitter struggle between rival branches of the house of Savoy. Filippo of Savoy, claimant to the title of the Greek principality of Achaia, and his descendants were opposed by Amadeo VI, who was called *conte Verde* ("Green Count"). Amadeo seized control of Turin and other important points in the Piedmont and reestablished good relations with the city by renewing communal rights. He then established Giacomo of Savoy-Achaia as his vassal and dependent in the city. After Giacomo's death, Amadeo presided as regent during the minority of Giacomo's sons. In 1381, Amadeo convened in Turin a peace conference that represented his supreme triumph as a diplomat and as a mediator between warring Venice and Genoa. With the extinction in 1418 of the Savoy-Achaia line, Amadeo VI's descendant, Duke Amadeo VIII, completed the unification of the family's regime in Piedmont. Six years later, Amadeo VIII assumed the title of prince of Piedmont, with his residence in Turin.

Only a few small fragments of art survive from the medieval city. In

a special chapel of the cathedral built by Guarini in the late seventeenth century, the famous shroud of Turin is preserved.

See also Amadeo VI, Count of Savoy; Turin, Shroud of

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Turin, Shroud of

The shroud of Turin is probably the most famous and certainly the most controversial relic currently in the possession of the Roman Catholic church. This remarkable object, a cloth bearing frontal and dorsal images of a male human body apparently afflicted with the physical injuries commonly associated with crucifixion, has been venerated at Turin since 1578. Believers regard it as the shroud in which the body of Christ was wrapped, after his crucifixion, by Joseph of Arimathaea, as described in Matthew's Gospel (27:59); skeptics see it only as an admittedly extraordinary piece of devotional art; for many others, the debate remains unresolved.

The shroud is not convincingly reported anywhere before the fourteenth century, although it has been speculatively identified with the Edessa *mandylion* (mandil, or scarf), whose presence at Constantinople is attested to in 944. Scientific tests, including radiocarbon dating, carried out in the 1980s suggested that the cloth of which the shroud is made was produced in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. These conclusions are far from universally accepted (though

the church has tended to discourage what it sees as undue attention to the shroud in recent years); and even those who see the relic as originating in the Middle Ages must still account for the astonishing technical virtuosity and anatomical knowledge that would have been required of its putative maker—neither of which is significantly paralleled in other artworks of the period.

See also Reliquaries

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Typos of 648

See Martin I, Pope; Monophysite Controversy

U

Ubalдини Family

The Ubaldini lineage was one of the oldest and most prominent Ghibelline houses in the Florentine countryside (*contado*). Family members first appear in documents from the eleventh century as proteges of the bishop, the margrave, and the Guidi. Like the Pazzi of the Arno Valley, the da Sommaia, and the da Gangalandi, the Ubaldini played only a minor role in Florentine urban public life. They possessed extensive landed holdings and castles (*castelli*) in the western Mugello, the lush Apennine valley north of Florence. Many of these possessions were originally imperial grants, such as their investment of land by Frederick I in 1184 in the Mugello.

Throughout the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, the Ubaldini were consistently hostile to Florentine political and military interests in the Mugello. Like the Ubertini and Pazzi of the Arno Valley, they often disrupted commercial traffic to and from the city and controlled strategic arteries linking Florence with the Romagna. For those reasons, after the mid-thirteenth century the Florentines attempted to limit the domination of the Mugello by the Ubaldini, if not end it altogether by military means. In the Ordinances of Justice of 1293, the Ubaldini appeared on the list of magnates of the *contado* declared ineligible to hold major public offices in Florence. The Ubaldini were sympathetic to the White Guelfs; and they continued to obstruct the free flow of grain traffic from the Romagna into the city in the early fourteenth century. In 1306, the Florentines razed the Ubaldini stronghold at Montaccianico in the Mugello, establishing Scarperia and Firenzuola as new towns (*terre nuove*).

Ottaviano degli Ubaldini (d. 1272), cardinal and bishop of Bologna, appeared in Dante's *Inferno* (10.120).

See also Florence; Ordinances of Justice

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Uberti Family

The Uberti clan of Tuscany was one of the region's oldest noble families, and by the twelfth century it was the leading noble family of Florence. Because of their strict noble attitude, the Uberti, as a family, never participated openly in the commercial success of the city. The Uberti were staunch supporters of imperial interests, and in 1177 they struggled with the Giandonati family for influence with the emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, and for control of the communal offices in Florence. This three-year struggle ended with the institution of the *podestà* in Florence, and an agreement to share civic offices.

The murder of Buondelmonte de Buondelmonti by Schiatta Uberti in 1215 divided the city for the first time between the Guelfs, supporters of the Buondelmonti family and of papal interests; and the Ghibellines, who were pro-imperial and were led by the Uberti. The feud between the Uberti and the Buondelmonti lasted into the fourteenth century, although there were several attempts at reconciliation through intermarriage. In 1247, after Emperor Frederick II made his son Frederick of Antioch vicar-general of Tuscany, Florentine Guelfs battled the Uberti, who were ensconced in their urban strongholds. The Guelfs were driven from the city, and some thirty-six of their family towers were destroyed by the victorious Uberti and their followers.

With the death of Frederick II in 1250, Florence established a popular government. The Uberti openly opposed this in 1251 and were exiled for a year. The imperial coronation of Manfred (Frederick II's natural son) in 1258 once more emboldened the Ghibellines, and an attempted coup led to exile yet again. The Ghibelline exiles joined with the Sienese and imperial army that defeated the Florentine Guelfs at Montaperti in 1260. The Guelfs fled Florence, and the victorious Ghibellines proposed the total destruction of the city. Farinata degli Uberti (d. 1264) defended his *patria*, and the proposal died. (See Dante, *Paradise*, 16.109 ff.; *Inferno*, 6.79-87, 10.16-18, 22 ff.) After Manfred's defeat and death at Benevento (1266), the Guelfs regained control of Florence and promptly razed the possessions of the Uberti. Much of the rubble was left untouched for a decade, a symbol of the family's destruction. Since

most of the Uberti refused to return to Florence (or were not allowed to return, according to Villani), the commune retained the property, on which were built Le Stinche prison, Palazzo Vecchio, Piazza Signoria, and, later, the Uffizi. Branches of the Uberti family relocated to Cremona, Mantua, Venice, and Verona.

See also Farinata degu Uberti; Florence; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Ghibelline; Guelfs; Montaperti, Battle of

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Ubertino Da Casale

The Franciscan reformer ubertino da Casaie (1259-c. 1329) was the author of the *Arbor vite crucifixe Jesu*—sometimes translated as *The Tree of the Crucified Life of Jesus*. This work had a strong effect on later Franciscan rigorists and on some prelates ind monarchs; figures who were influenced by it include Dante, Giovanni dalle Celle, Saint Catherine of Siena, Saint Bernardino, John Brugman, and King Martin I of Aragon.

Most of our information about Ubertino until the time when he composed the *Arbor vite* in 1305 comes from its first prologue, but its chronology is not always clear. Ubertino was a native of Casale Monferrato in the diocese of Vercelli and in the Franciscan province of Genoa. He was received into the Franciscan order (Friars Minor) at age fourteen. Scholars disagree about the next period of his life. Some think that he remained in his province for a considerable time, until c. 1284 or 1285; but others—on the basis of his own testimony that he studied for

nine years *et Parisius fui*—believe that after his novitiate he went to Paris and remained there until c. 1284. In any event he spent the years 1285 to 1289 (dates on which all the scholars agree) at Santa Croce in Florence. There, he was probably a subordinate lector in its *studium*, since he says that he was occupying the office of lector when he heard, at Pentecost, of John of Parma's death, which occurred in March 1289 (*Arbor vite*, 5.3).

It seems likely that Ubertino's studies in Paris had preceded this period in Florence rather than that, as some scholars hold, he went to Paris only after 1289. Ubertino associates Paris with a time when he was lax and ambitious. He tells us that his coming to Tuscany was accompanied by a conversion to a more ascetic life. Half of his four-year stay in Florence coincided with the lectorate there of the reformer who was to have the greatest influence on him, Petrus Johannis Olivi. Ubertino would have been exposed to Olivi's doctrine of *usus pauperi*, or "poor use," as essential to the Franciscan way of life—that is, the austere use of necessities and the avoidance of economic security and all superfluity. He must also have heard Olivi prophesy the persecution of the "spiritual" church by the "carnal" church. Ubertino's first meetings with Olivi—and with Margaret of Cortona, Cecilia of Florence, and John of Parma (who was in retirement at Greccio)—must have taken place just before or during 1285–1289. His crucial encounter with Angela of Foligno may also have been at this time. (There is conflicting evidence in the manuscripts on the date of this meeting: some say "in the twenty-fifth year of my religion.") According to Ubertino, these were the meetings that brought about his real conversion, after "almost fourteen years of external observance." It is difficult to believe that he then relapsed into what he calls laxity and ambition.

Ubertino learned a great deal from Olivi at Santa Croce; but unlike Olivi, he had no vocation to be a professional theologian, or to continue as a lector. Instead, Ubertino abandoned teaching to become a wandering preacher, traveling through Tuscany, Umbria, and the Marches, and denouncing both the heresy of the Brethren of the Free Spirit and the corruption of the official church. It is clear from the *Arbor vite* that he considered the resignation of Pope Celestine V and the subsequent election of Pope Boniface VIII illegitimate—a point on

which he differed from Olivi. In the *Arbor vite* he identified Boniface, as well as Boniface's successor Pope Benedict XI, with the mystical Antichrist. How far Ubertino went in expressing these radical views in his public sermons is uncertain, but some hint of his opinions must have reached Benedict XI, because the pope summoned and arrested him. Ubertino was freed only because of the entreaties of a delegation of Perugian citizens; he was then sent by his Franciscan superiors to La Verna for an extended period of meditation. He used that time to write the *Arbor vite*, although he can hardly have composed the whole artful and almost interminable work, as he avows, in three months and seven days in 1305, without premeditation and with the aid of just a few books. Perhaps he was referring only to the nucleus of this vast work—a conjecture that might explain how Angelo Clareno could have described it as a "small" book. In any case, the more extreme opinions in the work were evidently not known to Ubertino's enemies among the Friars Minor for a long time, for they attacked only his defense of Olivi and were unable to keep Ubertino from exerting considerable influence in high ecclesiastical circles.

Ubertino also became the confidant and servant of a prominent cardinal, Napoleone Orsini, who looked kindly on the Spiritual faction of the Franciscans. Ubertino was appointed Orsini's chaplain in 1306 (though their connection seems to have begun earlier) and as late as 1324 was still doing important diplomatic work for him, helping conduct negotiations between Pisa and Aragon. In 1307, Ubertino was in Tuscany trying to further efforts on behalf of the Florentine exiles and was also undertaking juridical activity against the heretics of the Free Spirit. At about this time, he was also becoming increasingly involved in defending the interests of the Spiritual Franciscans; he served as procurator for various Spiritual groups, carrying their cases as far as Avignon.

Orsini's protection, and perhaps that of Cardinal James Colonna as well, must have been vital to Ubertino during the many years when he was able to frustrate the designs of the Franciscan leaders against him. He also seems to have elicited some sympathy from the popes to whom these leaders complained about him—Clement V and John XXII. At the time of the Council of Vienne (1310-1312), Ubertino wrote polemical treatises defending Olivi, advocating the doctrine of "poor use" for the

Franciscan order, and pleading that at the very least the Spirituals should be allowed to follow the will of Francis and be free from persecution by the order. These writings were reflected to some extent in the bulls of Clement V, although in the end Clement refused to grant the Spirituals exemption from their superiors. The Spirituals fared worse under John XXII, but after their downfall Ubertino was not turned over to the authorities of the order. Instead, he secured from John a bull (20 October 1317) permitting him to enter the Benedictine house of Gembloux in the diocese of Liege, though there is no record that he ever set foot there. Ubertino was still in Avignon in 1322, when John asked him and a number of cardinals, bishops, Franciscans, Dominicans, and other clerics for their opinion on whether, as the Franciscans asserted, Christ and his apostles had owned nothing either individually or in common. The pope eventually issued a bull condemning the Franciscans' claim that only their order, which professed corporate as well as individual poverty, fully imitated the life of Christ and his apostles; in this bull, John came very close to quoting some of Ubertino's earlier arguments against the practices of the Franciscan community.

But Ubertino's longtime defense of Olivi finally made it possible for the Franciscan community to bring him down. In 1325, in a bull directed to the Franciscans, John described Ubertino as a fugitive—Ubertino having fled from Avignon in fear of imminent condemnation—and ordered his arrest. Ubertino may have escaped to the court of Lewis of Bavaria, and he may have helped in the writing of some of Lewis's attacks on John XXII; this hypothesis rests mainly on Albertino Mussato's testimony that Ubertino and Marsilius of Padua accompanied Ludwig to Rome in 1328. There is contemporary testimony that Ubertino preached on behalf of Ludwig's Franciscan antipope Peter Corbara.

The date and manner of Ubertino's death are unknown, though a later tradition of the Fraticelli (a Spiritual Franciscan group) held that it was violent.

Ubertino was an interesting combination of ascetic, polemicist, and diplomat. He was a gifted rhetorician and, particularly in his polemical works, a brilliant satirist. He poured into the *Arbor vite* his often moving meditations on Christ's life and the similarities between Christ

and Saint Francis. This work, obviously constructed in large part from Ubertino's earlier sermons and treatises, also contains a multitude of long and short extracts from various authorities: the church fathers; Bernard, Bonaventure, Olivi, and other Franciscan writers; and Thomas Aquinas. There are surely also many sources that have not yet been identified. The fifth book of the *Arbor vite*, containing Ubertino's views on ecclesiastical history, is mainly based, as Manselli (1965, 1977) has shown, on Olivi's *Postilla in Apocalypsim*. Ubertino's polemical treatises are vivid, supple, and remarkably readable, despite the technicality of their arguments. In these works, the historical dimension disappears, and "poor use" is emphasized much more than corporate expropriation. In 1322, the pope commanded Ubertino to enlarge his oral opinion on whether Christ and the apostles had possessed nothing, either individually or in common. Ubertino did so in the unpublished treatise *De altissima paupertate* (*Treatise on the Highest Poverty*), largely copied—although with significant omissions, additions, and modifications—from Olivi's question 8, *De altissima paupertate*, in the series of questions called *De perfectione evangelica*. Ubertino's summary of that treatise, *Reducendo igitur ad brevitatem*, was included in a famous collection of opinions on the question, in manuscript Vatican Latinus 3740, and attracted a marginal note in the pope's own hand. This summary drew a number of its arguments from Olivi's question 9, dealing with whether *usus pauper* was included in the Franciscan vow of evangelical poverty. Cardinal Orsini's opinion contained in the same collection follows a line of argument similar to Ubertino's and may actually have been written by Ubertino.

Ubertino's doctrines regarding poverty are the most interesting aspect of his thought. They seem to have undergone considerable development over his lifetime. In the *Arbor vite*, Ubertino accepted the official Franciscan view, shared by all factions, that as followers of evangelical perfection, if not as prelates transferring goods to the poor, they absolutely embraced corporate as well as individual poverty. To this he added Olivi's view that "poor use" was necessary to the observance of the highest poverty, and that the persecution of those who followed "poor use" was a sign of the appearance of the Antichrist and the coming of the "last age."

In Ubertino's polemical treatises, this historical dimension of his

thought disappears entirely, and he is much more concerned with poor use than with corporate expropriation. In his final treatise, written when he was nominally a Benedictine, Ubertino was unwilling to accept the traditional view that the holding of collective property by monastic corporations according to human law was no breach of evangelical perfection. He did, however, clearly affirm, against the Franciscans, that possession according to natural (though not civil) law was inseparable from the use of consumable things. The Franciscans' theory, on the other hand, maintained that Franciscans had only the use of such things, whose ownership always rested with the donors or was held by the pope. Ubertino now evidently regarded this theory as a pitiful pretense. He also thought that it was ultimately inimical to Olivi's doctrine of "poor use," a doctrine to which—despite his careful editing and revision of Olivi's question concerning the highest poverty—he always remained faithful.

See also **Boniface VIII, Pope; Celestine V, Pope; Franciscan Order**

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Ugo, Margrave of Tuscany

See **Hugo, Marquis of Tuscany**

Ugolino Di Vieri

Ugolino di Vieri (died c. 1380 or 1385) was a well-known goldsmith of Siena about whom we have documentary evidence for the period from 1329 until his death. His major work is a gold and silver reliquary (1337-1338) crafted for the Holy Corporal, preserved in the cathedral in Orvieto. This reliquary, in the Gothic style, has eight small statues of apostles and prophets, a crucifix with Mary and John, and some thirty enamels that depict the life of Christ and the miracle of the Holy Corporal (the miracle of Bolsena"). The influence of Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Duccio (the *Maestà*) on these scenes—and that of Giovanni Pisano on the sculptures—is evident. Another known work by Ugolino is a reliquary for the head of Saint Savino (*duomo*, Orvieto), which he made in collaboration with the obscure Siennese artisan Viva di Lando.

See also **Bolsena; Orvieto; Reliquaries**

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Uguccione Da Lodi

The poet Uguccione da Lodi (thirteenth century) was from northern Italy, but despite the apparent toponymic designation in his name, he was probably a member of a well-known family in Cremona. If so, he would be a contemporary of Gerardo Pateg. Virtually nothing is known about Uguccione's life, and the debates concerning his place of origin carry over into the attribution of works to him. However, one work is his beyond all reasonable doubt—the so-called *Libro*.

The *Libro*, which displays the metrical influence of Old French and Franco-Veneto *chansons de geste* and thematic traces of Old French didactic works, consists of 702 verses divided into stanzas of monorhymed alexandrines (fourteen-syllable lines) with groups of hendecasyllables at both the beginning and the end. Modeled on the techniques of sermon literature, the *Libro* constantly reminds the reader of earthly corruption and how worldly temptations lead to sin and, eventually, to perdition in hell. As part of its didactic intent, the poem furnishes many examples taken from the Bible and from everyday life and urges the reader to serve God and to follow his commandments in order to win the eternal rewards of paradise. As a devotional work, the *Libro* is rich in both sententious phraseology—e.g., *Avaricia en 'sto segoio abunda e desmesura* ("In this world avarice abounds and knows no limits")—and seemingly ecstatic utterances, such as the following:

Iusta devinitad, verasia maiestate,

*omnipotente Deu sovr' ogra poestate,
misericordia Te clamo con grande pietate
qe me secori per la Too bontate. . .*

("Righteous divinity, true majesty, omnipotent God over all other powers. With great piety I entreat you for mercy that through your goodness you may help me. . . .") One point of interest of the poem is its language, which is similar to that used by other northern Italian didactic poets of the period: Bonvesin de la Riva, Gerardo Pateg, and Giacomino da Verona. In the manuscript (Saibante-Hamilton 390, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin), the text of the *Libro* is followed by another poem, referred to as the *Istoria*, which presents virtually the same subject matter in 1,142 *novenari* (with some *ottonari* interspersed) arranged in rhymed couplets. There is no reason to assume, as some critics have done, that these two poems are actually one; indeed, it is likely that the second is simply a later continuation by an anonymous author.

See also Bonvesin da la Riva; *De Contemptu Mundi*; Gerardo Pateg; Giacomino da Verona; Italian Prosody; Pietro da Barsegapé

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Uguccione Da Pisa

Under the entry *Pis* in *Derivationes*, Uguccione (c. 1125 or 1130-30 April 1210) states that he was born in Pisa—without, however, indicating the year, which has had to be estimated by his biographers. The date of his election as bishop of Ferrara is likewise uncertain. He completed his studies at Bologna, where in all probability he wrote his grammatical treatises. Later, he began to lecture on Gratian's *Decretum*, perhaps at the monastery of Saint Nabore and Saint Felice, where Gratian had taught. One of Uguccione's students was Lothar, a count of the Segni, who later became Pope Innocent III. Uguccione headed the diocese of Ferrara until his death. During his years as bishop he was given important assignments by popes Celestine III and Innocent III, his former pupil, mostly for the purpose of resolving a crisis at Nonantola, which was governed by an *abate* insufficient to the task. The archbishop of Ravenna, Guglielmo Cu riano, also entrusted Uguccione with settling disputes between the inhabitants of Ravenna and those of nearby Rimini. The outline of these biographical events agrees with the traditional view according to which Uguccione da Pisa, bishop of Ferrara, was, as both lecturer on grammar and canonist, the author of all of the works mentioned below. Miiller (1991, 1994) has challenged this view, arguing that the grammarian and the canonist should not be identified as the same person.

It will be useful to point out links among Uguccione's works, based on internal cross-references. The *De dubio accentu* and *Rosarium* are

cited in *Derivationes* and explicitly referred to by name in the *Agiographia*, which is itself referred to by name in the *Summa decretorum*. These references constitute the writer's claim to authorship and the basis for all further critical discussion of his works.

De dubio accentw. This brief treatise provides the correct pronunciation of a number of compound words or words in which the penultimate syllable is followed by a mute plus a liquid. In a set of appendixes, Ugucione deals with more specialized issues relating, again, to pronunciation, and also to spelling. Giovanni Balbi's *Catholicon* often draws on this text, while occasionally deferring to Bene da Firenze's teachings.

Rosarium: This treatise on grammar, cited twice in the *Derivationes*, is preserved in a single manuscript dating from 1382, Erfurt Ampl. Q. 69 (252), ff. 1-63. It provides a summary of *ars grammatics* based on the eight parts of speech. A list of conjugated verb forms, arranged alphabetically (*amo, amas, etc.* to *zelo, zelas*), appears on leaves 24ra—54rb.

Derivationes: Preserved in more than 200 extant manuscripts, this lexicon comprises the entire patrimony of the Latin language, classified by the principles of word derivation. It constitutes a fundamental stage in the development of medieval Latin lexicography because it organizes a large amount of linguistic data into derivational groupings and because it integrates into this scheme erudition passed down from antiquity, to be preserved and passed on to future generations. The work remains unpublished.

Agiographia: This short text also uses the word derivation format, which, in its most noteworthy section, presents a list of saints' names, arranged according to the liturgical calendar; these are then glossed with reference to traditional hagiographical aspects relating to holy deeds leading to canonization. The work serves as a bridge between Ugucione's two major texts; it is cited in the *Summa decretomm*, and it makes, in turn, an explicit reference to the *Derivationes*.

Summa decretorum: Ugucione worked on this text from 1178 to at least 1188. However, some questions arise as to whether the commentary regarding cases 23-26 is authentic or the work of one of Ugucione's continuators. Relatively recently, this text has been subjected to renewed scrutiny by historians of canon law, in an attempt

to understand Uguccone's views on the thorny issue of the relationship between the two supreme authorities on earth—the papacy and the empire. According to some, Uguccone's thinking on this subject may have inspired Dante's *Monarchichia*; indeed, Dante explicitly cites the *Derivationes* in his *Convivio* (4.6.5). The *Summa decretorum* also deals with a number of questions pertaining to the theology of the sacraments. For the manuscript tradition of this *Summa*, still unpublished, readers should consult Leonardi (1956-1957).

Expositio de symboio apostolorum: This text is attributed to Uguccone in Trombelli (1775) and codex 2633 in the University Library of Bologna but is not cited by him in any of his other works. It offers a commentary on the twelve articles of the *credo*, thereby constituting itself a catechism on the fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith. This brief exposition may be the fruit of Uguccone's pastoral activity, undertaken during the last twenty years of his life as bishop of Ferrara.

See also Gratian; Innocent III, Pope; Law: Canon

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Uguccione Della Faggiuola

Uguccione della Faggiuola (1250-1318) was born into a Ghibelline family. He became renowned as a military and political leader throughout northern Italy. At various times he was *podestà* of Arezzo, Gubbio, and Pisa; *capitano del popolo* (captain-general) of various cities, including Cesena and Pisa; and ruler of Lucca.

Having brought peace to Arezzo in 1303, Uguccione was appointed its *podestà* after gaining the support of Pope Boniface VIII. But because the success of his campaign had derived in part from an alliance with

Guelf forces, his reign was short-lived: the Ghibellines expelled him from the city the following year. He returned to Arezzo in 1308, after having married one of his daughters to the leader of the Black Guelfs in Florence, Corso Donati, and once again became its *podestà*. from 1309 to 1310. Shortly thereafter he joined forces with Henry VII of Luxembourg when Henry descended into Italy, and he served as Henry's vicar in Genoa. After Henry's death, Pisa named Uguccione *podestà* and captain-general for a ten-year term. During this period he consolidated his power through several acts of ruthless violence, and he gained the support of Castruccio Castracane in his mission to force Lucca to return appropriated territory to Pisa. Uguccione achieved his greatest military victory in 1315 at the battle of Montecatini, where he destroyed the Guelf forces. Over time, his position of strength was weakened by his tyrannical mode of governing and his generally dissolute behavior, coupled with a political policy that adversely affected Florence. In 1317, he took refuge in Verona, placing himself in the service of Cangrande della Scala, who appointed him *podestà* of Vicenza. Uguccione died in battle at Vicenza a year later.

Uguccione was cited as one of Dante's ideal political figures by Boccaccio, on the basis of a supposed letter to Frate Ilaro, which claims that Dante dedicated the *Inferno* to Uguccione in gratitude; supposedly, early during his exile, Dante had been a guest at one of Uguccione's castles. Neither the letter nor the legend to which it gave rise has been accepted by critics as authentic, although one has advanced the theory that the *veltro* ("greyhound") of *Inferno* 1 (101), the prophesied destroyer of the *lupa* ("she-wolf"), is to be identified with Uguccione. Historical records (chiefly Villani's chronicle) show, however, that Uguccione was not only tyrannical, brutal, and power-hungry but also avaricious, and therefore an unlikely candidate for the solution to the problem of greed represented by the she-wolf.

See also Cangrande della Scala; Castruccio Castracani; Dante Alighieri; Lucca

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Universities

Just as Paris was the ancestor and model of the northern European universities, Bologna was the point of origin for the autonomous development of Italian universities. Bologna's specialty from the very beginning was Roman and canon law, usually called the "two laws," There were also some independently founded schools of higher education: the ancient schools of medicine at Salerno, a lively native university at Arezzo, a royal university at Naples, and two papal *studia*. But with these exceptions, all the other Italian universities began as secessions from Bologna and shared its corporate structure and curriculum. Much of the instability of the later foundations may also be attributed to this origin, for they necessarily inherited the tension between student populace and commune that typified life in Bologna and repeatedly caused the scholars to flee. After an initial fifty turbulent years of institutional life in the first half of the thirteenth century, Bologna never, in fact, had a serious rival for first place among Italian schools. The fame of Bologna began with its great teachers—especially Irnerius (d. c. 1130), a specialist in Roman law; and the monk Gratian (died c. 1159), the founder of studies of canon law. These men organized the teaching of law by recovering authoritative texts and by creating systematic methods for glosses and commentaries. In the early years,

Roman law was studied largely by laymen and Italians. The study of canon law, by contrast, was immediately of interest to clerics, who came from all over Europe to study at Bologna and returned to found faculties of canon law throughout the continent.

Bologna's institutional hallmark was the student university, a corporate organization of the students as a governing body for their own affairs. (The word *universitas* originally meant a corporation or guild and could be any voluntary organization; what we call a university was properly called a *studium generate*, meaning a school of broad studies whose teaching certificates were universally recognized, according to what was called the *ius ubique docendi*, the right to teach everywhere.) At Bologna, the curriculum was regulated, the faculty was certified, and fees were set by the law students' guilds in the person of the rector and other representatives of the student "nations" (at first four and finally two, the Italian and Ultramontane). The nations and the various smaller national groups within them, sometime also called nations, were the focus of student life and culture. By the time of the first surviving statutes (1317), there was a clear rotation of the rectorship of the Ultramontane university among student leaders of rival nationalities. Thus, in one year of every three the rector would be a German; in other years he was chosen from among the French, English, Spanish, or other non-Italian students. The power of the student universities derived from their economic importance to the city; some estimates suggest that as many as 10,000 students resided in the city c. 1250, when its total population was only 40,000. Most of the students were foreigners—i.e., not Bolognese—whereas most professors had or acquired Bolognese citizenship. This provided the teachers with the protection of the commune and ensured that they would often side with it in disputes. The students, meanwhile, were left with scant protection under local law and had to devise their own regulatory mechanisms in the face of the citizens' hostility. Students from the city who could claim citizenship were excluded from the student universities whose legal protection they did not need. Early in the thirteenth century, the commune of Bologna opposed every new pretension of the student universities, a policy that led to a series of secessions. The most important was that of 1217-1220, when the students virtually deserted Bologna for law schools already existing at

Reggio and Vicenza; professors, dependent on students' fees, went along. A further major secession occurred in 1222, giving rise to Bologna's most enduring rival, Padua. There were similar departures en masse from Bologna in 1246, to Siena; and in 1276, to Perugia. In 1228, the secessionist fever led many of the students who had only recently arrived at Padua to move on to Vercelli. Of these unwanted offspring of Bologna, only Padua had an uninterrupted existence into the fourteenth century. By the mid-1240s, the city of Bologna had conceded most of the eventual privileges of the student corporations, including the full protection of the law, but the scholars continued to exercise their rights of boycott and secession in times of dispute. Notable groups seceded or were lured away to Padua in 1260-1262, 1274, and 1306; to Arezzo, Siena, and Florence in 1321-1328; and to Florence again when that *studium* was refounded in 1349.

Bologna's powerful student corporations were not the first organization of the *studium* there, for the university seems to have started (as at Oxford and Paris) with a professional guild or corporation of professors. Such an organization is presupposed by the "Authentic *Habitus*," a decree of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1158 that granted imperial protection to scholars at all levels. This grant was intended to free foreign scholars from reprisals by the governments of university towns, but it also established an important notion of academic freedom in that it allowed students to choose whether their legal disputes would be settled in a bishop's court or by their own professors. In contrast to northern European universities, where most students were clerics, the Italian schools of Roman law and the arts faculties were largely composed of laymen both as teachers and as students. This gave the Italian universities a strongly secular character. In the bitter town-and-gown controversies, moreover, the local governments came to play an ever larger role in safeguarding the university and even in financing it. During the disputes of 1217-1220 at Bologna, Pope Honorius III imposed a rule whereby the licenses to teach that accompanied doctoral degrees were to be conferred by the archdeacon of the cathedral. This was analogous to similar attempts by the bishop to impose supervision on the schools of Paris in the same period, but at Bologna it had the effect of excluding the bishop from the affairs of the university by vesting the church's right to supervise in

another local official. The papal rule was probably accepted easily at Bologna because the masters there already cooperated with the student universities in the matter of curriculum and did not see the presence of a church official as infringing any exclusive right of the professoriat. Instead, the new rule was a way of asserting the universality of the Bologna degree. Later in the thirteenth century, the rights of the archdeacon at Bologna and analogous officials in other Italian universities were disputed. But for the most part, direct involvement by such church officials in Italian universities remained minor for most of the Middle Ages.

The curriculum at all the Italian universities was dominated by the study of the two laws. In this they followed the lead of Bologna. The traditional arts courses—grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric—were modified under the pressure of legal studies into a specialized preprofessional sequence in the Latin language. Emphasis was on writing skills needed by government officials, clerks, and notaries, embodied in *ars dictaminis* (letter theory) and *ars notariae* (notarial study). Critical philological, philosophical, and moral study of literature together with speculative philosophy were the content of the arts courses in the rest of Europe, but these subjects were not a major part of the program of Italian universities in the thirteenth century. A transformation of the arts course so that it centered on letter theory occurred c. 1200, starting at Bologna; it was a rejection of university-level study of the classical authors, a practice that continued somewhat longer in northern Europe but eventually gave way there too, in the course of the thirteenth century, to speculative and philosophical study of grammar and logic. In both cases, the advanced study of arts was professionalized, but Italian scholars did this by adapting the course to the needs of law, the dominant discipline in their tradition, while the French arts schools reflected the methods of theology, "queen of sciences" at Paris. Much of the early humanists' rejection of university training stemmed from the realization that the curricular demands of the law course had led to a degradation of classical norms in writing Latin.

Medicine was an important field in Italy and was represented in most university programs, often in a combined faculty of arts and medicine. There were medical schools at Salerno from the tenth century on, but

they were based on clinical practice and had no university structure until after Frederick II attempted to co-opt them for his new university at Naples in the 1220s. By the early fourteenth century, Salerno was in decline. Elsewhere in Italy, the first explicit mentions of university professors of medicine are from the second quarter of the thirteenth century; but Arezzo, Bologna, and Padua probably had professors of medicine much earlier. Bologna in the late thirteenth century and Padua in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries became almost as well known for medical studies as for law.

Theology was a relative latecomer to Italian universities, largely because of the early preeminence in this field of the schools of Paris. But even though the only theological faculty in Italy in the thirteenth century was that of the Roman curial college, which followed the papal court, theological studies could be pursued at Bologna and in many other university towns at the *studia* of the mendicant orders. When theology was added to Italian university programs, in most cases after 1350 as part of a papal program to develop theological studies in centers outside Paris, this was accomplished by grouping the teachers of existing religious *studia* in those cities into new faculties of theology within the old universities. The relative strength of medicine and weakness of theology meant that philosophical studies in the Italian universities typically developed not as an offshoot of systematic theology (as at Paris or Oxford) but in the context of medical theory. The Italian scholastic tradition, as a result, was more concerned with physics than metaphysics, while Aristotelian logic was taught to all candidates for medical degrees but not necessarily to students of grammar and rhetoric. This is the reason why the arts disciplines and medicine were usually grouped in one faculty in Italy, something that rarely occurred elsewhere in Europe.

The most important of the Italian universities not founded from Bologna was that of Arezzo, which became a major regional university, although it never had an international reputation. In the last decades of the twelfth century, flourishing private and church-sponsored schools of law and grammar, and possibly also of medicine, were already making Arezzo the principal Tuscan center for higher studies. In 1215, these schools were given further impetus by the arrival from Bologna of a famous professor of Roman law, Roffredo of Benevento, who attracted

large numbers of students and set off a period of rapid growth. By the time of the first known statutes of 1255 (the earliest Italian university statutes to survive), the university had eight chairs salaried by the commune: four in law, two in grammar and dialectic, and two in medicine. These professors constituted a *collegium* that governed the behavior of the faculty and students, set fees and course schedules, examined for degrees, and certified licenses to teach in all the schools of the city. Arezzo's licenses were recognized throughout Tuscany. No student statutes survive, but students probably had their own *universitas* and were certainly represented by an elected beadle who was also a notary. We must envision, therefore, a faculty-directed university with municipal financing, very different in kind from the Bolognese model.

The 1250s were the golden age of Arezzo's university, even as the city's power in Tuscany waned. The university was forced to close its doors in 1260-1261, in the political chaos that followed the battle of Montaperti. But it was prestigious enough to weather this storm; it reopened in November 1261 and survived and flourished for nearly thirty years more even in the face of Arezzo's continued political and economic decline. In 1285, Arezzo's schools served as a model for the reform of Siena's university. However, the final military disaster suffered by Arezzo at Campaldino in 1289 signaled the decline of its university as well. By 1312, all the professors had left. Attempts to revive the *studium* were made in 1338 and 1355, but not until 1450 could Arezzo again boast of an enduring university.

As Arezzo declined, Siena became the principal university in Tuscany. During the disputes at Bologna in the 1320s, the governing council of Siena set out to lure away as many students and faculty members as possible with promises of secure salaries and housing subsidies. Although many of the scholars returned to Bologna later, this government-sponsored program ensured that Siena would thereafter have an international reputation. Finally, in 1357, the city fathers obtained an imperial privilege that named Siena a *studium generale* and granted its graduates the *ius ubique docendi*.

Naples too had a university independent of the Bolognese model, founded in 1224 by a decree of Frederick II. It was intended to give southern Italy a native institution of higher learning to rival Bologna,

and to provide lawyers and civil servarus for the royal government. On this account, its foundation decree stipulated that subjects of the emperor were henceforth forbidden to study elsewhere, a provision clearly aimed at Guelf Bologna. Supervision of the *studium* was placed in the hands of a royal official. Its corporations were organized by discipline and included both masters and students, apparently on the model of similar guilds at Montpellier; Salerno also provided models For some of the institutions at Naples. Frederick probably intended to transfer Salerno's ancient medical schools to Naples but never succeeded. Indeed, the emperor's attention to the whole effort seems to have wandered more than once, and the university did not really establish itself in his lifetime. The *studium* was effectively refounded in 1266 by Charles of Anjou and played an important role in the cultural life of Naples into the fifteenth century.

The *studium curiae* or Roman curial university was also a princely foundation, created by Pope Innocent IV in 1244-1245 with faculties of theology, canon law, and civil law. It had no fixed seat but followed the papal court and served primarily as a source of benefices for clergy in the papal and cardinalate households. It was governed by a faculty *collegium* under the chairmanship of the cardinal chamberlain. A second papal university, the *studium urbis* in Rome itself, was founded in 1303 by a decree of Pope Boniface VIII. It suffered from Boniface's early death but survived the subsequent Avignonese papacy. As reformed in 1431 by merger with the *studium curiae*, it is the ancestor of the present-day University of Rome. During the fourteenth century, it had universities of students and masters on the Bolognese model. Close control by papal officials was foreseen by the founding decree, but with the absence of the papal court, lay officials of the city of Rome assumed real control of the university administration.

Padua was one of the earliest offshoots of Bologna and its only serious rival at any time. Although Padua's greatest flowering was in the Renaissance when, especially for sciences and medicine, it outranked even Bologna, the university was large and distinguished from the beginning. It benefited from being relatively close to Bologna (and thus being an easy place for discontented scholars to go) and from continuous, strong support by the city's rulers: at first the bishop and commune, then the Carrara and Delia Scala lords of Padua, and finally

the republic of Venice. Venice had no university before modern times and adopted Padua in the fifteenth century as the chief institution of higher learning for the expanding Venetian territorial state. Similarly, several attempts to create a university at Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ended with the transfer of the Florentine *studium* to Pisa in 1472.

None of the largest Italian cities of the Middle Ages had major universities, with the exception of the unique royal foundation at Naples. The reason for this situation is probably to be sought in the commercial ideals and aspirations of the rulers of the great cities. The Genoese, Milanese, Venetians, and Florentines seemed ready to send their younger sons—those destined for professional and church careers—away to school; and they seem at the same time to have been unwilling to entertain the presence in their own cities of large populations of foreign students. Italy's flourishing medieval universities, therefore, remained the property of cities of the second rank.

There is no single bibliography for the history of the Italian universities as such. Reviews of the literature on individual universities appear in local historical journals and in the publications of the Italian universities themselves. The most useful of these is *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*. At the time of this writing, the massive *Bibliographie internationale de l'histoire des universités* had not yet published a volume for Italy, but many aspects of university history in general were addressed in the volumes already issued. Also useful for studying universities in general are book reviews and articles in *History of Universities*.

See also *Ars Dictaminis*; *Bologna*; *Education*; *Law: Canon*; *Law: Roman*; *Liberal Arts*; *Notaries*; *Padua*

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Urban Development

Like most structures of the late Roman empire, cities contracted and urban life disintegrated as the empire fell. This urban decay was most pronounced in the western half of the empire. Beginning in the tenth and eleventh centuries, cities expanded, and urban life recovered in western Europe as a consequence of the "commercial revolution." This urban revival was most pronounced in Italy, especially northern Italy, since this was the birthplace of the commercial revolution. By the end of the Middle Ages, a number of Italian cities had even transformed themselves into city-states, which governed territorial empires, controlled world markets, fashioned European diplomacy, and fostered the artistic and intellectual movements of the day. The unique culture of the Italian Renaissance was based on, and was a result of, medieval Italian city life. Yet the splendor, power, and vibrancy of a city like Florence during the *Quattrocento* would have been hard to discern in the cities of Roman Italy in the fifth century.

The Roman empire rested on a foundation composed of cities. Because of the economic problems and political confusion of the late empire, the state began to depend excessively on that foundation. The state taxed cities and their inhabitants heavily and regulated the activity of artisans and commercial groups. Urban officials served as imperial administrators and were personally liable for the taxes owed from their district. Occupations became both hereditary and onerous for the urban classes, whose only relief was to desert the positions and the cities. The flight from the cities was hastened by political conflict during the late imperial period and by the invasions of German tribes. By the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century, most Italian cities had erected walls for defense. Significantly, the urban area that these walls encompassed was smaller than before. The physical shrinking of the city reflected the shrinking of its population. Urban building ceased, cities abandoned their forums, and public

buildings were mined to help build the walls. As imperial political and economic control became decentralized, cities, like dying stars, collapsed in on themselves. The devastating Ostrogothic-Byzantine war (535-554) hastened this collapse, and the advent of the Lombards (c. 568) almost eliminated the once-elaborate Roman civic administration in Italy. Cities, which were once economic and residential centers, became primarily military and ecclesiastical administrative centers. The bishop became a central figure in city administration, as did the representative of the local military or tribal leader.

Although one-fourth of the Roman cities in Italy completely vanished, the truncated survivors preserved at a minimal level the hallmarks of Roman urbanism: civic administration, public buildings, and the classical heritage. Notaries, for instance, preserved elements of Roman law. In addition, many Italian cities in the early Middle Ages lived in the shadow of Byzantium and preserved a modicum of urbanism fueled by trade with the Byzantine empire.

Although the market systems of Italian cities were too underdeveloped for an urban revival under the Carolingians, city bureaucracies did grow and cities developed their own legal codes. Cities increased their autonomy as the authority of the Carolingians and their successors waned. Raids by the Muslims and Hungarians forced cities to serve as places of refuge and to develop their own military force, a militia organized by city quarters. Cities began to receive various liberties from the kings. Some bishops even received political power and were particularly conscientious about organizing defensive walls. The autonomy of the cities was exemplified by the development of bitter rivalries between them, a feature of Italian urban development throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Around 1100, throughout Italy, there was a political revolution in the towns. Where once government authority had lain in the hands of the bishop or local representative of the emperor, a sworn assembly of the citizens elected an executive body (usually four to twelve men) to rule over them. These were the consuls, a name that reflected the classical heritage of these cities; and this was the birth of the commune. A later addition was a body of advisers to the consuls; this advisory body was called the council or senate. This communal development stemmed from the idea of corporate unity, an idea so dominant in Italian urban

development that families, guilds, and political factions had a corporate organization parallel to communal organization.

Communes began to expand their authority and populace beyond their walls, and even extended their walls during the High Middle Ages. The commercial revolution generated this renewal. By 900, Milan was the commercial center for its surrounding region, and rural families, including major landholding families, flocked to it. The Italian urban revival and the commercial revolution itself were fostered by these landholding families, who supplemented their position by participating in trade. By 1000, Milan was the hub of the trade network of northern Italy. Communes were involved in both long-distance and local trade. The rise of Venice as an economic power and an urban entity was fueled by its monopoly of the local salt trade and its control of trade in the Adriatic. This growth accelerated through Venice's long-distance trading contacts with the Byzantine empire. Other port cities benefited from their contacts with the wider Mediterranean world. Pisa and Genoa especially benefited from trading contacts made during the crusades. This trade generated further economic and industrial growth, such as shipbuilding. Complicated trade networks developed. Venice was the center for trade uniting central Europe, the Po valley, and the Levant; Milan was the center for trade uniting northern Europe and Italy; Genoa was the center for trade uniting northern Europe and the western Mediterranean. Smaller towns duplicated the economic activity of the larger ones. Moreover, Italian merchants operated internationally. Some areas internationalized their local economy: San Gimignano marketed its saffron throughout the known world. Economic activity and wealth were distinctive features of Italian urbanism.

As control of trade became crucial for urban development, Italian cities squabbled over trade routes. Pisa and Genoa fought for control of the western Mediterranean, and Genoa and Venice fought for control of the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Inland cities also squabbled over trade routes. Florence and Lucca fought for control of routes linking the northern and central areas of Italy. By the early fifteenth century, five cities—Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples—dominated Italian economics and politics.

As the urban elite became wealthier and more numerous, its members wanted more of a say in their government: in maintaining

peace, defending their city, promoting their interests, and exercising judicial and fiscal authority. Communes directed their grievances against the local lay or ecclesiastical lord, who usually represented the Holy Roman emperor. Tension between the papacy and the empire during the investiture controversy (1075-1122) and afterward also influenced urban political development, with cities forming rival parties to support either the papacy (Guelfs) or the empire (Ghibellines), though these parties were always defined by local issues. This factionalism was also a distinctive feature of Italian urbanism in the Middle Ages.

Although the transition from lordship to commune could be violent, many times it was not, and the bishop or lay lord accepted the authority of the commune or even became its active ally. Communes eventually usurped the state's rights of coinage, tolls, customs, justice, and war. Communes also instituted political control of the countryside around the city. Efficient control of the countryside guaranteed food, troops, and taxes for the city and eliminated the power of the rural nobility.

Despite their rivalries, communes defended their rights against the Holy Roman emperor. In 1167, the communes of northern Italy formed a league to oppose attempts by Frederick I Barbarossa to reimpose imperial authority. The treaty of Constance (1183) formally recognized the communes and their rights. The communes also united against Frederick II (1195-1250) and his attempts to reimpose imperial authority in Italy.

Communes also experienced considerable internal strife. The minor landholding nobility, who had recently moved to the city and begun to engage in trade, collided with the major landholding families, who had also been living in the city and engaging in trade. Both groups clashed with the artisans and the strictly urban merchants. Internal disputes based on family, wealth, status, occupation, and residence (quarters and districts developed rivalries) exemplified the complexity and vibrancy of Italian city life. The constant stream of immigration from countryside to city, a result of population growth and the city's control of the countryside, exacerbated these tensions. Families built defensive towers that studded the urban landscape; vendettas proliferated. These internal disputes became a standard feature of Italian urban

development throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Because of these disputes, Italian cities witnessed a political evolution from the mid-twelfth century to the mid-thirteenth century. This was the advent of the *podestà*, an outside executive, who was usually specially trained for this position. He came equipped with his own advisory council; his own bureaucracy, including judges, treasurers, and notaries; and his own soldiers to enforce order. His goal was to ensure order and justice; however, podestas tended to fail, largely because factional tendencies were too intense. One unpopular *podestà* had his teeth removed by his opponents; he prudently quit. Despite its failings, government by podestas dramatically increased the number of urban officials and refined the cities' revenue-gathering tools, instituting both direct and indirect taxes. Cities also funded debt. The rising cost of warfare to maintain the city against its rivals and to ensure its control of the countryside necessitated this; in the late thirteenth century, cities shifted from using an urban militia to relying on mercenary bands.

From the early thirteenth century on, a state within a state developed in most Italian cities. This was the *popolo*, a guild-based pressure group that reflected the tension between the urban nobility, who held political authority, and the lesser merchants, artisans, and bureaucrats, especially the recent arrivals, who wanted political power. Some nobles gave up their status and joined with the *popolo*. The *popolo* had a disciplined and highly structured organization that often paralleled the commune's own governmental structure. Its captain counterbalanced the *podestà*; its council of representatives from guilds, professional associations, militia companies, and districts and neighborhoods counterbalanced the commune's council. The *popolo* had its own officials, such as the executor of justice, whose role was to protect members from the commune's officials, especially the *podestà*. Unfair taxation and unequal justice, both of which favored the urban nobility, caused the *popolo* to demand communal offices. In some communes street brawls turned into civil war, and the *popolo*, because of its use of violence and its ability to join with one of the noble factions, forced out the *podestà*'s government, though it kept the bureaucracy. The new regimes instantly put social and political restraints on the urban nobility, which crippled them politically. These restraints were also

intended to curb violence by the nobles. Regimes based on the *popolo* never extended political power and representation through all the urban classes, but these regimes did have some signal accomplishments, reflected especially in renewed urban building and patronage of the arts. Nevertheless, the *popolo* was dominated by the wealthy, and civic republicanism in Italian cities always implied oligarchy. The failed uprising of impoverished Florentine industrial workers, called the *ciompi* (1378), reflected the reality of oligarchy, the continued existence of factionalism, and the use of violence to solve political questions.

Italian cities saw phenomenal growth in population up to the advent of the black death (1348). Florence, Venice, Milan, and Genoa had populations in excess of 100,000. Then populations fell; Florence, for example, lost one-third of its population, and other cities suffered similarly. Recurrent visitations of the plague and other diseases limited the urban population from the late Middle Ages through the early modern period.

Plague, which killed the poor in droves, and the *ciompi* uprising illustrated a social reality of Italian urbanism. The fabulous wealth of the urban elite existed side by side with the crushing poverty of the urban laboring classes. In some cities one-fourth or more of the population had neither property nor any other possessions and lived a precarious hand-to-mouth existence. City governments experimented with poor relief and control; and private organizations, such as religious confraternities and the Franciscans, tried to alleviate the effects of poverty.

Oligarchy, factionalism, and violence doomed the popular regimes and paved the way for the accession of *signori*—regimes dominated by one man. One faction would eventually gain power in a commune and would then extend the term of the urban executive, either the *podestà* or the captain, for life. Its opponents would then be exiled. Like a wave, signorial governments spread throughout Italy in the fourteenth century, although Florence—until the advent of the Medici (1434)—resisted this form of government, as did Venice.

Signorial rule was personal and could become dynastic, reflecting a change in the urban ethos. To secure public order, government became a private possession. Despite this curtailment of personal liberties and loss of public responsibility, signorial cities were more peaceful than

their predecessors. Moreover, the *signore* and his court became the font from which the cultural achievements of the Italian Renaissance poured forth.

See also Black Death; Ciompi; Florence; Genoa; Ghibelline; Gothic Wars; Guelfs; Investiture Controversy; Lombard Leagues; Lombards; Milan; Podesta; Tides, Official; Venice

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Urban II, Pope

Pope Urban II (Qdo of Lagery, Eudes de Chatillon; c. 1035-1099, r. 1088-1099) was a church reformer and founder of the crusading movement. Urban was a native of France and was descended from a noble family of Châtillon-sur-Marne, near Soissons; Odo was his baptismal name. During his early school days at Reims, he came under the influence of Saint Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian order, who remained a potent influence in shaping his goals and values even after he had become pope. Odo's early career followed a pattern common among young clerics of noble lineage. After becoming archdeacon of Reims by 1160, he abandoned his career among the secular clergy and entered the monastery of Cluny. There, too, he advanced rapidly. By c. 1070 he was prior of Cluny; then Pope Gregory VII recruited him into the papal service in 1079-1080 and soon named him cardinal-bishop of Ostia,

Odo served Gregory diligently, at times at considerable peril to himself, notably when he was a-papal legate in Germany during some of the darkest days of the pope's struggle against King Henry IV. When Gregory died at Salerno on 25 May 1085, Odo seemed a likely successor, but the choice fell instead on Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, who reigned briefly as Pope Victor III. Shortly before his death (in 1087), Victor recommended that Odo be elected to succeed him. On 12 March 1088, the cardinals who had assembled at Terracina complied with Victor's suggestion, and Odo was crowned as Pope Urban II the same day.

The papacy was at this point in dire straits. Since Rome and the

patrimony of Saint Peter were in the hands of Henry IV's supporters, papal revenues were greatly reduced, an antipope (Clement III) had the backing of the emperor, and the church reform movement seemed to be faltering. The great achievement of Urban's pontificate was to redress and, in large measure, to reverse this situation.

Urban was in many ways far more successful in implementing the papal reform program than Gregory VII had ever been. He achieved this in part by an unremitting round of meetings with bishops, the clergy, and powerful laymen, in which he preached, argued, bargained, and cajoled to induce his hearers to accept the main planks of the reformers' platform—to refrain from simoniacal appointments to church offices, to restore church property to clerical control, and to commit the clergy at every level to celibacy. At the same time, Urban sought, with considerable success, to reduce the political tension resulting from the confrontations that had marked the pontificate of Gregory VII. In place of confrontation, Urban offered negotiation; instead of demands, he advanced proposals; and he preferred to outmaneuver his opponents rather than challenge them directly.

Urban saw clearly that his reform program could succeed in the long run only if it was securely anchored in the church's legal structure. Accordingly, he devoted a great deal of time and effort to persuading church councils to adopt the principal tenets of his program as church law. He also lavished time and attention on his role as supreme judge in the ecclesiastical court system, and his decisions became an integral part of the canonical jurisprudence of later generations.



Pope Urban II. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 193v.

Urban is best-known, however, as the pope who proclaimed the First Crusade. At the council of Clermont on 27 November 1095, Urban called on the knights, nobles, and bishops of Christendom to join in an expedition to push back Turkish armies that had occupied Asia Minor and to help the Byzantine emperor restore Christian control over the Levant. He further promised that participants in this expedition would receive spiritual rewards, as well as a share in the conquests that they achieved. The council adopted his proposals, which quickly aroused a broad and enthusiastic response—probably broader and more enthusiastic, indeed, than Urban had anticipated. The pope devoted a great deal of time and effort over the following months to spelling out the implications of his proposal and refining arrangements for its organization and implementation.

By the fall of 1096, crusaders from France, Germany, and England were on the way to their rendezvous at Constantinople. In Italy, Urban's proposal aroused interest at first mainly among the restless Norman conquerors of the south, who saw it as an opportunity to secure a foothold in Byzantine territories; and the merchants of a few maritime cities in the north, especially Genoa and Pisa, who perceived that the venture, if successful, might open up profitable commercial opportunities in the Middle East.

After the initial bands of crusaders had departed, Urban once more directed his attention to the implementation of church reform and endeavored to resolve the issues that had put the papacy at odds with the principal monarchs north of the Alps. Although he achieved some successes, his program was still incomplete when he fell ill in the summer of 1099. At the beginning of July, the crusading armies that he had dispatched to the east had taken the city of Jerusalem. News of this momentous victory had not yet reached Rome when Urban died on 19 July 1099."

See also **Crusades; Gregory VII, Pope**

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Urban IV, Pope

Before becoming pope, Urban IV (Jacques Pantaléon; c. 1200-1264, r. 1261 — 1264) had been bishop of Verdun and legate to the Holy Land (1252), and the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1255).

Urban's predecessor, Pope Alexander IV, had wanted to replace Manfred (the natural son of Emperor Frederick II Hohen staufen) as king of Sicily with a younger son of Henry III of England; Urban set this scheme aside and substituted Charles of Anjou as the candidate. Charles was to have the kingdom of Sicily, except for Benevento, in return for an annual payment of 10,000 gold *uncie* (later reduced to 8,000), plus a down payment of 50,000 marcs when he received his kingdom; and 300 knights to serve three months in any year, on request, in the papal armies. Charles also promised never to accept the

imperial crown or the kingship of the Romans (it was their holdings in both Germany and Sicily that had made the Hohenstaufen unacceptable to the pope), not to become involved in Lombardy or Tuscany, and to exercise no charge in any town in the papal state. In return, the pope announced a crusade in Charles's support and, to finance it, levied an ecclesiastical tithe (tenth) in France and Provence (to which there was widespread resistance). The clause concerning offices in the papal state was almost immediately ignored to allow Charles to become senator of Rome, shortly before Urban's death.

Urban minimized the Germans involvement in Italian and Sicilian affairs by granting to both Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso X of Castile, in 1263, the right to call themselves "king elect of the Romans." He thus prolonged an interregnum in the Holy Roman empire that had lasted since 1254. He also successfully maneuvered to reduce Manfred's support in Lombardy and Tuscany, which initially posed a severe danger.

Faced with the downfall, in 1260, of the Latin empire of Constantinople at the hands of Michael VIII Palaeologus, Urban declared a tax in 1262 for recovering it, but in most places he failed to collect the tax. He also started negotiations with Michael for a union of the Greek and Latin churches; these negotiations were to lead to an abortive agreement for union at the Council of Lyon in 1274.

See also **Charles I of Anjou; Manfred**

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Urban V, Pope

Pope Urban V (Guillaume de Grimoard, 1310—1370, r. 1362-1370) had previously been abbot of Saint Victor in Marseille and three times papal nuncio in Italy. Although he was personally frugal, he was a generous patron of both art (notably in embellishing the papal palace at Avignon) and learning—he endowed several universities and founded two, at Krakow and Vienna. In 1364, he compelled Cardinal Albornoz to make peace in the Romagna with Bernabo Visconti, hoping to free resources for a crusade organized by the king of Cyprus. He also hoped to use the mercenary companies on the crusade, but they refused to go. Urban's subsequent vigorous measures against the *condottieri* who remained in France and Italy (he excommunicated them and forbade cities to employ them) were largely unsuccessful. However, the peace he had arranged enabled him to take his curia back to Rome from Avignon in 1367, although he relied on support from Emperor Charles IV to establish order in Italy. The Lateran palace being in ruins, Urban settled at the Vatican, creating a precedent for all future popes. Charles arrived in 1368 but failed entirely to impose his will. In 1370, under pressure from the cardinals, Urban returned to Avignon, where he died.

See also Albornoz, Gil Alvarez Cabrillo de; Condottieri; Rome; Visconti Family

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Urban VI, Pope

Pope Urban VI (Bartolomeo Prignano, c. 1318-1389, r. 1378-1389) had been a curial official. When Pope Gregory XI died in Rome in 1378 shortly after arriving from Avignon, a divided college of cardinals elected Urban to succeed him. Finding the new pope Urban VI intolerably rude and violent, the cardinals slipped away from Rome. Most of them met at Fondi in the Angevin kingdom of Naples and rejected the election as having been coerced by a rioting Roman populace. They chose from among their French majority Robert of Geneva to reign as (anti • pope) Clement VII. This new claimant failed

to drive Urban from Rome and went to Avignon, which he made his residence. Urban named a new group of cardinals, but he soon also alienated them, and some lost their lives for conspiring against him. Nor would Urban heed the advice given to him by Catherine of Siena. This intransigence contributed to dividing Europe into hostile religious camps, usually along the lines of alliances in the Hundred Years' War. Moreover, Urban meddled in the politics of Naples, and he lost most of his political support in Italy. Nonetheless, when Urban died in Rome in 1389, his cardinals were quick to perpetuate the Great Schism by electing a successor from their own ranks. The schism would endure for another quarter-century.

See also **Catherine of Siena, Saint**

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Urbino

Urbino is a city in the Marche, bordering on the Romagna, situated at 1,600 feet (486 meters) above sea level, on the top of two hills between the valleys of the Foglia and the Metauro. The Roman *municipium* was known as Urbinum Metaurense. There are remains of a pool from the Roman era in the church of San Sergio (first home of the bishops of Urbino) and a Roman theater beneath the present Via San Domenico.

Urbino was the seat of a diocese from the fifth century on. The town was besieged and taken from the Goths by Belisarius in 538. Under Byzantine rule, Urbino became an important outpost against the Lombards of Arezzo. In 595, Pope Gregory the Great entrusted Leontius, bishop of Urbino, with the church of Rimini during an illness

of the bishop of Rimini. Urbino was donated to the church and included within the papal state in a treaty of 817 between Emperor Louis I the Pious and Pope Paschal I. In the twelfth century, Urbino was Ghibelline and staunchly loyal to the Swabian emperors.

In 1226, Frederick II gave Urbino as a comital her to the brothers Buonconte and Taddeo of Montefeltro as a reward for their assistance. Under Buonconte's grandson, Count Guido (c. 1220-1298; see Dante's *Inferno*, 27), and his successors, the territory was enlarged, despite the sometimes fierce opposition of the papacy, until it included Gubbio, Cagli, and Casteldurante (now called Urbania). The Montefeltro remained important military captains (*condottieri*) through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when they were often in sharp competition with the papacy and with the Malatesta, the *condottieri* lords of neighboring Rimini. In 1443, Pope Eugenius IV granted the title of duke to the young, weak Oddantonio. However, when Oddantonio died, the papacy did not recognize the title and declined even to grant the accustomed apostolic vicariate. Not until 1474 was the hereditary title of duke finally conceded to Federico of Montefeltro by Pope Sixtus IV. After Federico's death in 1482, the duchy passed to his son, Guidubaldo, who was the last Montefeltro ruler of Urbino. Guidubaldo is the ruler famously described in Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (in which the discussions were imagined as taking place in 1506).



View of Urbino. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

Much of the medieval town was destroyed to make way for Renaissance building projects, such as the ducal palace (c. 1444-1482) and the fortifications of 1507. Surviving fourteenth-century monuments include the churches of San Francesco, Sant'Agostino, and San Domenico and the oratory of San Giovanni Battista.

See also **Condottieri; Montefeltro Family; Rimini**

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Usury

See Banks and Banking.

V

Valentinian III

Emperor Valentinian III (Placidus Valentinianus, Flavius Valentinianus; 419-455, r. 425-455) was the son of the emperor Honorius's sister Galla Placidia and the patrician (later emperor) Constantius, and the brother of J usta Grata Honoria. In the early 420s, Valentinian was proclaimed *nobilissimus* ("most noble") by his uncle Honorius, but neither this title nor his father's emperorship was initially recognized in the east. After his mother had a falling-out with Honorius, the young Valentinian accompanied her and his sister to exile at the court of his cousin Theodosius II (401 or 402–450) at Constantinople. The attitude of the eastern court toward Valentinian changed in 423, when the usurper Johannes seized power in the west. Valentinian was first reaffirmed as *nobilissimus* in 423-424 and then named Caesar (junior emperor) in 424. Also in 424, he was betrothed to his cousin Licinia Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius II. In 425 Valentinian was proclaimed Augustus at Rome after the defeat of Johannes, and in 437 he returned to Constantinople for his marriage. Merobaudes wrote a poem (now partially extant) in honor of the wedding.

In the early years of his reign, Valentinian was overshadowed by his mother. After his marriage, much of the real authority lay in the hands of the patrician and master of soldiers Aetius. Nor does Valentinian seem to have had much aptitude for ruling. He is described as spoiled, pleasure-loving, and influenced by sorcerers and astrologers. He divided his time primarily between Rome and Ravenna. Like his mother, Valentinian was devoted to religion. He contributed to two churches of Saint Laurence, in Rome and Ravenna. He also oversaw the accumulation of ecclesiastical authority in the hands of the bishop of Rome as he granted ever greater authority and prestige to Pope Leo I (the Great, r. 440-461) in particular.

Valendnian's reign saw the continued dissolution of the western

empire. By 439, nearly all of North Africa was effectively lost to the Vandals, although Valentinian did attempt to neutralize that threat by betrothing his sister Placidia to the Vandal prince Huneric. In Spain, the Suevi controlled the northwest, and much of Gaul was to all intents and purposes controlled by groups of Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks, and Alans. In 454, Valentinian murdered his supreme general, Aetius, presumably in an attempt to rule in his own right. But the next year he himself was murdered by two members of his bodyguard who had been partisans of Aetius.

Although Valentinian was ineffectual as a ruler, his legitimate status and his connection to the old ruling dynasty provided a last vestige of unity for the increasingly fragmented Roman empire. After his death, the decay of the west accelerated. The different regions of the west went their own way, and the last several western emperors, the so-called shadow or puppet emperors, were usually overshadowed by one barbarian general or another and were also limited primarily to Italy.

See also Aëtius, Flavius; Eudoxia; Honorius, Emperor; Galla Placidia

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Valerius Maximus

The Roman writer Valerius Maximus (fl. c. a.d. 20) was of undistinguished origins. He accompanied the proconsul Sextus Pompeius to Asia c. 27. After returning, Valerius wrote (c. 29— 32) a collection of historical anecdotes, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri* (*Books of Memorable Words and Deeds*), which was dedicated to the emperor Tiberius (r. 14-37). This book includes extracts from Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Pompeius Trogus, and others; the extracts are divided into two categories— "domestic" and "foreign"—and are usually concerned with various moral traits. The book is full of rhetorical artifice and is in general a characteristic production of the Latin "silver age." Two epitomes were made in the fourth and fifth centuries, and the work was a popular school text during the Middle Ages.

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Vallombrosa

See Camaldoli; Giovanni Gualberto, Saint

Vandals

The Vandals are believed to have originated in Scandinavia in the distant past. By the second century after Christ, they occupied the area around Silesia and were divided into the Silings and the Asdings. During the third and fourth centuries, they frequently raided the Roman empire, and some Vandals accompanied Radagaisus in his invasion of Italy in 405. On 31 December 406, a horde of Asding and Siling Vandals, accompanied by Alans, Burgundians, and Suevi, crossed the frozen and unprotected Rhine into Gaul. In 409, all but the Burgundians passed into Spain. In 416, the Silings and Alans were overwhelmingly defeated by the Visigoths. Their remnants then joined the As-dings, whose kings henceforth were known as kings of the Vandals and Alans.

In 428, Gaiseric, who was to become one of the most able Germanic kings of the period, succeeded to the Vandal throne. In the next year, he led an estimated 80,000 Vandals and Alans across to Africa, perhaps having been invited to do so by a disaffected Roman count. In 439, Carthage itself was captured. The loss of North Africa was a disaster for the western empire. Not only did it put much of the grain supply of Italy into enemy hands; it also gave the Vandals an opportunity to take to piracy. Vandal raiders descended on the coasts of Italy, Spain, and even Greece. In 455, Gaiseric went so far as to land at Ostia, the port of Rome. Pope Leo I was said to have met him and prevented an out-and-out sack, but the Vandals nevertheless looted and plundered for fourteen days. They returned to Carthage not only with the spoils taken

by Titus from Jerusalem in A.D. 70 but also with the empress Eudoxia and her daughters Eudocia and Placidia. Placidia was then married to Gaiseric's son Hun-eric.

Unlike the Germanic settlers in Europe, the Arian Vandals had difficulty reaching an accommodation with the local Roman population. They persecuted the Catholics, and many bishops went into exile, often to either Sardinia or Italy. Other Romans also fled to Italy and the east. The Vandal kingdom came to an end in 533, when the emperor Justinian's general Belisarius defeated the last Vandal king, Gelimer, in two battles. Of all the Germans who occupied the Roman empire, the Vandals probably had the least lasting impact.

See also **Belisarius; Eudocia; Eudoxia; Gaiseric the Vandal**

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Vanni, Andrea

Although a number of Sieneese paintings are attributed to Andrea di Vanni d'Andrea (fl. c. 1332-1414), he is not a well-known painter. He was active in Siena, and his work is found in frescoes and panel paintings; but his birth and death dates remain unknown, and even his relationship to his contemporary Lippo Vanni has not been clearly established. Andrea is identified as sharing a workshop with Bartolo di Fredi for two years (1353-1355). Berenson (1968) identifies only one of

Andrea Vanni's works as signed, a triptych of the *Agony in the Garden*, *Crucifixion*, and *Descent into Limbo* (Washington, Corcoran Gallery, c. 1383). In 1370, he was working on mages of the Blessed Andrea Gallerani with Antonio Veneziano in the *duomo* of Siena. Andrea Vanni is last documented on two trips to Naples in 1375 and 1383, but other works are attributed to him well after these dates.

Andrea Vanni's work shows the strong influence of many well-known Sieneese painters of the first half of the century: Lippo Memmi, Simone Martini, and the Lorenzetti brothers. His conservative stylistic approach, however, appears to have been governed by choice rather than by social or historical circumstances; evidently, then, his style was accepted and found a market during the period after the plague. Frescoes formerly attributed to him or to Simone Martini are now attributed to Bartolo di Fredi, indicating a parallelism of styles among the Sieneese workshops.

Andrea Vanni's work centers in Siena, where he is known to have been active from the 1350s through the first decade of the fifteenth century. Among his most important Sieneese works are the following: frescoes painted in the Sala dei Cardinali (Palazzo Pubblico), which bear the partial date "136—"; a *Madonna Lactam* in the church of San Donato; a fresco of Saint Catherine of Siena in the Cappelle delle Volte in San Domenico; and three panels from a polyptych of Saint Anne holding Mary, Saint Ursula, and Saint Agnes. Works of his have also been identified in the environs of Naples at Aversa, in the Cappella di Casaluce, dating from his trip to this region in 1375. These frescoes include scenes of the *Dormition* and *Assumption of the Virgin*, accompanied by representations of saints Anthony Abbot and Catherine of Siena. A work dating from 1398 was painted in collaboration with Giovanni di Paolo in the first chapel to the right of the choir of San Francesco. It was followed by a polyptych for the high altar of Santo Stefano in the tradition of Duccio's *Maestà*. This large altarpiece portrays an *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Fourteen Saints and the Four Evangelists*. Andrea Vanni's early relationship to Bartolo di Fredi becomes apparent when one compares his *Adoration of the Magi* (New Orleans, Isaac Delgado Museum, Kress Collection) with panels of the *Adoration* by Bartolo. Both of them seem to have influenced the *Strozzi Adoration* (Florence, Uffizi) by Gentile da

Fabrizio (c. 1370— 1450), in their Lorenzettian conflations of the iconography with the misbehaving animals in the background and orientalizing motifs. Even the saddle on which Mary is sitting represents as much a departure from conventional Sienese images of this subject as the altar on which Gentile places his Madonna and Child. Another work attributed to Andrea Vanni is a Madonna in the Palazzo Comunale in Seggiano.

Andrea Vanni's oeuvre is closely linked to that of his predecessors Simone Martini, Lippo Memmi, and the Lorenzetti, and to that of his contemporaries Luca di Tommè and Giacomo di Mino; it is thus at the hub of fourteenth-century Sienese painting.

See also Bartolo di Fredi Cini; Lorenzetti, Pietro and Ambrogio; Martini, Simone; Memmi, Lippo

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Vanni, Lippo

Lippo Vanni was born in Siena and raised in the Siennese artistic traditions of the early *Trecento*. He emerged as one of the city's masters of illusionism. His earliest work appears to be largely in miniatures, but he went on to wall frescoes and panel paintings. He is first documented in 1344, when he was commissioned by the *spedale* (hospital) of Santa Maria della Scala to paint an illuminated book. He was then accused of having taken and pawned a chorale book owned by the hospital, and a court order and soldiers were necessary to retrieve the book—an episode suggesting that Vanni either was a thief or was embroiled in a dispute over his wages.

Lippo Vanni's style reflects strong influences from Lippo Memmi, the Lorenzetti brothers, Simone Martini, and the miniaturist Niccolò di ser Sozzo Tegiiacci. For example, the painted cover of a *gabella* (city tax book) of 1345, formerly attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti, is probably the work of Vanni; their styles are very close. Among Vanni's earliest works are miniatures in the *corale* of *Libro dei Conti Correnti* (1345; Siena, Opera del Duomo, Corale n. 4), the Gradual for the Collegiata at Casole d'Elsa (c. 1345-1350), the Berry Antiphonary (Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts), and a roundel held by angels over the entrance door to the monastery church of Lecceto. Works attributed to Vanni from the period 1350-1360 include a *Madonna and Child* (Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria); a seminary chorale book (Siena, Seminario Pontificio Pio XII); an antiphonary (Siena: Opera del Duomo); and a fresco of the *Madonna and Saints* for the seminary in Siena, which presents itself as though it were a regular polyptych with gilded wooden frame and other details. For the monastery church of Santi Domenico and Sisto in Rome, Vanni painted the triptych of Saint Aurea, showing the Madonna and child enthroned with saints Aurea and Dominic and angels; Eve is seated at the feet of the Madonna, and the tempter serpent is writhing on the floor. This unique work is signed and dated (1358). Between 1360 and 1370, Vanni decorated the

triumphal arch over the choir and painted a series of frescoes depicting the life of the Virgin at the church of San Leonardo al Lago, in the province of Siena. Lippo also painted a reliquary triptych of saints Dominic, Peter Martyr, and Thomas Aquinas (1372-1374; Vatican Galleries, Museo Cristiano). Another reliquary triptych (in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore) dates from c. 1374-1375. Vanni painted in grisaille the *Battle of Torrita in the Val di Chiana* in the Sala del Mappamundo of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (1363) and worked on the vaults of the *duomo* with Antonio Veneziano (1369-1370). In 1372, Lippo executed a fresco of the Annunciation in the church of San Domenico in Siena.

See also Lorenzetti, Pietro and Ambrogio; Martini, Simone

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Veneziano, Paolo

The earliest undisputed date for Paolo Veneziano (died c. 1362) is 1333, when he signed and dated a triptych, the *Dorrnition of the Virgin*, formerly at San Lorenzo in Vicenza and now in the civic museum there. An art collector in Venice mentions him in a memorandum of 1335. His *Madonna and Child Enthroned* in the Crespi collection in Milan is signed and dated August 1340. A signed deposition by Paolo of March 1341 is in the Venetian archives, where there was once a document of September 1342 commissioning a throne for use in a state festival from a painter named Paolo. This Paolo, who appears to be the same artist, enjoyed official status at the time. In April 1345, Paolo and his sons Luca and Giovanni signed and dated a panel used to protect the enamel and gold Pala d'Oro on the high altar of the basilica of San Marco. The cover, which is still in place, depicts episodes from the legend of Saint Mark, with half-figure saints and the *Man of Sorrows* above. A Venetian archival document of January 1346 records payment to Paolo for an altarpiece for the chapel of Saint Nicholas in the ducal palace; two scenes from the life of Nicholas in the Soprintendenza at Florence may have once belonged to it. An *Enthroned Madonna and Child* at Carpineta in the Romagna bears Paolo's signature and the date 1347. A document of April 1352 in the archives at Dubrovnik relates to an altarpiece by him which is now lost. In 1358, Paolo and his son Giovanni signed and dated the *Coronation of the Virgin* now in the Frick Collection. Paolo died sometime between then and September 1362, when a Venetian archival document mentions him as deceased.

A large body of undocumented work is attributed to Paolo and his workshop, which is known to have included his sons Luca, Giovanni, and probably Marco, and at least one other artist. This body of work may be divided into two groups. One group falls within Paolo's documented career and is widely accepted, although with differences of opinion concerning chronology and autograph share; the other group is placed before that and is controversial. Important works among the former group are as follows: the votive tomb lunette of Doge Francesco Dandolo in Santa Maria dei Frari in Venice, painted around the time of the doge's death in October 1339; the *Enthroned Madonna and Child*

with angels and donors in the Accademia in Venice, probably c. 1340; the polyptych from Santa Chiara in the same museum, depicting the *Coronation of the Virgin* and scenes from the lives of Christ, Saint Francis, and Saint Clare, probably from the early 1340s; a dismembered polyptych in San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna, possibly c. May 1344, when the church was consecrated; a crucifix in the church of Saint Dominic at Dubrovnik, probably the one mentioned in a document of March 1348; dated polyptychs of 1349 at Chioggia, 1354 in the Louvre, and April 1355 formerly at Piran in Istria; and another late polyptych, dismembered, at San Severino in the Marches.

The other group of works, which is a subject of debate, should be attributed to Paolo's early period. It includes the panel masking the sarcophagus of the Blessed Leo Bembo, dated 1321, once in San Sebastiano, Venice, and now at Vodnjan in Istria; the dated *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1324 in the National Gallery in Washington; five panels from the early life of the Virgin and her parents at Pesaro; an altarpiece with half-length Madonna and child and four scenes from their lives in San Pantalon, Venice; sixteen panels from the legend of Saint Ursula in the Volterra collection in Florence; and a polyptych with an image and narrative of Saint Lucy, originally in her church at Jurandor and today in the bishop's chancellery at Krk in Dalmatia. The undated works were apparently done during the 1320s, in the order listed. The painted donor figures in a wood relief of 1310 at Murano have also been ascribed to Paolo, but they seem too early to have been painted by him and may show the hand of his master. It also has been suggested that Paolo and his workshop illuminated manuscripts and designed or executed mosaics and embroideries.

Although a long Venetian mosaic tradition survived into the fourteenth century, relatively little work on panel or in the other pictorial media was produced in the period immediately before Paolo. The traditional view is that Paolo was the founder and first great master of Venetian *Trecento* painting, and this view would have to be upheld unless the works assigned to him before his documented activity are rejected. Some of these works, particularly the panels at Pesaro, show the direct influence of Giotto's frescoes in nearby Padua; others, such as the *Coronation of the Virgin* in Washington, show the intrusion of Gothic style and iconography into the local Byzantine tradition. These

same ingredients—the Byzantine, the Gothic, and the Giottesque— are the fundamental elements in Paolo's later works, in which the Gothic becomes more pronounced. The Byzantine and Gothic are so harmoniously blended as to suggest their ultimate common source in the distant classical past; the same might be said of the Giottesque. The influence of the Saint Cecilia Master and the school of Rimini may also be detected. The published literature assumes that, despite the obvious similarities, Paolo attained his style independently of direct Siennese influence. Such examples as his Accademia *Madonna*, which is close to Duccio's in the Pinacoteca at Siena; and his figures of Saint Catherine in the Sanseverino polyptych and in a panel at Chicago, which resemble Simone Martini's fresco of that saint at Assisi, suggest otherwise. The bold patterns and glowing colors give Paolo's paintings an opulence unequaled even by the Siennese.

Paolo Veneziano had a profound influence on Venetian pictorial art, particularly panel painting, until the end of the fourteenth century. The style that he instituted was continued by Lorenzo Veneziano (whose dated works range from 1357 to 1372) and others into the fifteenth century and the international Gothic style. Paolo had relatively little influence on the mainland, which, with the exception of Istria and Dalmatia, responded to more progressive artistic stimuli.

See also **Rimini, School of; Venice: Art**

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Venice

Physical Characteristics and Evolution

The city of Venice is a product of its geography. People settled on the unstable islands where the rivers of northern Italy meet the Adriatic Sea. These islands have been formed, since the last ice age, from rock and silt brought down by rivers and dumped where the tides from the sea meet the freshwater rivers. A row of barrier islands (the *lidi*) protect the lagoons from the open sea, but the salt water enters into the lagoons daily through the openings in the *lido* at Chioggia, Malamocco, and San Nicolò di Lido. Two types of river enter the lagoons. Swift-flowing rivers (the Tagliamento, Livenza, Piave, Sile, Brenta, and Bacchiglione) rush down from the Dolomite Alps in the north and bring silt and small rocks to deposit before the incoming tides. The rivers coming from the west, which drained the plain of northern Italy (the Adige and the northernmost branch of the Po), move more slowly yet inexorably, bringing finer silt. Against these flows, the saltwater tides enter the lagoons daily from the Adriatic and retreat, scouring the lagoons in channels and cleansing the waters to create a healthy environment in which people can live. On occasion, however, the tides become much higher (*acqua alta*) and inundate the low-lying islands. On other occasions, the rivers hurry into the lagoons with springtime force, causing flooding. As these flows vary from year to year, channels are created or abandoned by the sea and the islands are raised or, more frequently, subside into the brackish waters. Earthquakes also occasionally threaten the lagoons.

Into this unstable environment came humans. History and archaeology combine to demonstrate that the islands of the northern Adriatic have been inhabited since prehistoric times. The environment of the lagoons stimulated settlement. The brackish waters sheltered fish and birds. Salt could be evaporated from its waters. In addition, the complex of sinuous channels gave protection from invasion by mainlanders and encouraged seafaring. Places that were inhabited in classical times have since become landlocked; for example, the ancient

seaports of Ravenna, Spina, Padua, and Aquileia are now far from the Adriatic Sea. In the seventh century, the ancestors of present-day Venetians built their homes farther out in the lagoons, some in places that are uninhabitable today. Up to the ninth century, as we know from only scarce documentation, these early communities grew and then declined as people moved farther out to other islands. In the ninth century, if not before, the complex of islands 2 1/2 miles (4 kilometers) from the mainland, known as the Rial to (the *rivo alto*, or high bank), became the political and social center of life in the lagoons.

How were buildings constructed on such uncertain land? First, great numbers of poles were driven down into the mud. On top of these were placed platforms of wooden boards and then stone for the foundation of structures. Archaeologists have reported finding wood, stone, and ceramic from layers of mud dated to the sixth and seventh centuries in the lagoons, suggesting the strength of these early settlements. Houses of wood with thatched roofs alternated with gardens, fields, and fisheries, and with watercourses and swamps. By the early thirteenth century, among the great stone structures that had been built were the basilica of San Marco; the churches of San Lorenzo, San Giovanni Decollato, and San Nicolò dei Mendicoli; and the great homes of the Ziani, Bernard us Teutonicus (the German merchant), and Renier Dandolo, son of the doge.

The Venetians recognized the precariousness of their environment. In its earliest official records, the Venetian commune concerned itself with the preservation of the environment. Since the salubrity of the air and the water of the lagoons depended on the daily washing by the saltwater tides, the Venetians attempted to defend the tidal waters and to prevent the narrowing of the lagoons. It was observed that "a large lagoon makes for a great seaport" (*gran laguna fa gran porto*). Venetians understood that the action of the tides and the deposit of silt from the rivers raised the bottom of the lagoons and created more land. The lagoons also narrowed when people extended the shorelines in order to create more land for agriculture or for buildings. In the fourteenth century, the Venetian republic began to divert the river mouths away from the lagoons so that they emptied into the Adriatic north and south of the lagoons. Furthermore, the republic ordered regular dredging of the channels in the city so that the waters would

flow more freely. In the Renaissance, the Venetian republic tried to save the lagoons from silting up by prohibiting the dumping of debris to create more land on the marshes and the mudflats. Thus the Venetians tried to maintain their residence in this inherently unstable environment. The efforts to control this instability increased in the Renaissance and continue to this day.

Today there are 118 islands and more than 200 canals within the heart of the ancient city. The Grand Canal winds in a reverse S-shaped curve over 2 miles (3 kilometers) through the city; the canal is more than 12,000 feet (3,800 meters) long, 100 to 230 feet (30 to 70 meters) wide, and 18 feet (5-5 meters) deep. Forty-five channels (*rii*) open onto the Grand Canal. Today it is a concern of the world that this unique environment be preserved for its historic heritage.

History and Government

Romans had visited the lagoons in the pre-Christian era, but the historical record does not confirm settlements until A.D. 537-538, when Cassiodorus mentioned that men from the lagoons supplied Ravenna with salt. After 586, mainland Romans began to flee to the lagoons before the invading Lombards. Roman leaders from Padua settled Chioggia and Malamocco; those from Roman Altino colonized the island of Torcello. People from Opitergo (Oderzo) founded Eraclea (or Cittanova), named for Emperor Heraclius. These centers were separated from each other by marshes, channels, and brackish lakes.

Whereas the mainland became part of the Lombard kingdom, the lagoons honored Constantinople's representative in Italy, the exarch of Ravenna. He appointed dukes chosen from the local tribune class. In the early eighth century, when the Lombards threatened Ravenna, Paolo (or Paulicio) in Eraclea became the first locally chosen duke. He soon transferred his seat to the more defensible Malamocco on the *lido*.

The metropolitan of the Christians had also fled mainland Aquileia and established Grado as his seat. He became known as the patriarch of Grado, and he built the basilica of Santa Eufemia there in the sixth century. Torcello's basilica of Santa Maria Madre di Dio was begun in 639.



Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

Nominal ties with Constantinople continued for several centuries. Eighth-century dukes in Malamocco were often removed in violent factional strife. Only eight times in the first three centuries were the dukes chosen peaceably, usually from the Particiaco, Candiano, and Orseolo families. All other changes were violent.

When the Carolingians attempted to conquer Italy, the settlements on the lagoons asserted their autonomy. In 810, Charlemagne's son Pepin tried to conquer the lagoons, but he met the determined opposition of the men from Malamocco, assisted by a Byzantine fleet. By mid-century, both Carolingians and Byzantines recognized that the lagoons were autonomous; they had become a cushion between the western and the eastern empires. Their duke (pronounced *doge* on the lagoons), a genuine representative of local autonomy, moved his center from Malamocco to the Rialto, seat of the bishopric of Olivolo. Now the settlements on the lagoons began to bear the name Venice. In 828, two Venetians transferred the relics of Saint Mark the Evangelist from Muslim Alexandria to the Rialto. Their placement in a new ducal chapel legitimized the doge, but civil strife 150 years later would damage his chapel.

Doge Pietro II Orseolo (r. 991-1009) established his authority over the upper Adriatic by leading a naval demonstration to Istria and Dalmatia

in the year 1000. This doge also made treaties with all the Muslim powers of the Mediterranean littoral and achieved recognition from both western and Byzantine emperors. Doge Domenico Contarini (r. 1042-1071) confirmed ducal authority by initiating the reconstruction of the ducal chapel, which became the basilica of San Marco, housing the relics of the evangelist. Each new doge at his election was acclaimed by all the people, and lauds were sung in his name in the basilica of San Marco. Eleventh-century doges, however, continued to bear Byzantine titles.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, judges drawn from among the better class (*maiores*) assisted the doge in his curia. The local neighborhoods maintained their own bridges, wells, shorelines, and night watches. With Doge Domenico Selvo (r. 1071-1084), a circle of the leading men dominated the popular assembly (*arengo*). They represented the collective will; they elected the doge, whom they usually chose, during the twelfth century, from the Falier or Michiel family. About 1143, Venice became a commune, led by the doge and a committee of judges known as the *sapientes*. But the popular assembly took matters into its own hands in 1172 and assassinated Doge Vitale II Michiel on his return from an unsuccessful punitive expedition against Constantinople. Leading merchant aristocrats reestablished order and elected their own Sebastiano Ziani as doge. They also replaced the popular assembly with a "great council," whose members included only the important families, officeholders, and former officeholders of the commune. The six *sapientes* (ducal councillors) became the "little council." Each doge after 1192 was required to take an oath of office (*promissio ducale*), which increasingly limited the ducal powers.

The doges of the early Venetian commune were remarkably strong leaders. Doge Enrico Dandolo led the commune in accepting the invitation of Flemish crusaders to participate in a crusade. This Fourth Crusade climaxed in 1204 with the capture of Constantinople and the beginning of Venice's overseas colonial empire. In the first half of the thirteenth century, the doges codified the laws of Venice.

Venetian interests in the eastern Mediterranean increased greatly during the thirteenth century, when Venice waged two wars with its commercial rival, Genoa. At home, the government became more rational. The organs of the commune formed a pyramid, with the

general assembly at the base. Above it, the great council held the most power, electing all officials of the government, passing laws, and sitting in judgment on civil matters. A new council, called "the Forty" (*quarantia*), assumed responsibility for legal appeals, prepared the agenda for the great council, and controlled finances and the coinage. Later in the century, the sixty men who supervised commerce, naval, and foreign affairs were organized as the senate (*consilium rogatorum* or *consiglio dei pregadi*). When appropriate, the Forty and the senate acted jointly.



Church of San Zaccaria, Venice. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Above these councils sat the ducal council or *signoria*, which included the doge, his six councillors, and the three heads of the Forty. They initiated governmental activities and officiated during crises, but they also had to obey the other councils. Most magistrates held office for one year or two, except for the doge, who held office for life. The doge presided over all the councils, providing continuity for the commune. The doge was head of state, but he was an elected leader and was restrained by the prohibitions specified in his oath of office. On completion of their terms, the doge and all other officials were subject to detailed examination of their work in office by the public prosecutors (*avogadori de' comun*) and subject to punishment if they had misused their office. A doge's heirs were responsible for his acts. Elected officials continued to multiply in the thirteenth century as the state became more influential in the lives of its citizens.

It is estimated that by the end of the thirteenth century, 100 public officials were elected annually by the great council, comprising varying numbers of patricians. In 1297, Doge Pietro Gradenigo led the commune to adopt new legislation, the *Serrata* ("closing"), which defined the membership of the great council. Members of the council, descendants of members, and men who held office in the commune were accepted. After the *Serrata*, membership in the great council defined a family as a member of the Venetian ruling class, the patriciate, the nobility. Only patricians could hold high office.

Two conspiracies called this reform into question. First, certain commoners under Marino Boccono disputed the reforms, but Boccono was hanged in 1300. More serious was the conspiracy of 1310, led by three patricians—Bajamonte Tiepolo, Marco Querini, and Badoero Badoer. They organized a three-pronged military assault against the center of government, the Piazza San Marco. However, Doge Gradenigo, who had received a warning, defeated the insurgents with the assistance of loyal patricians and workers from the arsenal. When Tiepolo's standard-bearer was struck by a mortar dropped from a window, he and his forces retreated to their palaces. Querini was killed; Badoer was captured and executed. But because Tiepolo was very popular and because both his grandfather and his great-grandfather

had been doges, the commune sentenced him to perpetual supervised exile. To enforce this sentence leniently and to suppress any further plots, the commune created a special "council of Ten." Its members were elected annually from the great council and could act secretly and quickly. Their ability to act decisively made them one of the most important organs of the commune in later centuries.

Citizens of Venice, who were not enrolled in the patriciate, staffed the civil service from the fourteenth century on. One of them was grand chancellor to assist the doge. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the great council recognized the existence of many craft guilds. These checks and balances characterized the commune of Venice and ensured its stability.

During the fourteenth century, Venice was challenged by wars with Ferrara and with the king of Hungary, by insurrections in Crete against Venetian rule, and by two more wars with the Genoese. The Scaligeri despots of Verona and the Carrara of Padua in turn challenged Venetian domination of the rivers emptying into the lagoons. Also during this century, flooding from high tides threatened the lagoons in 1314, 1342, and 1386. The bubonic plague struck Venice fiercely after a Venetian galley returning from the Crimea in the autumn of 1347 brought the black death. Venice suffered for eighteen months, losing perhaps three-fifths of its population. The plague struck again in 1350, 1382, 1393, and 1395. Despite these challenges, the government structure held firm.

The third war with Genoa (1350-1355) strained the resources of the commune, which was then led by the humanist Doge Andrea Dandolo, a friend of Petrarch's. Marino Falier, the next doge (r. 1354-1355), although an experienced administrator and admiral, attempted to overthrow the aristocratic councils of Venice and become sole ruler. When his conspiracy was discovered by the ducal councillors, he was beheaded at the Giant's Staircase in the palace of the doges.

Twenty-three years later, Venice endured the most extreme challenge to its independence since Charlemagne—its fourth war with Genoa (the war of Chioggia, 1378–1381). Following the peace of Turin, Venice survived to limp back to mercantile and political strength, but Genoa lost its independence. In the 1390s, when the Carrara of Padua again threatened Venice, the commune allied itself with Gian Galeazzo Visconti to defeat the Carrara. Venice took Padua and executed its

rulers. As a result, Venice added Padua, Vicenza, and Verona to its dominion in 1404-1406. Thus began the mainland extension of the Venetian state.

Trade and Empire

Seaborne commerce caused the growth of Venice. Early residents of the lagoons caught fish, hunted waterfowl, and collected the salt evaporating along the Adriatic, which they exchanged for products of the mainland. By the tenth century, Torcello in the lagoons was an important Adriatic seaport. The Lombard and Carolingian rulers in Pavia bought incense, silks, and spices from the merchants of the lagoons, who "neither sowed nor reaped and bought all their grain from others." Little documentation survives to describe this early Venetian trade.

Regular contacts were maintained between the Rialto and Constantinople throughout the early centuries, while Venice remained subject to the eastern Roman empire. The emperors attempted to suppress Christians' trade with Muslims in time of war. Venetian fleets assisted the Greeks against the Muslims on the Adriatic in the ninth and tenth centuries, when Muslim fleets attempted to close the Adriatic and even pillaged Grado on the lagoons. In 992, the Byzantine coemperors Basil II and Constantine VIII granted Venice relief from the special port taxes in the Sea of Marmara, although the Venetians were expected to abide by other Byzantine laws.

Relations between the ducal family and the Byzantine imperial house became closer in 1102, when the son of Doge Pietro Orseolo II married the niece of Emperor Basil II, and when doge Domenico Selvo (r. 1071 — 1084) married Theodora, the sister of emperor Michael VII. She scandalized the Venetians by her fastidious cleanliness, her use of a fork to convey food to her mouth, and her perfumes.

In 1082, Emperor Alexis I Comnenus granted the Venetians exemption from all tolls in Byzantine ports. They also obtained a protected quarter in Constantinople itself and trading privileges in the Byzantine seaports on the Aegean and Ionian Seas. In return, Venice allied itself with Byzantium to defend Byzantine Durazzo against their

common enemy, Robert Guiscard. With these privileges, Venetian merchants had an enormous economic advantage over all other foreign traders and over the Byzantines themselves. Much of the Venetians' commercial profit came from their business in Romania (the Greek east). From this time, Byzantines began to depend on Italian sea power, rather than on their own war fleets, and the Greeks were forced to recognize the relative autonomy of the lagoons.

Venetian overseas trade increased greatly during the crusades, 1095–1291. Fleets from Venice assisted the crusaders at the conquest of Haifa in 1100 and at Sidon in 1110. A Venetian fleet defeated a large Egyptian fleet in the waters off Ascalon in 1123 and assisted in the capture of Tyre the next year. Consequently, the Latin kings of Jerusalem granted Venetians special quarters in the crusader cities. Venetian merchants concentrated their Syrian-Palestinian business in Tyre but also had privileges in Acre, Jaffa, and Ascalon. The Christian lords of Syria granted Venetians some privileges in the northern Syrian seaports where the Pisans and Genoese were more strongly entrenched.

Venetians also traded with Egypt during the crusades, as they had done for centuries. Crusading warfare interrupted this trade whenever Venetian fleets sailed to assist the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, but the profits to be made in the markets of Alexandria and Damietta attracted the Latins again as soon as peace returned. Unlike Constantinople or the seaports of the crusading states, the Egyptian ports did not offer extraterritorial privileges to the Venetians during the twelfth century. Venice probably had no permanent settlement in Egypt until the thirteenth century. Venetians could, however, travel and do business there. Saladin's successor al-'Adil, in 1208, granted men of Venice two marketplaces in Alexandria where they could conduct business, drink wine, and eat pork. Subsequent commercial treaties in 1238, 1254, and 1264 further defined Venetians' privileges in Egypt, and the commune posted a consul there to represent transient Venetian merchants before Egyptian authorities.

The Venetian trading pattern during the crusading centuries revealed the realities of medieval commerce. Before the compass and the cog came into general use in the late thirteenth century, shipping across the Mediterranean was usually confined to the warmer months. Voyages to and from the Aegean, Constantinople, and the crusader states would be

accomplished in one season, but the longer voyage to and from Egypt usually required an overwinter stay. The heavier cargo (grains and metals) traveled on round ships propelled by sails; but the smaller, shallower galleys with oars and sails carried luxury products of small volume. Merchants would form partnership contracts (*commenda* or sea loans) for a single voyage, and the profits would be divided at the end of the trip. Some families held property in common, and their overseas business would continue for several years before settlement. A senior merchant residing in Venice would send a junior partner overseas to carry out the contract. Venetian agents overseas, who lived in Venetian compounds in foreign ports, assisted in the business negotiations. As many as 10,000 Venetians were residing in Constantinople in 1171.

What were the products of this overseas trade? Venetians carried from Europe its woolen cloth, lumber, wooden utensils, and metals (copper, tin, iron), and also some bullion. Although the doges prohibited the slave trade across the Mediterranean, Venetians did participate in it. In Constantinople they purchased local luxury products: silk fabric, ivories, ornamental metalwork, enamels, and mosaics; in Syria-Palestine, they bought sugar, dates, raw silk, and fine cotton fabrics. Into the crusader states and Egypt came luxury spices (galingale, nutmeg, cloves, rhubarb), pearls and other precious stones, silks, camphor, and musk from the far east. After the Fourth Crusade, the luxuries from farther Asia were loaded onto Venetian ships in the Black Sea, Cilician Armenia, the Turkish ports of western Anatolia, and Egypt. Egyptian markets also furnished raw cotton while Constantinople, Crete, and the Black Sea provided foodstuffs (wheat, barley, oats, millet, cheese, and sugar).

Products were priced by agreements between the parties in the local money of each seaport. Byzantine *hyperpera* served markets of Romania; gold bezants (solidi) of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem served the crusader states; and Egyptian bezants circulated along the Nile. At home, Venetians used money struck in other Italian communes until the last decades of the twelfth century. The first truly Venetian coin, a penny (*denarius*), was struck in the 1170s; the more successful, larger, purer *grosso* appeared in 1194. During the thirteenth century, the *grosso* achieved ever greater acceptance in the eastern Mediterranean. Gold coins of Florence and Genoa began to supplant the Byzantine gold

hyperpera in the west after 1252. Not until 1284 did Venice strike its gold ducat at the same weight and fineness as the florin. In the fourteenth century, this gold ducat achieved international acceptance. By 1400, the Venetian gold ducat, famous for its stable weight and purity, had conquered all the markets in the eastern Mediterranean

Each Venetian overseas compound (*fondaco*) was fortified. There the traveling merchant could stay for a time, store his merchandise, and enjoy the company of his fellow Venetians. These compounds usually also had bake ovens and a chapel, and they retained the standard for Venetian weights. Sometimes Venetian holdings extended outside these compounds, as at Tyre and Constantinople.

Constantinople was the largest of the twelfth-century Venetian colonies, owing to the extraordinary privileges Venetians held in Byzantium. In 1119, the emperor John Comnenus refused to renew the Venetians' privileges; consequently, the Venetian fleet plundered Greek ports in the Ionian and Aegean, forcing the emperor to renew the privileges in 1126. Although the privileges were renewed again in 1148, the Byzantines were beginning to play off the Genoese and Pisans against the Venetians. In Constantinople, Venetians, Pisans, and Greeks rioted against the Genoese in 1162. Nine years later, the Byzantines suddenly imprisoned all Venetians in Constantinople and confiscated their goods. In 1182, the emperor proceeded similarly against the Pisans and Genoese, whereupon Venice once more sought its former privileges from the Greeks. Byzantium gave Venice some satisfaction in 1183 and 1187, and still another emperor reconfirmed the Venetians' privileges in 1198.

Relations between Venice and Romania changed dramatically with the Fourth Crusade, 1201-1204. Flemish and French knights came to Venice in 1201 to obtain transportation on a crusade. Venice agreed to provide ships, transportation, and food for 33,500 men and horses for one year, in return for 85,000 silver marks. The Frankish crusaders who gathered in Venice in 1202, however, were far fewer in number than had been anticipated. The Venetians had prepared 50 galleys and 450 transports for the anticipated crusade to be led by Boniface of Montferrat. To pay the cost of the fleet, the crusaders agreed to assist Venice against its Dalmatian possession, Zara, which had revolted. Enrico Dandolo, the Venetian doge, then took the cross along with

many other Venetians. After subduing Zara, the crusaders received a new proposal from a Greek prince, Alexios. He offered to provide more troops, supplies, and money to the crusaders and to unite the eastern and western churches if they placed him on the imperial throne of Constantinople, removing a usurper. After much discussion, the leaders agreed to redirect the crusade to Constantinople. They sailed. On arriving at Constantinople, the crusaders were jeered, but they did enter the city. The usurper fled, and the crusaders installed young Alexios and his blind father on the imperial throne. When the Greeks would not honor Alexios's promises to assist the crusade, the crusaders circumspectly withdrew from the city. Yet another Byzantine prince deposed and murdered young Alexios and his father and took the throne. At this, the crusaders massed their forces and took the city by storm in April 1204. Afterward, they sacked the city for three days. The crusaders' cruelty and devastation in Constantinople have been long remembered by the Greeks.

After the sack, the crusaders and Venetians carried out the terms of their previous agreements. The booty was collected, and three-fourths of the first 200,000 marks of booty was given to the Venetians to pay for their fleet while the Franks received the other fourth. The rest of the booty they split evenly. Twelve electors then chose Baldwin of Flanders as the future Latin emperor of Constantinople, according to the contract, and the office of Latin patriarch of Constantinople was awarded to Venice. A committee of twelve Franks and twelve Venetians produced the "treaty of partition" (October 1204), which divided the vast Byzantine empire according to an agreed-on ratio: one-fourth of the Greek lands to the Latin emperor, three-eighths to the Franks, and three-eighths to the Venetians. The committee awarded the Venetians the Thracian coast and the inland area as far as Adrianople; much of mainland Greece, including the Morea (Peloponnese); the Aegean islands; the Ionian islands; and the Dalmatian coast, with its islands. However, except for Constantinople, all these remained in Greek hands. As Venetians took possession of some of these lands, the Venetian colonial empire was born.

From 1205 to 1261, the Latin emperors in Constantinople relied on Venetian sea power and financial strength for their existence. In Constantinople, Venice regained its special commercial and legal

privileges and the Venetian *podestà* was second only to the Latin emperor. Venetians composed half of the imperial council. Venetian ships could sail freely into the Black Sea. They temporarily took possession of the ports on the Sea of Marmara and the straits of the Dardanelles. Venetian naval strength predominated in these waters during the Latin empire.

Outside the immediate environs of Constantinople, the Venetians did not extend their control over all places awarded them by the treaty of partition. A fleet from the commune took Ragusa, Durazzo, the Ionian Islands, Moron, and Coron in the Morea; but the Greek despot of Epirus captured Durazzo, Corfu, and Cephalonia within a decade. Venice never held the inland Morea but tenaciously kept and fortified its southwest promontories, Modon and Coron.

The commune of Venice purchased the large island of Crete and rights in Negroponte (Euboea) from the marquis of Montferrat in 1204. Military expeditions and permanent military colonists from Venice established the authority of Venice in Crete against challenges from Genoese pirates and local Greek lords. Crete became the largest and most populous Venetian colony. Negroponte also came under Venetian influence, since the three gentlemen from Verona who were Montferrat's vassals needed the advice, credits, and naval protection of Venice.

Venetian citizens, with their own privately financed and privately equipped expeditions, took possession of certain other Aegean islands. Marco Sanudo conquered Naxos and its neighboring islands in the Cyclades beginning in 1207. He and his heirs became independent dukes of the archipelago. Sanudo awarded Andros to his cousin Marin Dandolo. The Ghisi brothers, Andrew and Jeremiah, captured the northern Sporades (Mykonos, Tenos, Skyros, Skiathos, and Scopelos) in 1207. Filocalo Navigaioso held Lemnos as megaduke under the Latin emperor. Jacopo Viaro held Cerigo, and Marco Venier held Cerigotto. These men were independent lords in the Aegean, but they were also citizens of Venice. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that not until the fifteenth century did Venetian noblemen begin to control the islands of Anaphe, Astypalaea, Carpathos, Chios, Cyprus, Seriphos, Thera, and Therasia.

With these holdings, Venetian strength and influence prevailed along

the routes from Venice to Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt. Genoa challenged the Venetian colonial empire in four wars. In the first war (1257-1270), the Genoese and Venetians fought over the markets of Acre and over control of the sea lanes. Venice won victories at Acre in 1258, at Settepozzi in 1262, and at Trapani in 1266. Peace was made in 1270 when King Louis IX of France intervened to provide transportation for the forces of his last crusade.

During these hostilities, in 1261, Genoa, in the treaty of Nyrnphaion, agreed to assist Michael VIII Palaeologus, the Greek emperor of Nicaea, in recovering Constantinople. The Latin empire fell to the Greeks the same year, when one of Michael's lieutenants took Constantinople in the absence of the Venetian fleet. Genoese ships then protected the restored Byzantine empire and gained the Venetians' former profitable commercial privileges. Michael, mistrusting the Genoese, readmitted Venetians to Constantinople in 1269, but he did not reaffirm all their former privileges in the city.

After 1261, the Venetians trailed the Genoese in exploiting the Black Sea. Venetian merchants did establish themselves in the Crimea and the Sea of Azov, and after 1291 in Trebizond. Marco Polo traveled from Venice to China via the Black Sea and stayed for twenty years before returning to Venice. His return to Venice was rerouted owing to Venice's second war with Genoa. During this war (1294-1299), Genoese fleets defeated the Venetians off Lajazzo in Asia Minor and off Curzola in the Dalmatian coast. Even the Byzantines joined the Genoese against Venice, but again the results of the contest were inconclusive.

In the fourteenth century, Venetian wealth from its colonial empire increased greatly. The senate dominated commercial policy. The commune added a permanent presence in Constantinople and market privileges in the Crimea, Tana, and Trebizond in the Black Sea and, late in the century, on the island of Corfu. The independent Venetian fiefdoms in the Aegean depended more and more on the Rialto for protection from the threats of Turkish pirates.

Venice maintained a mercantilist policy toward its colonies. The commune siphoned all seaborne trade from the colonies on Venetian vessels to Venice and insisted that certain quantities of grain be shipped annually to Venice to feed the inhabitants. The Venetian commune monopolized the production of salt on the lagoons, Istria, and the

Adriatic coast and became the sole supplier for the northern Italian mainland. In the fourteenth century, Venetian ships brought salt from the Aegean to satisfy this demand.

During the fourteenth century, the governments of the Venetian colonies mirrored that of Venice itself. Each colonial executive was elected by the great council of Venice from the Venetian patriciate. He served for two years, together with other, lesser elected Venetian officials. Crete had its duke, Modon and Coron had their castellan, Alexandria had its consul, and Negroponte had its bailiff, as did Constantinople. Each elected colonial governor had the duty of enforcing civil and criminal law and justice, assisted by Venetian officials and by a council representing the resident colonists.

Competition from Genoese, Greek, and Turkish pirates at sea and from predatory land powers created unsafe conditions for Venetian commerce, although commerce became increasingly profitable in the fourteenth century, when it was bound by regulations enforced by Venetian civil servants. At mid-century, Venice experienced an economic crisis brought on by the black death and by the indecisive third war with Genoa (1350-1355), which was expensive in terms of both men and money. This was followed by a thirty-year truce between Venice and Genoa; but the truce in turn was followed by the decisive fourth war with Genoa (the war of Chioggia, 1378-1381). The fourth war began when the two republics clashed over Tenedos, guarding the Dardanelles, and also over the lucrative markets in the Black Sea. Venetian fleets under Carlo Zeno and Vettor Pisani fought against Genoese fleets throughout the Mediterranean, but Pisani was imprisoned by the commune because he had lost a battle with the Genoese at nearby Pola in Istria. The Genoese, assisted by their allies on the mainland, besieged Venice itself and took Chioggia at the southern edge of the lagoons. A Genoese fleet patrolled the Adriatic, cutting off the Rialto from its food supply. With famine threatening, the desperate commune released the popular Vettor Pisani from prison. He created a new fleet of small boats manned by enthusiastic Venetian craftsmen and shopkeepers, who maneuvered through the shallow lagoons to besiege the Genoese in Chioggia. At this critical moment, Carlo Zeno's fleet returned to the lagoons from successful raids against the Genoese. With Zeno's blockade by sea and Pisani's blockade on the lagoons, the

Genoese were forced to surrender. The resulting peace of Turin, mediated by Amadeus VI of Savoy (the "Green Count"), divided the points of colonial conflict between Genoa and Venice.

Next, Venice faced the growing threat of Turkish sea power, as the Ottomans gained more territory in Thrace and Thessaly to complement their control of the interior of Asia Minor. At the end of the fourteenth century, Tamerlane burned Tana on the Sea of Azov and temporarily destroyed all Venetian access to the northern silk route. Venetian commerce was to grow during the Renaissance in spite of these challenges.

Society and Culture

The people of Venice were bound together by their physical setting and the common need to protect themselves in an unfriendly environment. Not only the rivers but also the sea flooded them, and earthquakes shook them on their small islands at the upper reaches of a salt sea. Their position, however, was easily defensible. Only twice before 1400 did they come under enemy attack: in 811 from the Carolingians and in 1380 from the Genoese. Each time the Venetians emerged victorious.

Who was a Venetian? He or she had a Venetian father and lived on the lagoons. Persons who had a Venetian father in a Venetian colony were also recognized as Venetians. To be Venetian conferred distinct commercial advantages. Before 1204, Venetians could buy and sell in the Byzantine empire without paying the heavy Byzantine commercial dues. In the Latin empire of Constantinople, Venetians were guaranteed special privileges. During the fourteenth century, only Venetians could bid at auction to own and outfit a great galley in the annual convoys from Venice

The patricians of Venice directed the city throughout its history. A tradition from the Renaissance, recently questioned by historians, names twelve founding families, the "apostolic families," who continued to lead Venice for centuries. The earliest patricians of Venice were known as tribunes, local officials enforcing law and order under the exarchs of Ravenna. The early doges came from this class and were assisted by it. Some patrician families died out, and other families took

their place. The *Serrata* of 1297 separated the members of the great council from other Venetians, and yet that council accepted new families during the fourteenth century, particularly during the war of Chioggia. One must accept the fluidity of society in medieval Venice.

Feudalism did not exist in Venice. A society policed by men on horseback could not exist in the islands on the lagoons, where everyone moved by boat. Yet some trappings of feudal society were copied by Venetians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: feudal manners, and the enjoyment of jongleurs, romances, and jousts. Venetian landholding in the lagoons was never subject to enfeoffment. The limited land available was bought and sold, mortgaged and rented. By the tenth century, if not before, the major activity of Venetians would be trading down the Adriatic, across the sea to Byzantium and the Muslim world. This urban mercantile society differed sharply from the agrarian-based feudal society of mainland Italy.

The life of a Venetian patrician followed a regular pattern. In his youth, he learned the techniques of business from a master of the abacus. In his teens, he would accompany a mature merchant on trading voyages. Venetian merchant manuals, which have survived from the fourteenth century, demonstrate that the young merchant collected information on the "conversion of the bewildering variety of medieval weights, measures, and moneys and information on local conditions, on quality standards, and on common frauds." As an adult, he would travel frequently with partnership contracts for other merchants and would also participate in the government of the commune. Domenico Gradenigo made thirteen commercial voyages abroad between 1206 and 1224. In old age, the merchant usually remained at home, entrusting his investments to younger men. In extreme old age, the Venetian would retire to a monastery.

Venetian women seldom appeared in the medieval sources. Girls were educated in convents. Their fathers arranged their marriages and calculated the dowries, which included money and credits, household goods, and clothing. Some articles of apparel were passed down from generation to generation. Spiritual, ill-favored, or unlucky girls became nuns, and their fathers gave their dowries to the convents. The Benedictine convent of San Zaccaria, next to the ducal palace, played a significant role in politics because daughters of the most noble

patricians entered it. Widows sometimes operated on their own authority without the permission of a male relative. A widow's dowry and inheritance were hers to invest in local business, real estate, and the overseas trade, although male relatives often guided a woman's business. Medieval Venetians sometimes married foreign women: Doge Pietro IV Candiano (d. 796) married Waldrada, the sister of Marquis Ugo of Tuscany; Doge Otto Orseolo (d. 1032) married the sister of King Stephen of Hungary; Doge Pietro Ziani (d. 1229) married Costanza, the daughter of King Tancred of Sicily. Venetians living in overseas colonies often married local women. Gasmules, the sons of Venetian men and Greek women in the east, had special status in Venetian law.

Beginning in the fourteenth century, wealthy nonnoble Venetians who did not engage in mechanical trades were called *cittadini*. Native *cittadini* who were trained as lawyers and notaries could aspire to positions not open to patricians in the ducal chancery and the law courts. The most important position was grand chancellor to the doge. *Cittadini* and patricians enjoyed the same commercial privileges at home and in the colonies.

Venetian industrial production expanded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as foreign markets and immigration from the mainland created a greater demand. Craftsmen and shopkeepers produced and sold items for local consumption: woolen cloth, shoes, weapons, and household utensils. Carpenters and stonemasons built the palaces, bridges, and warehouses of the city. Shopkeepers sold wine, meat, vegetables, and other foodstuffs. Craftsmen built ships both in private shipyards and in the government-controlled arsenal. This arsenal, first mentioned in 1104, and enlarged in 1303 and 1325, produced and outfitted large ships for the commune.

Craftsmen and *cittadini* organized into confraternities (the *scuole* and the guilds) for religious observances and mutual aid. By 1300, the four larger nonprofessional confraternities were recognized as *scuole grandi*. Craftsmen also organized into craft guilds with charters approved by communal officials. By 1300, more than 100 craft guilds were known in Venice. However, in Venice—unlike Florence and nearby Padua—these craft guilds did not participate in the government of the commune but rather were regulated by it. Each guild elected its own *gastald*, chosen from the ranks but approved by the authorities. No guilds were formed

by the most numerous of the city's workforce, the seamen; or by the most influential businessmen, the international merchants. The rich merchants had no need to form guilds, because they controlled and staffed the commune's offices to benefit their own commercial interests. Since *cittadini*, craftsmen, and shopkeepers were encouraged to rise to prominence, each in his own niche, and since patrician authorities promoted peace and trade that benefited all, the city of Venice rarely experienced social upheavals after 1300.

Venice, like the rest of Europe, experienced great population growth in the 250 years before the black death of 1347–1349. Its population, estimated at 160,000, placed Venice among the largest cities of Europe just before the black death. But that sudden catastrophe killed perhaps three-fifths of the population of the lagoons within eighteen months. Afterward, the city began to recover. Immigrants came from the mainland when local harvests were poor, attracted by Venice's reputation for feeding its people with grain imported from overseas. Lombards, Tuscans (especially men of Lucca and Florence), Dalmatians, Germans, Hungarians, and Jews swelled the population. In the fourteenth century, citizenship was made available to foreign-born persons residing in Venice if they had lived in the city for twenty-five years and did not engage in the mechanical trades, or if they married Venetians. A few of these new wealthy citizens were granted membership in the patriciate at the critical time of the war of Chioggia.

Venetians joined together in support of their church. By the twelfth century, they were organized into seventy parishes. The Venetian church leaned toward Rome and accepted the Roman theology, liturgy, iconography, and system of church government. After the translation of the remains of Saint Mark the Evangelist to Venice in the ninth century, Mark became the spiritual father of the lagoons, a symbol of the unity of Venice. As England had Saint George and Rome had Saint Peter, so Venice had Saint Mark. The basilica of Saint Mark was the private chapel of the doge, where state ceremonies began. The *primicerio* of this palatine chapel was the leading ecclesiastic in Venice, politically more important than the patriarch of Grado, titular head of the Venetian ecclesiastical establishment. Under Enrico Dandolo (the uncle of Doge Enrico Dandolo), patriarch from c. 1135 to 1187, the patriarchal palace was permanently transferred from Grado, which was frequently

flooded, to the parish of San Silvestro near the Rialto. Patriarchs belonged to Venetian patrician families and often, but not always, supported the policies of the doges. Six bishops served under the patriarch of Venice. The bishop of Castello (earlier known as bishop of Olivolo) had jurisdiction over the Rialto but was himself subordinate to the patriarch. Until the late thirteenth century, all abbots, bishops, and other church dignitaries belonged to patrician families.

Monasteries on the lagoons perpetuated the rule of Saint Benedict and were under the authority of the local bishops. The monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, on its own island, held first place among Venetian houses. It was founded in 982 by the entire population of Venice, headed by the doge, patriarch, and bishops. By 1300, the lagoons had sixty Benedictine houses.

Because the Venetian church and state were so closely intertwined, the papal reforms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries did not take hold on the lagoons; instead, local ecclesiastics carried through their own reforms. Cluny, Citeaux, and the Pre monstratensians established no more than a weak presence. The patriarch and local bishops led the fight in Venice against heresies; not until 1289 did an emaciated papal Inquisition appear there. The Venetian clergy were not hostile to the commune; they supported it. Writing to Pope Innocent III during the Fourth Crusade, a Venetian cleric said, "We Venetians always work for the honor of God and of the holy Roman Church." The ducal oaths of office supported the premise that God and the church joined in the Venetian state. The doge, *rex sacerdotus*, with powers from God, approved the election of church officials and invested them with their property.

In the thirteenth century, Venetian society welcomed the Franciscans and Dominicans. Doge Iacopo Tiepoio donated land to build the great Dominican church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, where doges, admirals, and captains would be buried. The great Franciscan church, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, was built on land donated by the Badoer family. Venetian laymen welcomed the friars and willed bequests for them. Dominicans began to occupy the patriarchal and episcopal seats of Venice in the late thirteenth century; among these Dominicans was Tolomeo da Lucca, bishop of Torcello from 1318 to 1327, theologian, historian, and confessor of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

Venetian was the language most commonly spoken on the lagoons, but it appeared in written form only occasionally from the eleventh century on. It was not the language of culture, science, business, or government. Priest-notaries drafted documents in Latin for the church, private business, and government. Proximity to Bologna brought legal scholars to Venice, and patricians sent their sons to Bologna for legal training. The earliest written law codes, drafted in Latin before 1250, recorded the local customary criminal, maritime, and civil law. The civil law of Venice compiled for Doge Iacopo Tiepolo in 1242 continued to be the basic law of Venice until 1797. Venetian jurists added interpretations, drawn from opinions of Italian glossators such as Odofredus. Venetians also developed their own historical tradition; and most histories were written in Latin. When the Venetian Marin Sanudo Torsello (1270–1343) wished to propagandize for a new crusade, he wrote in Latin. The scholarly doge Andrea Dandolo (d. 1354) composed his chronicles in Latin.

Yet Venice, like other Italian cities and the Venetian colonies in the thirteenth century, accepted French as a literary language. The Venetian troubadour Bartolomeo Zorzi wrote in French, as did the engaging chronicler Martino da Canal. Marco Polo's *Relazioni*, taken down in a Genoese prison by a Pisan, appeared first in French.

With Dante, however, Venetians, like other Italians, began to accept Tuscan as a literary language. Petrarch lived in Venice for many years. The commune gave him a house on the Riva degli Schiavoni, and he offered to bequeath his library to the city. Although the library was dissipated, Petrarch's example and his friendship with Doge Andrea Dandolo and Andrea's grand chancellors Benintendi dei Ravagnani (d. 1365) and Rafaino Caresini (d. 1390) established humanistic ideals in the Venetian patriciate. Consequently, Venice assumed a unique identity among the cities of northern Italy, because the city joined its local traditions with influences from both the Latin west and the Greek east.

See also Amadeo VI, Count of Savoy; Aquileia; Dandolo Family; Falieri, Marino; Genoa; Grado Patriarchate of Orseolo Family; Petrarca, Francesco; Polo, Marco; Ptolemy of Lucca; Tiepolo Family; Torcello; Venice: Art; Visconti Family

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Venice: Art

The urban geography of Venice as we know it today dates from the twelfth century. Over the course of some four centuries the small, swampy islands of the Venetian archipelago had been gradually drawn

together through a Herculean process of land reclamation to which the early documents give eloquent testimony. The earliest known plan of Venice, of c. 1346—which is preserved in the *Cronaca magna* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana—is based on a twelfth-century exemplar. It already presents a compact landmass, traversed by a broad S-shaped canal, that speaks of the formed city. Beginning in the thirteenth century, the formation of the city entered a new phase as the state began to play an increasingly larger and more directive role, ultimately assuming a substantial part of the financial burden in the impressive process of fusion that transformed the scattered islands into a functioning urban unit.

The major focus of Venice's first phase of urban development was the defining of a civic center. Shortly after the mid-twelfth century, in the 1160s or 1170s, on a site at the southern edge of the city that had previously contained a fortified enclave, a regularized civic center began to be constructed. It included residences for high-ranking administrators, an extended palace structure (*palatium communis*) that housed the doge's residence together with law courts and meeting rooms, and a grand new church of San Marco to shelter the relics of Venice's patron saint, Mark. Under Doge Sebastiano Ziani (r. 1172-1178), the land in front of San Marco was acquired for the state and established as a great open space with roughly the dimensions of Piazza San Marco as it stands today. In Venice, the term *piazza* is reserved for Piazza San Marco.

Two events can serve as anchor dates for the formative development of the civic center. On one side is the establishment, first recorded in 1152, of the *opus ecclesie sancti Marci*, the office of works of the new church of San Marco. This office, soon designated as the *procuratia di San Marco*, would eventually expand into a key administrative and financial bureau for the city as a whole. Marking the finalization of the conception of the civic core was the paving of the great open space that defined the civic center, Piazza San Marco, in the 1260s. In 1277, the state mint, the *zecca*, was moved to the civic center from the Rialto, thus concentrating the major government units at this central site. As a splendid urban scheme, the development of the Venetian civic center has been linked to the great imperial forums of ancient Rome and the antique forums and gathering places, still carrying the cachet of

imperial rule, that remained extant in medieval Constantinople.

The art of medieval Venice has its first phase in connection with the building and embellishment of the structure that dominates the civic core, the church of San Marco. The traditional starting date for work on San Marco as we see it today—the third church on the site—is 1063, under Doge Domenico Contarini (r. 1043-1071) and hence referred to as the "Contarini San Marco." According to a cherished Venetian tradition, San Marco was modeled on the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople; but in a pattern that was to stamp Venetian art for much of its history, San Marco represents a creative amalgam of western and eastern elements. The plan brings together aspects of the Roman basilica and the Greek-cross plan. Specific aspects of the construction—e.g., the type of the crypt and the character of the brickwork (thick bricks joined by thin layers of mortar)—separate San Marco from Byzantium and further connect it to the west. To be considered in conjunction with San Marco is the testimony to indigenous building provided by a group of churches on the nearby islands of Torcello and Murano. Having escaped later rebuilding campaigns, these structures bring one close to the early stages of church building in Venice. The church of Santi Maria e Donato on the island of Murano, substantially of the twelfth century, is basilican in plan with a superb hexagonal apse and handsome exterior brick patterning. The cathedral of Torcello, Santa Maria Assunta, founded in the seventh century and rebuilt in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, stands as a starkly impressive brick basilican structure. Also on Torcello is the small central-plan church of Santa Fosca, largely of the eleventh century with some twelfth-century additions, constructed on an octagonal plan and elegant in its exterior brickwork.

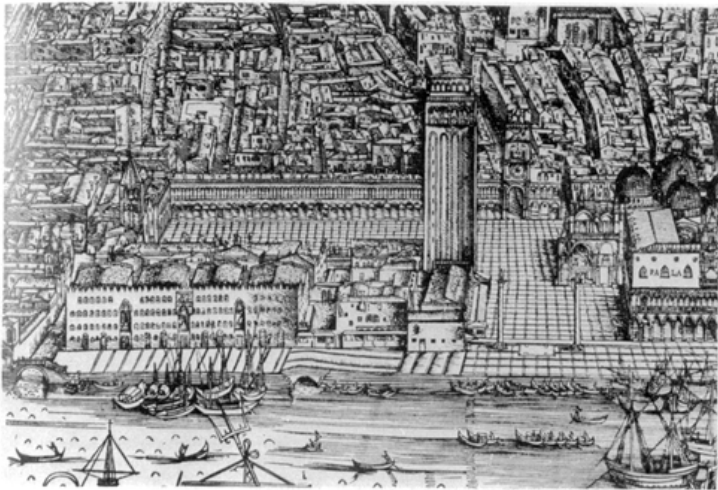
By the mid-twelfth century, work on the brick architectural shell of San Marco had reached a point where the interior was ready for the extensive deployment of mosaics that gives San Marco its distinctive identity among the churches of medieval Italy. The mosaic decoration of the domes and the interior vaults was carried out during the course of the twelfth century and the early thirteenth century. While clearly inspired by the mosaicencrusted interiors of Byzantine churches, the mosaics of San Marco, like the plan, bring together eastern and western elements. Following Byzantine precedent, the scheme is a Christ

centered cycle, but there are numerous deviations from Byzantine formulas that speak to traditions of Italy and France. Dominating the scheme are the three large domes set on an east-west axis. These present a succession of monumental Christological statements: the *Ascension of Christ* in the center dome; a *Pentecost* in the west dome that includes an exotic depiction of the *Nations of the World*; and *Christ as Emmanuel* (with the original composition intact but heavily restored) in the east dome. Narratives of Christ's life, the lives of apostles, and the lives of Venice's most honored saints are placed on the side walls and in the two auxiliary domes. The outer architectural unit or narthex running along the west and north flanks of the church carries an Old Testament cycle executed in the thirteenth century, generally thought to be based on early Christian manuscript models. It has been suggested that the inclusion of an Old Testament cycle may represent a response—and challenge—to the early Christian decoration programs of basilicas in Rome.

The mosaic workers of San Marco were famous and in demand in Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Pope Honorius III, in a letter of 1218 to the doge of Venice, Pietro Ziani, refers to a Venetian mosaic master sent to work in the church of San Paolo in Rome and requests two additional workmen. In 1302, the Arte di Calimala of Florence, the guild in charge of the fabric of the city's Baptistry, planned a search to locate skilled Venetian mosaic workers for the decoration program then underway. The San Marco mosaic workshops, under the supervision of the *procuratia di San Marco*, were strictly regulated. Preserved is an order of 1258 issued by the *procuratia* that spells out in detail the apprenticeship system within the workshops.

A new level of economic prosperity, and hence a new phase of urban development, accompanied the dramatic change in Venice's fortunes that took place at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Fourth Crusade of 1201-1204, an enterprise in which the Venetians played a crucial role and which culminated in the Latin conquest of Constantinople, decisively changed the artistic stance of medieval Venice. New attention was directed to the exterior of San Marco, transforming it into a glittering urban showpiece. The exterior was sheathed in marble from the east, most notably the bluish-white

proconnesian marble, used in both straight-cut and dramatic zigzag patterning. In addition to prized marble, a large number of sculptures, reliquaries, and other religious objects were brought from the east. Among the more renowned pieces transported from Byzantium in the wake of the Fourth Crusade are the porphyry group of the tetrarchs, the porphyry head of a Byzantine emperor (the so-called *Carnagnola*) on the balustrade of the upper story, and, most spectacularly, the four gleaming bronze horses of San Marco, set high on the west facade, resonating with overtones of Roman imperial triumph and the triumphal spread of Christianity.



Jacopo de' Barbari, map of Venice of 1500, detail of civic center. Rosenwald Collection, Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,

The thirteenth-century embellishment of the exterior of San Marco included an extensive sculptural program, carried out largely from 1220 to 1260. The work consists of two principal components: the archivolt framing the three main doorways of the west facade, and the reliefs set into the facade and flanks of the church. A significant number of these reliefs also represent Byzantine spoils, although scholars are still sorting out which are Byzantine and which come from the workshops of San Marco. The highly original archivolt sculptures, featuring personifications of virtues, the months, and the trades of Venice, reveal the strong influence of sculptors working in other parts of northern

Italy, in particular the classicizing sculptor Benedetto Antelami. The upper face of the west facade was inset with an important series of figural reliefs. These include a figure of the orant Virgin, possibly of Venetian manufacture; and two much-discussed reliefs of Hercules, one (*Hercules and the Boar*) of late antique production and the other (*Hercules with the Hind and Hydra*) attributed to a thirteenth-century Venetian sculptor known as the Hercules Master.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the urban development of Venice spread out from the civic core. Indicative of the intensified attention to the development of the city as a whole are the regulations of 1269–1272 regarding construction along the principal thoroughfare leading from San Marco to the Rialto and the paving of this thoroughfare in brick. In 1282, a new public office, the *Piovego*, was created, with vast responsibilities for overseeing growth and development within the city as a whole.

The oldest palaces, extensively altered in later periods, have their first stages in the urban consciousness of the second half of the thirteenth century. In the thirteenth century, a distinctive Venetian palace type was already established, with storage rooms and access to the water on the lower level and living quarters above. A long passageway, the *androne*, cut through the entire depth of the building on the ground at water level; the great center hall—the *salone* or *portego*—was placed above it. The earliest Venetian palaces were two stories high, extended to three and four stories in later periods, with facade decorations focused on the windows of the second story. The Ca da Mosto on the Grand Canal near the Rialto, although also enlarged, remains one of the more vivid reminders of the early thirteenth-century phase of palace building in Venice. The structure known as the Fondaco dei Turchi (it was leased by the Venetian government to the Ottoman merchants in 1621 and is now the natural history museum of Venice) presents a larger and grander example of a thirteenth-century Venetian palace, complete with corner towers flanking two stories of elegant elongated Byzantine arches. The tower units were much amplified during the late nineteenth century, in a generally disastrous and misleading restoration, and almost everything behind the facade is of later construction. The Ca Farsetti and the Palazzo Loredan, both at the Rialto, are also notable for preserving a thirteenth-century core. A

series of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century palaces that carry the distinctive stamp of Gothic Venice replicate the thirteenth-century palace type, with successively more elaborate facade treatments but maintaining the basic plan and organization.



Paolo Veneziano, *Coronation of the Virgin*, dated 1358. Copyright The Frick Collection, New York.

During the fourteenth century, Venice experienced a building boom that included the newly built, greatly enlarged mendicant

establishments of Santi Giovanni e Paolo for the Dominicans (begun 1333), and Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari for the Franciscans (begun 1340). The new churches were accompanied by important open spaces known as *campi*. The model presented by Santi Giovanni e Paolo and the Frari was taken up by numerous fifteenth-century Venetian churches. Among those that work variations on the fourteenth-century mendicant type are San Giovanni in Bragora, San Giobbe, and Santo Stefano.



Venezia, relief rondel from west facade, Palazzo Ducale, attributed to Filippo Calendario. Reproduced by permission of Osvaldo Böhm, Venice.

The restoration and substantial rebuilding of the Palazzo Ducale was the most significant building project of fourteenth-century Venice,

involving a shift in artistic focus within the civic core from the state church to the seat of government. The late thirteenth-century reorganization of the Venetian government known as the *serrata del maggior consiglio*—the "closing" of the great council—had, in fact, resulted in a vast increase in the membership of that key governmental body. In 1340, plans were made for an expansion of the palace that would include a grand new meeting hall to accommodate the new membership. This vast room, with a capacity of 3,000 people, became one of the great meeting halls of Christendom, serving as a model for legislative chambers in Italy and elsewhere. The work of decorating the new room extended over most of the second half of the fourteenth century. The decorative scheme had three separate pictorial components, all to some degree replicated in the late sixteenth- or seventeenth-century campaign that created the room as we see it today. At the top of the walls, directly below the cornice line, was a sequence of ducal portraits *en buste*, each doge carrying a banner inscribed with a brief phrase heralding an important achievement of his *dogado*. A cycle of large narrative paintings on three sides of the room—among the earliest monumental secular narrative cycles of the post-antique period—depicted events of twelfth-century Venetian history. On the wall in back of the dais where the doge presided with his counselors, there was a huge fresco of the *Heavenly Jerusalem*, known as the *Paradise* (dated by inscription to the dogate of Doge Marco Cornaro, 1365–1368), dominated by a depiction of the *Coronation of the Virgin*. Fragments rescued from the fire of 1577 are on display in the Palazzo Ducale. Guariento di Arpo, a painter whose style had a strong Tuscan, Giottoesque component, was called in from Padua to paint the *Paradise* and several of the historical scenes of the side walls. Work on the room may have been largely complete by 1382, when the Palazzo Ducale came under the jurisdiction of the *procuratia di San Marco*. The first meeting in the new room is recorded in 1419.

San Marco also had its fourteenth-century phase, above all in the program of intensified ducal emphasis carried out under one of the most intriguing figures of late medieval Venice, Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343–1354). The chapel of Saint Isidore (1354–1355) was built onto the left transept arm to house the relics of Isidore, a Byzantine warrior saint; it has an extensive mosaic cycle in a lively narrative style. The

baptistery was given a complementary mosaic decoration focused on Christ and John the Baptist and including a *Crucifixion* in which Dandolo is shown at the foot of the cross. Dandolo was also responsible for the sumptuous reinstallation of the Pala d'Oro, a project dated by inscription to 1345, on the high altar of San Marco. This "golden altarpiece" is believed to have served earlier in San Marco as an altar frontal and to have been constructed at least in part of enamels imported from Constantinople. It was reorganized and partially remade in the fourteenth-century installation, set with hundreds of gems and given a gold filigree outer frame. Dandolo's role in the remounting is recorded in the inscription, together with a brief recounting of the earlier history of the *pala*.

The fourteenth century saw the emergence of Venice's first artistic personalities identifiable by name. The most important sculptor and architect of fourteenth-century Venice was Filippo Calendario (c. 1315–1355). Calendario played a major role in both the architecture and the sculptural program of the Palazzo Ducale. He was very likely the director of the workshop that initiated the superb series of capitals of the ground-floor loggia of the Palazzo Ducale, one of which bears the date 1344. These capitals present an elaborate encyclopedic program that includes representations of the classes of society, the trades and peoples of Venice, aspects of daily life, historical personalities from antiquity, and personifications of wisdom and justice—emerging out of luscious leafage, the *foglie grasse* of Venetian Gothic architecture.

The second major artistic figure of fourteenth-century Venice is the painter Paolo Veneziano (fl. 1333–1358). It has been argued that Paolo Veneziano had the status of official painter to the republic of Venice. His state projects included the commission of a wooden painted cover, dated by inscription to 1345, for the Pala d'Oro, with a sequence of the life of Saint Mark. He also worked on one of the important ducal tombs of the fourteenth century, the tomb of Doge Francesco Dandolo (d. 1339) in the chapterhouse of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. Panel painting came relatively late to Venice, and it is with Paolo Veneziano that the altarpiece became firmly established within the Venetian artistic tradition. He appears to have been the initiator of the typically Venetian altarpiece with elaborate architectural enframing, bristling with cornices, spires, and sculptural accents. To be numbered among

the masterpieces of his career are two altarpieces of the coronation of the Virgin, a subject that had considerable currency in Venice during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of these, dating from the 1430s, is a large polyptych painted for the Franciscan nunnery of Santa Chiara (now in the Accademia in Venice). The second, from his last period and showing him at the height of his powers, is the *Coronation of the Virgin* panel now in the Frick Collection in New York; it is signed with an inscription naming both Paolo and his son Giovanni, and bearing the date 1358. Paolo Veneziano was head of a family workshop that included a number of his sons, a type of workshop that was to become the norm in the artistic life of Venice for sculptors as well as painters.

The artistic qualities promoted by Paolo Veneziano—richly patterned fabrics and an enamel-like vividness of color—decisively stamped Venetian painting until the end of the fourteenth century. To be singled out for special attention in the second half of the fourteenth century is Lorenzo Veneziano (fl. 1356-1372), who played a directive role analogous to that of Paolo Veneziano in the first half of the century. Lorenzo's earliest signed surviving work is a polyptych of 1359 from the church of Sant'Antonio in Venice featuring at its center an Annunciation (Accademia, Venice) with an elaborate inscription giving the names of the carver of the frame, the founder of the church, and the commissioner of the work, the patrician Domenico Lion. Lorenzo Veneziano preserved a great deal of the aesthetic of Paolo Veneziano; particularly striking is his adherence to the attenuated Byzantine figure of the saint. However, Lorenzo also incorporated new currents into his work. His figures interact with a new vivacity, and there is a turn toward the heavier, more physically present figure favored on the mainland. His altarpieces introduced a number of new themes into the Venetian tradition. The large-scale Annunciation figures prominently in his work, often as the central panel of a polyptych, and his *Delivery of the Keys to Saint Peter* (Museo Correr, Venice) presents a heavy, forceful seated figure that would influence later Venetian altarpieces of enthroned saints. Although the full account of late fourteenth-century Venetian painting still needs to be worked out, a few interesting personalities hold out promise for future work. Among these is the evocative and mysterious Jacobello Alberengo (d. before 1397), known

from a series of Apocalypse panels (in the Accademia) from the demolished church of San Giovanni Evangelista on Torcello.

Medieval Venice should also be understood as rich in sculptural accents of a wide-ranging variety. The public squares (*campi*) as well as private interior courtyards had handsome wellheads, large numbers of which are still to be seen in the city although they no longer serve a practical function. Miscellaneous pieces, often of Byzantine or presumed Byzantine manufacture, mark the outside walls of private dwellings. Buildings and *calli*—the narrow Venetian streets—are marked by emblems of confraternities and family arms. Notable are the carefully constructed sculptural statements that serve as encapsulations of Venice. The Lion of Saint Mark, placed during the thirteenth century on a column marking the entrance to the civic center from the sea, is a composite piece made to serve as an emblem of Venice's patron saint and of the city itself. A relief personification of Venice, enthroned and crowned like the Virgin, ruling with wisdom from Solomon's lion throne, was placed on the west facade of the Palazzo Ducale as part of the fourteenth-century rebuilding campaign; Wolters (1976, 1994) attributes this relief to Filippo Calendario. Tomb sculpture is another significant aspect of the art of medieval Venice. The ducal tomb became part of the public display of Venice around the mid-thirteenth century when the tomb of Doge Jacopo Tiepolo (r. 1229-1249) was placed outside the entrance to Santi Giovanni e Paolo. Notable fourteenth-century tombs are those of Doge Giovanni Soranzo (r. 1312-1328) in the baptistery of San Marco, the first tomb of a ruler in the west to be erected in a baptistery; Doge Francesco Dandolo (r. 1329-1339) at the Frari, the first tomb of a ruler in a mendicant chapterhouse; and Doge Michele Morosini (1382) in the choir of Santi Giovanni e Paolo—a densely sculptural tomb with an elaborate architectural fresco surround, one of the outstanding tombs of medieval Italy in its wall-filling ambitions.

Appropriately, what can be considered the last major artistic project of late medieval Venice and the culmination of its sculptural style—a work from the end of the fourteenth century—was commissioned for San Marco. This is the superb ensemble of grieving apostles and the Virgin by Jacobello dalle Masegne (fl. 1383—c. 1409) and his brother Pierpaolo dalle Masegne (fl. 1383-c. 1403) that crowns the iconostasis

closing off the Cappella Maggiore of San Marco. The architrave carries an inscription dating the work to 1394 and names the government officials—Doge Antonio Venier (r. 1382-1400) and the two procurators of San Marco—under whom the work was carried out, as well as the two sculptors. The work is not a true iconostasis in the Byzantine sense—that is, a carrier of icons—but rather a typically Venetian melding that brings together the eastern concept of iconostasis, the French idea of choir screen, and the Italian idea of dramatic display of individual sculptured figures. Stylistically, the figures of the iconostasis draw heavily on mainland developments—a link with Andrea Pisano and his followers is to be particularly noted—but the austerity and severity of many of these figures suggest that the artists looked closely at Byzantine pieces.

See also Masegne Brothers; Pala d'Oro; Veneziano, Paolo; Venice

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Venosa

Venosa is a city in Basilicata, about 6 miles (10 kilometers) east of Melfi. It was important under the Romans and was a bishopric in the sixth century, but it was destroyed by the Lombards (and probably lost its bishopric, which, however was functioning again by 817). The Arabs took it in 842; however, Emperor Louis II recovered it c. 868. It became part of the Lombard duchy of Salerno but was then seized by the

Normans in 1041. Drogo de Hauteville became its lord and revived the building of the abbey of the Santissima Trinita that had been begun in 942 by Gisulph of Salerno and abandoned. From Drogo (who was assassinated there in 1051) Venosa passed in turn to his brothers Humphrey and Robert Guiscard. Their tombs are in the abbey. Venosa was the center of two major rebellions (in 1127 and 1128) and an unsuccessful invasion by Emperor Lothair III (1134). It prospered under Frederick II and supported both Manfred and Conradin against Charles of Anjou, who severely punished it after the battle of Tagliacozzo. Later, Charles established a hospital for injured veterans there. Under Joanna I, Venosa declared for the Hungarians in 1350; when it was recovered, Joanna granted it to the Sanseverino. After Melfi, Venosa was the largest town in Angevin Basilicata. Its main products were wheat, barley, and wine.

A huge enlargement of the abbey was begun in 1063 under Robert Guiscard: a cruciform apsidal church was planned, incorporating the old church in the nave, the architecture modeled on French Cluniac churches; but only the walls together with pilasters, piers, and columns, all with Romanesque carved capitals, were built. The enterprise was finally abandoned when Pope Boniface VIII transferred the abbey from the Benedictines to the Hospitallers in 1297.

See also **Boniface VIII, Pope; Charles I of Anjou; Conradin; Joanna I of Naples; Manfred; Melfi; Robert Guiscard; Tagliacozzo, Battle of**

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Verdun, Treaty of

The treaty of Verdun (843) spelled out an agreement among the three sons of Louis I the Pious partitioning the unified empire that Louis had sought to create into an independent kingdom for each son. Louis received all territories lying east of the Rhine, creating a kingdom of the East Franks. Charles received as his kingdom of the West Franks the territories west of a line marked by the Meuse, Scheldt, Saône, and Rhone rivers. To Lothair (Lothar) went the "middle kingdom," comprising the territories between the kingdoms of Louis and Charles from the North Sea to the Alps as well as Italy. Lothair was recognized as emperor, but that title implied no effective authority over his brothers.

See also **Frankish Kingdom; Lothar I; Louis I the Pious**

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The site on the Adige River that we now call Verona was inhabited as early as the Neolithic era. Its identity as a city developed in 49 B.C., when it was recognized as a Roman *municipium*. The arch of the Gavi, a theater, and an imposing arena still survive to recall its prosperity under imperial rule. Roads and rivers made it a very hospitable place.

Verona is nestled in a crook of the Adige just as the river begins to meander southward across the plain and thus was on the edge of two very different worlds. To the north rise the foothills of the Alps; to the south stretches the broad expanse of the Po River valley. Three major Roman thoroughfares passed through the city. The Via Claudia Augusta took travelers south to Rome or north through the Alps to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg). The Via Postumia traversed the entire Po valley beginning in Aquileia, turning southwest at Verona, and continuing to Genoa. The Via Gallica carried traffic westward to Brescia. These roads remained major arteries through the Middle Ages.

The Adige's serpentine embrace made the site of Verona easily defensible: the river bounded three sides, and then walls closed off the southern flank. In Roman times, the walls were pierced by only two gates and enclosed roughly a third of a square mile (about eight- or nine-tenths of a square kilometer). During the Middle Ages, the city expanded both northward and southward. The Lombards created a fortified center (*castrum*) across the Adige on the slope of Colle San Pietro, and in the twelfth century the commune extended these fortifications to the southeast. At the same time, it enclosed the suburb under the Roman walls by building a new set of walls a third of a mile (about 0.5 kilometer) further south. Under the rule of the Visconti in the late fourteenth century, Verona's walls were expanded again, more than doubling the fortified area.

The grid of the old Roman street plan is still evident in the city center. The Roman forum (today Piazza delle Erbe) remained the market of the medieval city and its center of public authority. The royal and ducal residences of the early Middle Ages were nearby; the commune built its palace on the edge of the *piazza* in the twelfth century; and the Scaliger (Delia Scala) *signori* erected their palaces alongside. To the northwest, in the curve of the Adige, was Verona's medieval ecclesiastical center, with the cathedral, the bishop's residence, and the canons' library and cloister. The city's most venerable

monastery, San Zeno, was located outside the Roman and communal walls just off the Via Gallica. In it was buried the city's patron, Saint Zeno, the fourth-century bishop who converted the Veronese.

Political History

During the fifth century, as various invaders, such as Odovacar (Odoacer) and the Ostrogoth Theodoric, assumed the frayed mantle of imperial rule in Italy, Verona took on greater importance as a military and political center. Theodoric's decisive defeat of Odovacar occurred just east of the city (at San Martino Buonalbergo), and Theodoric had a palace built for himself on Colle San Pietro overlooking Verona. During the Gothic wars, the city fell to the Byzantine general Narses c. 556, but this restoration of imperial rule lasted only twelve years. In 568, the Lombards established their kingdom in northern Italy, and Verona became one of their two capitals (Pavia was the other). The choice of Verona turned out tragically for the conqueror Alboino, who was assassinated in the palace on Colle San Pietro in 572, but his successors fared better in the city. Under kings Desiderius and Liutprand in the eighth century, the Lombards abandoned Arian for Catholic Christianity, and the bishops of Verona transferred their see within the walls to the site of the present cathedral.

The cathedral clergy, in particular, flourished after the Carolingian conquest in 774. Bishop Ratoldus organized and endowed the chapter (or *schola*) in 813, and its famous library, which is still serving scholars today, seems to have originated around this time. The manuscripts preserved in the library suggest that Verona participated actively in the Carolingian renaissance. This is also suggested by the accomplishments of its bishops: Egino (780-803) designed Saint Peter's basilica in Reichnau before coming to Verona; the theologian Nottingus (840-844) corresponded with Hincmar of Reims and Rabanus Maurus; and Adelard (876-915) was a poet.

Although Charlemagne was in Verona at least once in 787, Carolingian rule was normally exercised in the city through a count. Verona did not become a royal residence again until the Italian kingdom faced a crisis when Louis II died in 875 without an heir. Of the

many claimants to the throne, Berengar I of Friuli (888—924) managed to eliminate all his rivals by 905 and assert uncontested authority; he made Verona his capital and the city's bishop his archchancellor. The city remained important in the politics of the kingdom under Hugh of Aries (r. 926-947), Lothar II (Lothair, r. 931-950), and Berengar II of Ivrea (r. 950-962), but during this period of its history its bishop, Ratherius, was a more potent force.



Church of San Zeno, Verona. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

Ratherius, a monk of Liège, was bishop of Verona in 931 — 934, 946-948, and 961-968. Imperial politics, and the importance of bishops in these politics, can account for his first exile in 934 (Ratherius had wavered in his allegiance to Hugh during Arnulf of Bavaria's bid for the kingdom), Ratherius's own fierce religiosity, caustic wit, and strong will contributed to his other expulsions from the see. A vivid, if somewhat unflattering, view of the Veronese church and society emerge from the bishop's letters, his sermons, and his *Praeloquia*, a discourse on human roles and duties. Although Verona was certainly not unique in suffering from political corruption, ecclesiastical disorder, and pervasive greed, it was unique in having an articulate observer to chronicle all this. Ratherius of Verona was one of the few literary luminaries Europe produced in the tenth century.

With the establishment of Ottonian rule in northern Italy in 961,

Verona's location at the base of the Brenner Pass made it a fulcrum of imperial rule. For the rest of the Middle Ages, the city made the most of this strategic position; it remained loyal to the imperial party but repeatedly negotiated privileges and rights in return for its allegiance. Emperors and their armies spent considerable time in the city, particularly the embattled Henry IV, whose retreat over the Brenner Pass was blocked by southern German opponents in the 1090s. San Zeno, just outside the city walls, became an imperial center; a significant palace complex emerged here in the twelfth century.

Within the walls, an alliance of merchants, lesser knights, and the bishop gave birth to an independent communal government in the early twelfth century. An accord on trading privileges between leading Veronese citizens and Venice in 1107 is the first evidence of independent governance, although consuls do not appear until 1135. By the mid-twelfth century, the commune had established its sway over the *contado* (countryside), and it gained grudging if practical recognition from the empire in 1156, after Frederick I Barbarossa came to realize how perilous the mountainous roads north of Verona could be without the city's friendship. Like other cities of the Marches and Lombardy, however, Verona participated in the leagues arrayed against Frederick's attempted reimposition of direct imperial rule and won the full juridical recognition set out in the peace of Constance (1183). This communal government ruled Verona until the advent of the Scaliger lordship in 1277.

Like that of most Italian communes, Verona's government was led alternately by consuls or rectors and *podestà* (podestas, city magistrates) throughout the late twelfth century. Factional infighting between the aristocratic Conti party (whose main constituent was an old comital family, the Sambonifacio) and its more popular opposition (the Monticoli, a leading mercantile family, and their supporters) brought the city under the domination of the tyrant Ezzelino da Romano in 1225. Under his leadership, Verona briefly adhered to the second Lombard League against Frederick II in 1226, but it was reconciled with the emperor the following year. Ezzelino's vicious rule, however, exhausted the city, and fear of new factional violence after his death in 1259 resulted in the domination of native *signori*, the Delia Scala (Scaliger).

Under the Delia Scala, Verona became the center of a significant territorial lordship encompassing, at its height in the 1330s, most of the Veneto and parts of Emilia and Tuscany. In 1387, the city exchanged its native *signore* for a foreign one when it fell to Gian Galeazzo Visconti and was incorporated into the Milanese territorial state. As *dominus generalis et perpetuus*, Gian Galeazzo ruled the city, through local functionaries, until his death in 1402. Like the Scaliger lords, he maintained the outer forms of the communal government, but he "reformed" its statutes to suppress all independent local political activity. Financial exactions led the Veronese to revolt on 22–24 June 1390, but a prompt and thorough sack of the city by Visconti troops restored Milanese control.

Gian Galeazzo's death led to a brief attempt to restore the Delia Scala. With the help of the Da Carrara family of Padua, Guglielmo Delia Scala returned to the city in 1404. The local allies of the Visconti (the Dal Verme, aided by the Gonzaga of Mantua) appealed to both Venice and Filippo Maria Visconti to oppose the Scaliger faction. As Filippo Maria was planning to reconquer the city, the Venetians won over the Gonzaga with promises of several key castles, and the *popolo* rose against the Da Carrara and sought an accord with Venice. On 23 June 1405, Verona came under Venetian rule, which was to last until the Napoleonic conquests.

Social and Economic Life

In the Roman era, Verona produced several important agricultural commodities: spelt, wood, and wine. The area still excels in viticulture: Valpolicella, Bardolino, and Soave are all notable wine-producing communities in the rolling hills north of the city. Flax seems also to have been grown, and *lintiones* (linen workers) appear in early sources.

In the Middle Ages, the production of cloth (wool, cotton, and linen) continued to be a significant part of the local economy. Verona's prosperity, however, depended on no single industry. Its economy was diverse, with strong artisanal activity (wood, leather, and metalworking) and trade in agricultural products, manufactured goods, and raw materials. As early as the mid-tenth century, commerce was

pervasive enough to draw ecclesiastical censure: Bishop Ratherius once barred the gates of the city in a dispute with townspeople over trading on Sundays. From the eleventh century on, Veronese merchants were active all along the major trade artery linking Venice, and the goods of the Mediterranean world, to Germany and northern Europe.

Through the twelfth century, the bishop held rights over the city's central market at the old Roman forum (Piazza delle Erbe) and collected tolls and dues at the city's gates and on river traffic along the Adige. However, through leasing arrangements with laypeople to facilitate the collection of these dues, and through a progressive diminution of episcopal power in the communal era, jurisdiction over trade came under secular authority. In the early thirteenth century, a council of merchants emerged as a separate deliberative body in the government, distinct from the council of the commune. In 1209, this *domus mercatorum* had its own *podestà* and consuls and was exercising jurisdiction over the guilds and military control over the major arteries of commerce (roads and the Adige). By the advent of the Delia Scala *signoria*, it was the most influential body within the commune.

Commerce was so pervasive that by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was little distinction between a feudal and a mercantile nobility. Even branches of the comital Sambonifacio family were sufficiently involved in commerce to serve as officials in the *domus mercatorum*, and elite knightly families—such as the Visconti, Avvocati, and Turriseudi—collected tolls and market fees. Urban families that came to prominence through mercantile activities, such as the Crescenzi and the Monticoli, tended to become vassals of leading ecclesiastical institutions and through these ties acquired lands and castles in the countryside. The enmity between Verona's two factions, or *partes*—the Conti and the Monticoli (later the *pars quattrovigenti*)—was based on political competition rather than social distance. The mercantile Crescenzi, for example, supported the Conti; and the Turriseudi family, counts of Garda in the twelfth century, supported the Monticoli.

The expansion of settlement in the Veronese countryside during the eleventh century—evident in new place-names and mentions of land clearance—indicates a growing population. In the twelfth century, this rural expansion continued with swamp drainage projects sponsored by

the commune. The urban population was also expanding. The population of Verona was probably at least 10,000 in the eleventh century and approximately 20,000-25,000 in the thirteenth; it reached its maximum for the medieval period—35,000-40,000—just before the black death. When records again allow us to gauge the population, in the early fifteenth century, it was only 14,800, but a rapid recovery in the second half of the century brought it back up to 42,000.

Art and Architecture

Early medieval churches were built of wood in most parts of Italy, but several examples of early stone churches survive in Verona. The church of Sante Teutera e Tosca was built in the late ninth century, as was the rural parish of San Zeno in Bardolino with its beautiful Carolingian capitals. The crypt of San Procolo also dates from before 1000, as do parts of Santo Stefano. San Giorgio in Valpolicella has an ornately sculptured and inscribed *ciborium* from the early eighth century; and the monastery of Santi Nazaro e Celso preserves a cycle of tenth-century frescos. Another highly significant remnant of medieval Verona is an eighth-century altar cloth known as the Velo di Classe (now in the Museo Nazionale at Ravenna), embroidered with images of twelve early Veronese bishops.

Verona is best-known, however, for its Romanesque art and architecture. Its political and economic ties made the city a fertile meeting ground for Mediterranean and ultramontane influences. Its early rural Romanesque churches—San Severo in Bardolino, Sant'Andrea in Sommacampagna, San Pietro di Legnago, San Giorgio di Valpolicella—blend Carolingian plans with the rhythmic decoration and rounded masonry forms of the *magistri comacini*. More refined and complex examples are also found in the city. San Fermo Maggiore (begun c. 1065) is a double basilica, in which the lower church better preserves the Romanesque aesthetic (the upper church was renovated in the late thirteenth century, incorporating Gothic elements). San Lorenzo (c. 1110) has two round towers at its facade and a rhythmic alternation of slender columns and substantial piers down the nave. Good later examples of Romanesque architecture are Santi Apostoli,

Santissima Trinità, San Giovanni in Valle, and the baptistery, San Giovanni in Fonte.

The city's finest Romanesque church is San Zeno Maggiore. A monastery and church are documented on the site from the eighth century, although the community was certainly much older. The earliest elements in the present church date from the early eleventh century, but the structure assumed its characteristic form c. 1123-1135. San Zeno is a wooden-roof basilica with three naves, a small clerestory, and somewhat irregular bays (a result of delays in construction). A high choir, its parapet edged with sculptures of the apostles, sits above the crypt enclosing the patron saint, and ornately sculptured Romanesque arches frame the entrance to the crypt. The apse and the trefoil ceiling are Gothic. Alternating bands of white *tuffo* and red brick ornament the exterior. The facade, following the basilican profile, is dominated by a Romanesque porch (*protiro*) and an immense rose window (dating from the late twelfth century) encircled by a wheel of fortune. Flanking the porch are marble relief sculptures: those on the right, depicting scenes from the Old Testament, were signed by the sculptor Niccolò; and the series on the left, presenting scenes from the life of Jesus, were the work of Guglielmo. Sculptured scenes depicting the months of the year grace the architrave. The lunette contains a relief representing San Zeno and the forces of the commune; the saint offers his blessing and *vexillum* (standard) to the knights and foot soldiers of the city.

San Zeno's bronze doors, however, are its most notable ornament. Affixed to the wooden doors are forty-eight bronze panels, *formelli* (two missing panels are in Berlin), which are evidently the work of at least two artists from two distinct periods. The oldest group of *formelli* dates to the very late eleventh century or the early twelfth century. Toward the close of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth century, the doors were enlarged and other panels were added. These additional bronze relief sculptures, especially those depicting the life of San Zeno, are much more naturalistic in design than the earlier *formelli*, which have a delightful cartoon-like simplicity. Most of the earlier panels depict scenes from the New Testament, whereas the later panels added Old Testament scenes and episodes from the patron's life.

The city's cathedral, or *duomo*, Santa Maria Maggiore, was also

rebuilt in the first half of the twelfth century, and it too has an impressive Romanesque *protiro*. The sculptures here are also the work of Niccolò (c. 1135-1339). The rhythmic arches of the portal incorporate figures of prophets; the outer face of the portal has two *paladini*, usually identified as Roland and Oliver. An image of the Madonna enthroned dominates the lunette, flanked by the angel announcing the savior's birth to the shepherds and the wise men offering their gifts. The columns supporting the *protiro* rest on sculptured griffins.

Like San Zeno, the cathedral is a basilica without transept, culminating in a single apse. This plan, and its bichromatic (*tufo* and brick) exterior, place the *duomo* firmly within a well-articulated local architectural tradition. Its frieze ornamentation is particularly striking: it combines a rounded and fluid acanthus pattern embracing expressive animal figures with more sedately classical dentillated moldings and Corinthian capitals. The roof was raised, Gothic vaulting was added, and new columns were installed in the fifteenth century. Elements of Gothic architecture are also evident in the city's two mendicant churches, Sant' Anastasia and San Fermo.

However, the quality of painting in late medieval Verona far exceeds that of architecture. In the late fourteenth century, the Veronese artist Altichiero worked in the Delia Scala *palazzo* and completed an impressive fresco cycle (c. 1380) in the Cavalli chapel in Sant'Anastasia. In the early fifteenth century, Pisanello undertook several projects in the city. The most noteworthy is a fresco of Saint George and the princess in Sant'Anastasia. Mantegna produced the beautiful triptych of the Madonna with saints and cherubs above the high altar in San Zeno c. 1459.

The best local artists of the *Quattrocento* actually did most of their work for the Gonzaga dukes of nearby Mantua. Francesco Bonsignori, who was strongly influenced by Mantegna, worked in the Palazzo Ducale. A painting of the Madonna and child is preserved in the museum at Castelvechio in Verona, and a series of paintings in the Banda chapel in San Bernardino. Like Bonsignori, the Veronese Domenico Morone worked in the Mantuan Palazzo Ducale, but more of his work survives in Verona. Morone decorated the cupola in Santa Maria in Organo, the Medici chapel and the Sagramoso library at San Bernardino, and the cupola of the San Biagio chapel in San Nazaro.

See also Cangrande della Scala; Delia Scala Family; Ezzelino III da Romano; Holy Roman Empire; Lombards; Urban Development; Visconti Family

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Veronica, Veil of

The "veil of Veronica," in the best-known versions of this celebrated legend, is a cloth offered by a woman of Jerusalem to Christ as he was carrying his cross up toward Calvary and crucifixion. When he returned the cloth to her after wiping away the blood and sweat from his face, an image of his features was miraculously imprinted on it.



Veronica and the veil. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 97r.

An object alleged to be the relic, venerated at Rome since about the eighth century, was solemnly installed in Saint Peter's on the orders of Pope Boniface VIII in 1297, and popular devotion to it—despite the claims of similar, rival cloths in Milan and Spain—became intense and widespread during the later Middle Ages. Dante refers to *la Veronica nostra* ("our Veronica") in his famous passage about a pilgrim coming *forse da Croazia* ("perhaps from Croatia") to gaze at the relic in wonderment (*Paradise*, 31: 103-108). In *Vita nuova* (40.1) he refers to *quella immagine benedetta la quale lesu Cristo lascib a noi per essempla de la sua bellissima figura* ("that blessed image that Jesus Christ left us as exemplar of his most beautiful face"). During the later Middle Ages, the name Veronica, applied in the apocryphal (probably fourth-century) *Acts of Pilate* to the woman with an issue of blood who touched the

hem of Christ's garment (Matthew 9.20-22; Luke 8.43—48; Mark 5.25-34), became associated with the legend of the miraculous portrait. Giraldus Cambrensis (c. 1146—1223), in his *Speculum ecclesiae*, calls the cloth itself *veronica* and explains its name as deriving etymologically from the Latin-Greek hybrid *vera icon* ("true image"). Matthew Paris (c. 1200-1259) claims in his *Chronica majora* that Veronica was the name of the woman who gave the cloth (who was herself eventually venerated as Saint Veronica). The familiar narrative elaboration in the context of Christ's ascent to Calvary is first recorded in the fourteenth century, by which time devotion to the cloth itself was already well established.

See also Reliquaries; Rome: Guidebooks

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Vicenza

Vicenza, a city and bishopric in northern Italy (Venetia), is situated at the northern edge of Mount Berici, where the Retrone and Bacchiglione rivers meet. The territory of the diocese of Vicenza is not identical with that of the county (*contado*), as it embraces an area extending to within a few miles of Padua, as well as a narrower strip of the area of Verona,

After the Roman *municipium* Vicetia had been conquered by the Lombards in 568-569, it was soon elevated to a ducal seat and developed into an important ecclesiastical and political center. The conquest of Padua in 603 permitted Vicenza to expand its own territory and gain ascendancy in the area between Treviso and Verona until well into the post-Carolingian period. Vicenza also played a role as the

residence of important and renowned Lombard family groups. The presence of a bishop, Horontius, is first documented c. 590. It is now taken as an established fact that Horontius was actually the first bishop of Vicenza.

The foundation of the oldest and most important monastery in Vicenza, Santi Felice e Fortunato, possibly dates back as far as the eighth century. Although the exact date of this foundation is obscure, it is known that the two largest abbeys of northern Italy, San Salvatore di Brescia and San Silvestro di Nonantola, expanded their landed properties and rights well into the area of Vicenza during the second half of the eighth century. Further documents dating from the eighth century tell us of a royal *gastald* as administrator of the royal fisc. The importance of Vicenza was confirmed when mint rights were bestowed on the town under King Desiderius (r. 756–774). In 825, the capitular of Emperor Lothar (Lothair) I made Vicenza the site of a school for all towns in eastern Venetia (Padua, Treviso, Feltre, Ceneda, Asolo), thus underlining its cultural position.

The county of Vicenza is documented without a break from the ninth century onward, although contemporary sources mention counts of Vicenza only occasionally. Presumably this office remained vacant at times—a not infrequent phenomenon, especially during the reigns of the Italian kings. In the Ottonian period (perhaps c. 970), we hear of a count of the counties of Vicenza and Padua. The general crisis of central power in the ninth and tenth centuries led to the legal and political breakup of the county, and to the development of a phenomenon called *incastellamento*. These processes began when the church and the secular lords started to obtain castles and procure sovereign rights, having assumed powers of jurisdiction as *signori* or *domini loci*, replacing the juridical authority of the public powers. Thus the bishop of Padua and monasteries in Verona and Mantua as well as several secular lords (the San Bonifacio or Sambonifacio family) owned castles and rights in the county of Vicenza. However, the episcopal church of Vicenza took a leading position among those wielding power: in the year 1000, Bishop Jerome received a diploma from Otto III granting him a range of privileges and confirming existing ones.

The secular and ecclesiastical sovereign rulers maintained their authority till the end of the twelfth century. Vicenza's economy, with its

exclusively agricultural base, was largely responsible for the relatively slow development of the city; in comparison with those of other northern Italian cities, Vicenza's social and economic structures do appear somewhat backward. The first record of consuls dates from 1147, in connection with the peace treaty of Fontaniva concluded between Vicenza and Padua. (In the first half of the twelfth century, the March of Verona was beset by incessant warfare among Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, and Venice over the control of waterways and overland traffic routes.) We can assume that Vicenza (like the other towns of the March of Verona) was subject to imperial control, either indirectly by the civic *podesteria* (city magistracy) or directly by imperial administrators. In the great political conflict between the Swabian emperor Frederick I Barbarossa and the cities of northern Italy, Vicenza took an anti-imperial stance. As early as 1164, Venice, feeling itself threatened by Frederick and accepting financial support from the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenos, set up an alliance against Frederick together with Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso. In 1167, Vicenza joined the Lombard League.

From 1175 on, power in Vicenza alternated between consulate and *podesteria* (both native and foreign); thus the families of the counts once again assumed leadership of the commune. During this period, the commune succeeded in overthrowing the most important castle in the territory, that of Bassano, which had already played an important role three decades earlier in the war between Padua and Treviso. After c. 1200, the counts and the family of da Vivaro were leaders of the commune. They always had control of the *podesteria*, whether directly or indirectly, the consuls generally belonging to their *domus*. Thus although the commune was an independent organism, its selfadministration was inextricably bound up with the large families who had moved from the surrounding territory into the town—*signoria* families who were often at odds with the bishop. The chronicler Gerardus Maurisius, who witnessed events in Vicenza and in the March of Verona between 1194 and 1237, does not mention the commune, but he does talk about families (one in particular, that of the da Romano, whose leader Ezzelino I was *podestà* from 1183 to 1184) and about the *partes* into which the town was divided: that of the da Vivaros and that of the count. In those years, Vicenza was thoroughly involved in the

quarrels among the large *signoria* houses in the March of Treviso. Certainly by the first decade of the thirteenth century, domination by the da Romano family, which would last for thirty years, had begun (first by Ezzelino II and then by his son Ezzelino III). After a group of students and lecturers had seceded from Bologna, an attempt was made, with the support of Pope Innocent III, to establish university studies in Vicenza, but this failed between 1205 and 1209, one reason being the political confusion prevailing at the time. A rough estimate would put the population of Vicenza at this time at 5,000—6,000.



Duomo, Vicenza. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

The town community, largely controlled by the nobility, was not able to exploit the difficulties of its sovereign lord, the bishop, to its own advantage. Instead, Ezzelino III succeeded in ruling the town without restrictions and with the consent of all decisive social groups. Following the death of Frederick II and the defeat of Ezzelino III, Vicenza became independent for a short while (1259-1266). It was then under the influence first of Padua (especially in the years just after Ezzelino's death) and next of Venice (Vicenza had called for its support against Padua). Nevertheless, from the second half of the thirteenth century onward, the town did try to assert its autonomy with a fair amount of determination. During this short period of political autonomy, its independence was confirmed by the drawing up of *Regestum*

possessionum communis Vicentie and, soon afterward, the town statutes (1264), this compilation of statutes having been imposed on Vicenza by Padua. Both texts contain the list of demanded *ville*, organized in quarters, which the district of the town could claim but which in fact were only very fragmentarily within its control. By and large, in the second half of the thirteenth century, the town gradually managed to assert authority over the plains and the Colli Berici; in the valleys of the alpine foothills of Vicenza the seigneurial families still clung to their power and kept control of *masnade* and castles. How weak the commune really was became apparent when it entrusted the leadership of the town to Bishop Bartolomeo da Breganze in 1261 and handed generous powers over to him as if he were the undisputed leader of the community. All citizens swore an oath of loyalty, and for the next three years he was in *spiritualibus et ternporalibus civitatis Vicentinae dominus*. The weakness of the commune became yet more obvious when it was subjected to Paduan rule in 1266, forever losing its political independence. Furthermore, it was reduced by the loss of Bassano, which was handed over to the Paduan territory, with all the attendant losses regarding taxes and jurisdiction. Henry VH's march to Italy and his conflict with Guelf Padua led to Vicenza's being subjected to the rule of the imperial vicar Cangrande I Delia Scala as its *signore* (1311). In the fourteenth century, the wool-processing industry in Vicenza began to prosper, the town gained tighter control over its *districtus*, and the decline of the seignury, especially that of the bishop, entered into its last phase. After the overthrow of the Scaligers in 1387, Vicenza became dominated by Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Following his death, Vicenza was the first of the Venetian towns to submit to the republic of Venice (*deditio* April 1404); it would remain under the dominion of Venice until the end of the eighteenth century. The commune of Vicenza was governed by the patricians who had climbed to power in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and it managed to retain a certain degree of independence during Venetian rule. Vicenza thus typifies those town communities that gained ascendancy over a certain territory, this in turn being subject to an external political power.

See also Cangrande della Scala; Ezzelino III da Romano; Frederick I Barbarossa; Lombards; Padua

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Pope Vigilius (a. 555, r. 537-555) had been a Roman deacon. In that capacity, he had accompanied Pope Agapetus I (r. 535-536) to Constantinople, where Agapetus was ambassador to the emperor Justinian for the Ostrogothic king Theodahad. Agapetus opposed the empress Theodora's efforts on behalf of Monophysitism, but the ambitious Vigilius chose to cultivate Theodora's favor, promising to support her aims. When Agapetus died in Constantinople (22 April 536), Theodora supported Vigilius as his successor.

Vigilius found, however, that Theodahad had already made Silverius pope. In December 536, Justinian's general Belisarius entered Rome during his first campaign to recover Italy in the Gothic wars. Through the general's wife, her friend Antonina, Theodora compelled Belisarius to arrange the deposition of Silverius (March 537) and the installation of Vigilius, who sent his predecessor to death in exile (2 December 537).

When he became pope, Vigilius found that he could not fulfill all his promises to the empress: though he made some double-dealing contacts with Monophysite prelates in the east, the consistent anti-Monophysite theology of the church in the west made it impossible for him to betray Chalcedonian orthodoxy. This enraged Theodora, who sought to punish him.

Partly as a result of her persuasion, Justinian adopted a policy, embodied in his Edict of the Three Chapters (544), aimed at achieving a compromise with the Monophysites by condemning certain disputed writings that had been accepted at the Council of Chalcedon (451) and were particularly hateful to them. Constrained by his situation, Vigilius refused to cooperate. Needing his support, and not wishing him to fall into the hands of the Gothic king Totila, who was then menacing Rome, Justinian had Vigilius arrested in November 545. Vigilius was removed for a year to Sicily, from which he sent grain shipments to aid the populace of Rome; he was then brought to Constantinople in January 547.

For the next eight years, Vigilius was caught in a nightmare of complicated negotiations, coercion, and humiliation as Justinian attempted to bend the pope to his will. Vigilius evaded, vacillated, resisted, and temporized, even in the face of force and even when the emperor called the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553). Only when Italy was clearly in the emperor's hands, and capitulation was the pope's

only chance for return to his see, did Vigilius give in on every point. Broken and degraded, Vigilius was allowed to leave Constantinople in the spring of 555; but during the return voyage, at Syracuse in Sicily, he died of kidney disease on 7 June, never to reach the Rome he had paid so dearly to recover.

See also **Belisarius; Gothic Wars; Justinian; Theodahad; Theodora; Totila**

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Villani, Filippo

The Florentine humanist Filippo Villani (c. 1330-c. 1405) was the son and biographer of Matteo Villani, whose chronicle he continued for a brief period after Matteo died in 1363. Filippo is first recorded as a law student at the University of Florence in 1358; by 1361, he had been awarded his doctorate and was appointed as a lecturer in law for a year from the previous October. In 1375, he was entrusted by his commune with a diplomatic mission to Genoa, intended to resolve a legal dispute

between Genoese and Florentine cloth merchants. Following a rebellion by Perugia against the papacy, instigated by the Florentines during the "war of the eight saints," Filippo was invited to assume the chancellorship of Perugia, an office that he held from 1376 to 1381. After he resigned this position, he returned to Florence, and it was probably shortly after his return that he composed the work for which he is renowned: *On the Origins of Florence and On Its Famous Citizens*.

In the first part of this work, Filippo did little more than summarize the legends about the foundation of Florence recorded in the chronicle of his uncle, Giovanni Villani. But in its second part, made up of short biographies of distinguished Florentines, Filippo broke new ground by dealing not so much with leading political figures as with writers, theologians, jurists, painters, musicians, physicians, astrologers, historians, soldiers, and even actors and jesters. He thus provided valuable information on men who had made a significant contribution to Florentine culture but who had not previously been considered worthy of scholarly notice; moreover, he set a precedent that was to be followed later by authors writing in the vernacular, such as Vespasiano da Bisticci and Vasari. Filippo's work was corrected and commended by a friend, the Florentine chancellor and humanist Coluccio Salutati; thanks to Salutati's endorsement, it acquired considerable authority, both in its original Latin version and in a later vernacular adaptation, probably by Antonio Manetti.

The closing years of Filippo Villani's life were devoted to a study of the poetry of Dante; earlier, it had been Filippo's gathering of biographical data on Dante that first suggested to him the idea of producing a collection of brief lives. In 1391, Filippo was engaged by the University of Florence as a lecturer on Dante's *Divine Comedy*; his appointment to this position was renewed in 1397, 1401, and 1404. Filippo's public commentaries on this text continued an expository tradition that had been initiated by Boccaccio and engaged a number of leading humanists.

See also *Chronicles*; *Dante Commentaries*; *Florence*; *Salutati, Coluccio*; *Villani, Giovanni*; *Villani, Matteo*

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Villani, Giovanni

The Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani (c. 1280-1348) was a merchant and politician as well as a writer. He was the author of the *Nuova cronica* (*New Chronicle*), a history of Florence set in a much wider context, beginning with the tower of Babel and extending to 1348, the year when he died of the plague. In this work, he combined

municipal patriotism and a cosmopolitan outlook with a passion for statistics and detail. Despite its length, it was (like Dante's *Comedy*) a great popular success, circulated in many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts. However, although there were a number of subsequent printings, it was given a critical edition only quite recently (Porta 1990-1991).

Giovanni Villani was born into a mercantile family of some standing in Florence. Giovanni's father served a term as a prior—a member of the main governing board of the city—in 1300; and Giovanni and his three brothers were able to secure positions with two of the leading Florentine banking and commercial houses. Giovanni himself became a successful and rich businessman, though he must have lost most of his fortune in the great financial crash of the 1340s. He was also successful socially and politically. He married, as his second wife, a woman from the aristocratic Pazzi family; and he held a place in the ruling Florentine oligarchy, serving in various communal offices, including three terms as prior. His business career not only gave him intimate knowledge of the power struggles in his own city but also put him in touch with the wider world. He was able to travel extensively and receive reports from all over western Europe at a time when Florence was one of its richest and most populous cities. In this golden age, Florence enjoyed—as Giovanni observed in a meticulous statistical description of its trade and resources c. 1338—an income greater than that of many kingdoms. At this time, its banking and mercantile companies controlled and manipulated a disproportionately large concentration of capital and trade. Of these companies, the most powerful were the Bardi and the Peruzzi. As early as 1300, Giovanni was a shareholder with the Peruzzi firm, and c. 1302 he went to Bruges in its service; he was connected with it for a number of years, as were several of his relatives. Then, probably by 1312, but certainly by 1322, he transferred his activities to a new but rapidly growing firm, the Buonaccorsi, in which he and his brother Matteo became prominent—in fact, Giovanni was its codirector by 1324. Certainly by the late 1320s its operations were varied and widespread, including not only banking but also trading in many commodities, and extending over a vast area: southern and northern Italy, southern and northern France, Brabant, Flanders, England, and various parts of the Mediterranean. Although

Giovanni mentions other places from time to time, it is these regions of which he seems to have had real knowledge. At least for those chapters of his chronicle that cover the period 1300-1348, we may suppose that conversations, oral reports, and merchants' letters are at least as important a source as chronicles and official documents.

Giovanni's access to both official and private documents must have made possible his unusually rich and accurate statistics about such things as armies, tax revenues, cloth production, wine consumption, coinage parities, and the number of castles in private and in communal hands. No doubt his collection of such quantitative information was greatly facilitated by the various offices and appointments entrusted to him by his city and his guild. Apart from his three priorates, these were mostly financial. As a municipal official, for example, he supervised the commune's money and the building of a stretch of the third circle of walls. As an official of the Calimala guild, he served on the *mercanzia* council of eight and oversaw the making of Andrea Pisano's bronze doors for the Baptistry. He also went on some diplomatic missions: he was sent to Cardinal Bertrand de Pouget in Bologna in 1329 and a little later to negotiate (unsuccessfully) for the surrender of Lucca. Most of his officeholding was in 1320–1330. After that, he may have been under a cloud, having been tried for barratry in 1331 for his part in building the walls, even though he was cleared of the charge. The fact that Charles of Calabria, then lord of the city, entrusted to the Buonaccorsi company the collection of the taxes from three of the six districts of Florence to pay for the building of those very walls may not have helped Villani's reputation. But real disaster came later, in 1346, after the collapse of the great Florentine commercial companies. Then Giovanni was imprisoned for alleged misconduct as the representative of the Buonaccorsi in negotiations with the communal government about their bankruptcy liabilities. Giovanni does not mention this personal disgrace, but he does express remorse for his share of responsibility in the losses of the small investors in the great companies. We do not know how long his imprisonment lasted. He died in 1348, some two years after it began, and was buried in Florence in the church of the Santissima Annunziata. His brother Matteo and his nephew Filippo continued his chronicle.

For the most part, the opinions Giovanni Villani expresses in his

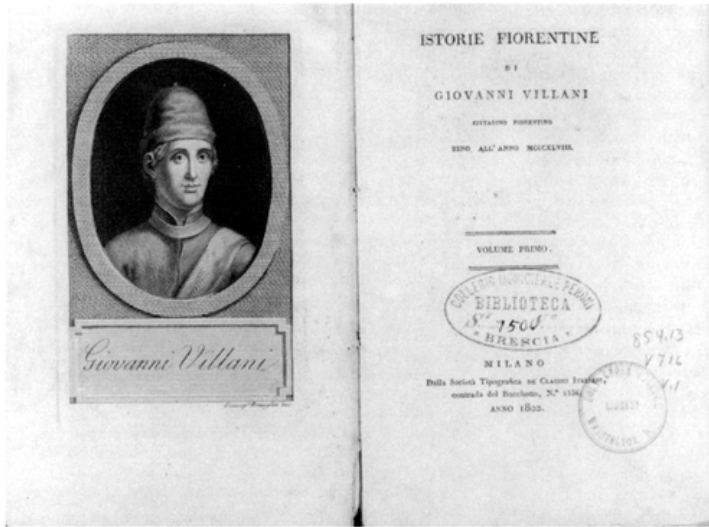
chronicle are remarkably balanced and moderate. His patriotism as a Florentine, for example, was real but not exaggerated. He knew that Florence was sometimes unjust to its neighbors, and though he praised its resilience and resourcefulness in times of crisis, he often deplored its lack of talent for war. He disliked *signori* and signorial government, but he could not always conceal his admiration for a despot as brilliant as Castruccio Castracani, despite the defeats Castruccio inflicted on Florence. Giovanni favored republican government and connected it with political liberty. But he bitterly condemned factional strife and considered the rule of a benevolent *signore* like King Robert of Naples sometimes necessary to restrain it. Villani was also critical of republican regimes representing one class, whether that class was aristocratic, mercantile, or (especially) artisan.

Giovanni was not only a moderate patriot and republican but also a moderate, though very loyal, Guelph. The rival Ghibelline party had been driven out of Florence in the late 1260s, before Giovanni was born, at the same time that the rule of the Ghibellines' Hohenstaufen patrons in southern Italy had given way to the rule of Charles of Anjou, called in by the pope to govern the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The Ghibellines remained strong in the north and in some parts of Tuscany, but Guelph Florence, Angevin Naples, and the papacy, despite occasionally violent quarrels, were linked by strong economic and political bonds. For Giovanni, these bonds seem to have been ideological as well, reinforced by sincere religious feeling. He regarded Charles of Anjou as a new Charlemagne, summoned to Italy to rescue the Roman church from the Hohenstaufen Lombards. Giovanni devoted perhaps his most sustained literary effort to a long and eloquent account of Charles's Italian campaigns. He also portrayed Florence as usually an ally of the church, from the struggle between Pope Gregory VII and the Emperor Henry IV in the late eleventh century down to his own time. The intervals during the later period when the pope and Florence were at odds worried Giovanni, as did the taxation of the Florentine clergy without their consent by his own commune. At the same time, he did not hesitate to criticize individual popes and Angevin rulers for avarice and immorality, and his fellow Guelphs for factionalism. He thought that the expulsion of the White Guelphs in 1302 was disgraceful, but he was glad that their assault on the city in 1304 did not succeed. He was also glad

that Henry VII failed to capture Florence in 1312, but he said that the emperor's original intention had been to deal justly with Guelfs as well as Ghibellines. Such urbane judiciousness was appropriate to a rich businessman who numbered kings and princes among his acquaintances and had wide experience of the world.

In the prologue to the *Nuova cronica*, Giovanni says that his pride in the noble origins of his city and his desire to delight and instruct his fellow citizens had impelled him to write its history. In Book 9, Chapter 36, he relates that he began to write in 1300, after returning to Florence from Rome, where he had participated in the great papal jubilee. Seeing the ancient Roman ruins, reading the ancient histories, and reflecting on the decline of Rome had inspired him to tell the story of the rise of Florence, an offspring of Rome. Whether or not Giovanni began his chronicle immediately after his return to Florence, it is evident that he wrote primarily for Florentines and that one of his main purposes was to celebrate their successes without omitting their blunders and failures. The history of no other European city except Rome had hitherto been told at such length. Giovanni also conveys a sharp awareness of developments in the physical shape and monuments of Florence—for example, its central octagonal church, the Baptistery, which he says travelers assured him was the most beautiful in the world; its other churches and public buildings, whose siting and arrangement he compared, following an old Florentine historical tradition, with those of similarly named Roman monuments; the dimensions of its walls, towers, and bridges; and even the emblems on the banners of its militia and the decoration on its war cart, or *carroccio*. He is also aware that Florence is not just a city but a European power, and his ability to see Florence as part of a greater world is one of his main merits as a historian. Giovanni also likes to include a good story or a vivid detail, from wherever it comes. He touches on such topics as astral portents, monstrous births, costumes, public feasts, civil and religious rituals, relics, epidemics, earthquakes, inscriptions, apparitions, the lions behind the communal palace in Florence, coins, Gog and Magog, Muhammad, what might have happened, famous men (like Aquinas, Dante, and Giotto, of whom he writes pocket biographies), sea battles, sermons, governments, and expedients for increasing public revenue. Given such variety, it is no wonder that many critics have accused

Giovanni Villani of being episodic and lacking a unifying theme or point of view. Porta believes that Giovanni did revise the chronicle extensively but that his main purpose was probably to introduce new information at many points—a process made easier because the chronicle is for the most part organized not thematically but year by year.



Giovanni Villani, *Istorie fiorentine*. Milan: Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 180. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Giovanni certainly wants to instruct as well as entertain and inform his readers. He says that he wants to show future Florentines which actions of their predecessors they should imitate and which they should avoid. The guidance he offers is more moral than intellectual. It is true that much shrewd commentary on business, politics, and war is scattered through his book, but he has no single large lesson to teach. His analysis of the secondary causes of a particular Florentine victory or defeat can be thorough and penetrating, as, for example, in his explanations of the failure of Florence to acquire Lucca after the death of Castruccio Castracani. Very often, however, he is content—as a devout and right-thinking Florentine Guelph—to attribute such disasters to the wrath of the deity at the wickedness of the Florentines: their

pride, avarice, and envy. Giovanni knows the Old Testament well, and his God, like Yahweh, is swift to punish. Sometimes, particularly in the later books of his chronicle, he seeks scientific, or at any rate astrological, explanations; but he consistently denies that the influence of the stars negates free will or men's responsibility for their actions, and he expresses again and again his conviction that the stars are immediately and totally subject to God's commands. He does try to account rationally for one great problem in thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century Florence: factionalism. He does so by a literal application of Dante's metaphor about the opposition between the two peoples who, according to Florentine legend, shared in populating the city, the allegedly "noble and virtuous" Romans and the allegedly "rough and fierce" Fiesolans. For Dante, "Romans" were all those willing to submit to the emperor's laws; "Fiesolans" were those "barbarians" who resisted it. For Giovanni Villani, the two names designate two peoples who actually participated in populating Florence and whose imperfect mixing produced chronic strife. He finds the story of this mixing in the *Chronica de origine civitatis* (written before 1231) and its Italian translations. (It is very unlikely that he was able to find the origin, as some scholars have maintained, in the so-called Malispinian chronicle, which was almost certainly written after his own and was largely copied from a compendium of his work.) In the *Chronica de origine civitatis*, the Roman origins of Florence were exalted and Julius Caesar himself was included among the founders of the city; but though the Fiesolans were represented as fierce enemies of the Romans, they were not depicted as barbarians. This Giovanni could have found in no surviving work before Dante's *Inferno*, circulated c. 1314. Probably Giovanni was also paraphrasing Dante's words in *Paradiso* (15.109-111), as Aquilecchia (1965) has suggested, when he referred in Book 9, Chapter 36, to the rise of Florence and the decline of Rome.

Up to this point in his chronicle, Giovanni is mainly concerned with describing the steady ascent, despite occasional disasters, of Florence, the child of Rome. Afterward, misfortunes multiply and the direction of Florence's development is not so clear. But Giovanni retains much of his optimism until the 1340s, the imposition and overthrow of Walter de Brienne's regime, and the subsequent financial crash. Neither communal nor personal calamities slowed the chronicler's busy pen. It

continued right up to his death to provide an invaluable picture of the attitudes of the fourteenth-century oligarchy of Florence toward its past and present, and, especially for the period from c. 1320 to 1348, a narrative source for medieval Florentine history of inexhaustible richness and variety.

See also **Chronicles; Dante Alighieri; Florence; Gliubelline; Guelfs; Malispini Ricordano; Villani, Filippo; Villani, Matteo**

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Villani, Matteo

Matteo Villani (d. 1363) was the father of Filippo Villani and the brother of Giovanni Villani, whose chronicle he continued from Giovanni's death in 1348 until his own. Relatively little is known about Matteo's early life. He was the son of V'illano di Stoldi di Bellincione and, in 1337-1338, under the name of Matteo Villani Stoldi, was a member of a committee of officials charged with carrying out the terms of an alliance with Venice and several Lombard states. His involvement in civic politics appears to have ended, like his brother's, as a result of the bankruptcy in 1342 of the Bonaccorsi company; he was a partner in the company and had represented it in Naples between 1319 and 1325 and between 1340 and 1341, and in Avignon between 1333 and 1335. Despite belonging to a family with a record of service to the commune up to the 1330s, Matteo failed to find favor with the more conservative groups which, from the late 1350s onward, sought to exclude their opponents from government by "admonishing" them as Ghibellines. In 1362, shortly before Matteo's death, this device was used against him, to debar him from office. His undistinguished political career did not, however, prevent him from marrying women from highly regarded Florentine families. He is recorded in 1341 as the husband of Lisa, the daughter of Messer Monte dei Buondelmonti; and in 1361 as the husband of Monna di Messer Francesco dei Pazzi.

Matteo's chronicle, which opens with an account of the black death, is pessimistic in tone and focuses on the misfortunes and barbarities of his age—the threat of tyranny, the depredations of the mercenary companies, and the decline of morality in the years following the pestilence. His interpretation of events is governed much less than that of his brother, Giovanni, by a providential view of history. In his tendency to judge actions by their effects and to defend abstract values such as freedom rather than a particular cause, such as that of the church, Matteo anticipates humanist practice—as he also does by prefacing his books with introductory passages reflecting their texts. While his writing remains stylistically within the tradition of the merchant chronicle, the outlook he expresses foreshadows the values of a new age.

See also **Buondelmonti Family; Chronicles; Florence; Pazzi Family; Villani, Filippo; Villani, Giovanni**

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Virgil

Virgil (Publius Virgilius Maro, 15 October 70-21 September 19 B.C.) was born near Mantua to a family of modest landholders. He was probably educated in Rome and Naples, although precise details about his early life are not known. In 41 B.C., many landowners around Mantua were dispossessed by confiscations intended to compensate veterans of the conflict at Phillipi. Ancient notices link Virgil's father and family to this turmoil, implying that their property was appropriated but then restored to them through the intervention of a powerful administrator; however, the historical accuracy of this account is not clear. At some

point Virgil settled in Rome and quickly became acquainted with an influential group of politicians and literati. After 39 B.C., Virgil gained the patronage of Maecenas and through him entered the circle of Octavian, who was known as Augustus after 27 B.C. The remainder of Virgil's life was devoted exclusively to poetry. In 29 B.C., Virgil read the *Georgics* to Augustus, and he later read to Augustus portions of the *Aeneid* as well. Augustus was very supportive of Virgil's effort and tracked the development of the work with personal interest. Virgil died in Brundisium and was buried in Naples. Although the poet had considered his masterpiece unfinished—and, according to tradition, had asked his literary executor to burn the *Aeneid* if death prevented its completion—Augustus arranged for its publication shortly after Virgil's death.

The earliest work definitively attributed to Virgil is a collection of ten brief poems known as the *Eclogues* or *Bucolics*. The poems, all composed in hexameters, were written between 42 and 39 B.C. The poems continue a genre popularized by the Hellenistic poet Theocritus (c. 310-250 B.C.), in which an idealized pastoral landscape forms the backdrop for a community of shepherds who discuss love and poetry. Like Theocritus, Virgil sets his poems in a bucolic countryside, an Arcadia that bears as little resemblance to the Greek region known by that name as it does to any place in the real world. Despite the rarefied setting of the poems, Virgil's *Eclogues* manage to take up political and social issues of the time: the first and ninth poems, for example, refer to the expropriations near Mantua in the wake of the civil wars. Several of the poems treat the topic of desire; the second and eighth eclogues consider unrequited love, with the latter imagining a lovesick woman resorting to witchcraft. The best-known of the eclogues is the fourth. Here, the narrator prophesies the birth of a child who will usher in a blissful era of peace, a golden age. The poem does not reveal the young boy's identity, and although possible answers to this question have been proposed—including the early Christians' conjecture that Virgil prophesied the coming of Christ—the puzzle remains unsolved.



Virgil, *Opera vergiliana*. Lyon: J. Mareschal, 1528. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Virgil's second collection, the *Georgics*, completed in 29 B.C., moves from the pastoral to the didactic genre. In four books of hexameters, Virgil instructs his readers on various aspects of agriculture and animal husbandry. The first book considers the cultivation of crops; the second,

arboriculture; the third, livestock; and the fourth, beekeeping. The poem, however, remains a work of art rather than a manual; Virgil's object is to examine the relationship of man and nature, and the sizable digressions that conclude the books serve to link the work to larger issues of life and death, the country and the city, and the greatness of Rome. Book 1 ends with an apocalyptic vision of the civil wars. The digression in Book 2 first praises rural life, then sets forth Virgil's own poetic ambitions. Book 3 describes a devastating animal plague. Book 4 offers the story of Aristaeus and Orpheus, a tale of love, loss, and rebirth. Like Lucretius's *De rerum natura*, which influenced the *Georgics* both formally and thematically, Virgil's poem is diversified and elevated by these set pieces.

Virgil's interest in the history and destiny of Rome take center stage in the *Aeneid*. This epic, divided into twelve books of hexameters, recounts the founding of Rome by the Trojan warrior Aeneas. The first half of the epic narrates Aeneas's journey from his destroyed city to Italy. Aeneas and his crew are shipwrecked near Carthage and are welcomed by its queen, Dido. Aeneas describes the dire final hours of the Trojan war, in which he loses his wife and carries his aged father from the city on his shoulders, and recites his crew's subsequent nautical adventures. He concludes his tale with the account of his father's death. Dido conceives an irrepressible love for Aeneas, which is reciprocated until the voyager is recalled to his foreordained task by the gods. When Aeneas prepares to depart for Rome, Dido kills herself. In the sixth book of the poem, Aeneas voyages to the underworld, where he encounters his father's ghost. His father reveals to him the course of Roman history, concluding with events nearly contemporary to the composition of the poem. The first half of the epic has traditionally been considered Virgil's version of Homer's epic the *Odyssey*, since, like Homer, Virgil tells of a traveler's adventures after the Trojan war.



Simone Martini (1284-1344), *An Allegory of Virgil*: frontispiece to a manuscript of the works of Virgil. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The second half of the *Aeneid*, in which a bloody war is waged, naturally suggests comparisons with Homer's other epic, the *Iliad*. In Book 7, Aeneas reaches the Tiber and makes a pact with the king of the native Latins. When the goddess of discord intervenes, war breaks out. The Trojans and their allies, the Arcadians and Etruscans, take heavy losses. Finally, once the gods reach an accord among themselves, Aeneas kills Turn us, the man betrothed to the Latin king's daughter, Lavinia, effectively ending the conflict and allowing for the destined

union of the Trojan and Latin peoples. The poem ends on an ambivalent note, however; we know that Aeneas is fated to marry Lavinia, but the last lines of the epic emphasize Aeneas's merciless violence rather than any spirit of reconciliation.

From one point of view, the *Aeneid* represents as much a monument to Augustus's program of national mythologizing as any of the emperor's many building projects. The poem functions as a bridge between ancient Rome and the mythical past of the Trojan war and thus helped endow Augustan Rome with a sense of its own historical importance. A contrary view, however, is that, while Virgil certainly contributes to Augustus's political ideology, there is ample occasion for the reader to discern the poet's own uneasiness with the more brutal aspects of the empire. In either case, the poem became the model against which any subsequent epic work was considered. It stood—and continues to stand—as one of the most significant literary contributions to western culture.

See also Allegory; Dante Alighieri; Virgil in the Middle Ages

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Virgil in the Middle Ages

From the early days of imperial Rome, Virgil was regarded as the greatest Roman author, and his poetry was venerated as a repository of religious tradition and universal knowledge. The fullest expression of this attitude, which reached its peak during the "pagan revival" of the later fourth century, is the *Saturnalia* of the learned official Macrobius (c. 431), but it appears also in an ancient practice, the *sortes Virgilianae*, in which a passage selected at random is used to determine conduct or foretell the future. In the schools, the elaborate commentaries of Servius, Donatus, and others—largely grammatical, but including many glosses of a moralizing, euhemeristic, allegorical, and occasionally philosophical character—solidified Virgil's reputation as a sage and visionary.

Virgil's place in Christian literary culture was almost equally high. The "messianic" prophecy of *Eclogue* 4 was commonly taken as foretelling the birth of Christ, and Augustine repeatedly invokes the *Aeneid* in defining the mission of Rome as a vehicle to the realization of the city of God. The Latin fathers continually allude or refer to the *Aeneid*, allegorizing like the grammarians. There is also a rich tradition of Christian poetry in Virgilian style. Juvencus's version of the Gospels in Virgilian hexameter (c. 330) was a frank attempt to exploit Virgil's popularity; and the great Prudentius (348–405) assumes in his reader the familiarity with Virgil which the education of the period ensured. The hymns of Ambrose (340–397) allude to familiar contexts in the

Aeneid; and Sedulius, seeking to convey the joys of paradise in his *Carmen paschale* (c. 430), cites the idyllic landscape of the *Eclogues*, the "happy crops" of the *Georgics*, and the Elysium of *Aeneid* 6.

Virgil retained his status during the postclassical period. A famous letter from Pope Gregory I (540–604) chastising Bishop Desiderius of Vienne for teaching Virgil is aimed not at the study of Virgil but only at its unsuitability for a bishop. Virgilian Latin verse seems to have survived in Italy as well. Even in the dark century after Gregory and Fortunatus (535–600), Virgilian echoes are heard in the *tituli* of churches and other inscriptions, and the tradition reemerges strongly with the eighth-century Lombard scholar-poets Paul the Deacon (720–800) and Paulinus of Aquileia (726–802). During the ninth and tenth centuries the appearance of new manuscripts of Virgil's works and the enrichment of libraries at such centers as Bobbio and Cremona attest to a more general renewal of classical studies. The poet who, in 915, celebrated the imperial coronation of King Berengar with a *Panegyricon* in skillful elegiacs was probably a teacher of Virgil's work: his many allusions to the *Aeneid* are explained by elaborate Servian glosses. In the offhand Virgilian references of Liudprand of Cremona (920–971 or 972), secular culture is taken for granted, and this is true as well of Latin poetry, which remains dominant through the eleventh and twelfth centuries. An occasional poet, like the anonymous author of the *Gesta* (1162–1166) of Frederick I, will consciously emulate the epic style, but to say that the verse of the Cassinese poets Guaiferius and Alfamus, Moses of Bergamo, or Pietro da Eboli is "Virgilian" is merely to say that they are educated men of their day.

Awareness of Virgil takes other forms in this period. In two eleventh-century manuscripts, speeches from the *Aeneid* appear with musical notation, and from the twelfth century forward Mantuan coins were stamped with Virgil's likeness. Harder to explain is the proliferation of a body of popular legends concerning the poet's supposed powers as a magician. Such stories may recall the oracular Virgil of the *sortes* and the putative prophecy of the *Fourth Eclogue*, perhaps augmented by the knowledge of magic exhibited in the incantatory love song of *Eclogue* 8. Many stories center on Naples, where Virgil spent much of his life and where he was buried, and collectively they make him a virtual patron saint. According to one of these stories, he created a bronze fly which,

when placed on a city gate, kept Naples free of flies; another tells of a glass bottle containing a miniature "image" of the city, which preserved the city from attack for as long as the bottle remained unbroken. Other stories deal with his power to banish serpents, prevent meat from spoiling in the market, and even deodorize Neapolitan latrines; the location of his burial place; and the properties associated with his bones. These legends were given wider circulation by Conrad of Querfurt, viceregent of Naples and Sicily in the late twelfth century; and by the itinerant Englishmen John of Salisbury (*Policraticus*, 1159) and Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia imperialia*, 1211). The legends became known throughout Europe and appeared in many vernacular versions.

The literary activity of thirteenth-century Italy responded to French vernacular literary culture and to a new narrative form, the romance. The earliest romances, the so-called *romans d'anti-quité*, include the anonymous *Eneas* (1150-1160), an adaptation of the *Aeneid* which grafts an elaborate account of the flowering of Aeneas's love for Lavinia onto the story of his imperial mission. In the *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de St.-Maure (c. 1165), a rambling account of the Trojan war, the amours of Greek and Trojan heroes are again prominent. The influence of these works, in a period of growing demand for popular adaptations of classical literature, was immense, in Italy as elsewhere, and the ancient poets lost something of their traditional status. The *Historia destructionis Troiae* of Guido delle Colonne (1287), itself widely influential, pays due respect to the classical poets, but its chief source is Benoit. Guido and Benoit together underlie the several vernacular works of Trojan "history" produced in fourteenth-century Italy, and provide material for even so learned a production as the *Tresor* of the protohumanist Brunetto Latini. Whatever of Virgil survives in all this has hardly more to do with the classical epic and the classical world than the claims of Padua and other Italian cities to have been founded by Virgilian heroes.

Against this medievalizing background, Dante's Virgil stands out: with striking clarity. From early in his literary career, Dante is set apart from his contemporaries by the precision with which he notes the distinctive characteristics of the great Roman poets and offers them as models for imitation. For Dante, working in the classical tradition involves not just a painstaking synthesis of verbal echoings (as is all too

often true of the Latin poetry of the schools) or an adaptation of classical themes to new literary modes (as in the work of the French vernacular writers), but a profound assimilation of the defining qualities of style and vision.



Virgil in cathedra. Thirteenth-century statue, Palazzo del Poastà, Mantua. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

The realization of this ideal, die Virgil of the *Commedia*, is something more than an authority on the origins and triumph of Rome. Like the Virgil of the ancient schools, he is a figure of exemplary wisdom, and

Dante gives a new coherence to his traditional role as a prophet: the *Aeneid* is a tragedy, fatalistic and circumscribed by the spiritual horizons of paganism, but it is at the same time a secular testament, and its proclamation of the destiny of imperial Rome is a worldly counterpart to the Pauline and Augustinian vision of the mission of the church.

But the figure who appears to Dante in the dark wood and becomes his guide is above all a poet, unique in the elevation of his language and style, a speaker whom only Dante can rescue from the "long silence" in which he languished during centuries when an impoverished classical tradition was incapable of appropriating his power. Dante's *bello stile* will appropriate that power. This profound affinity of style and the sense that his *Commedia* is a new realization of the capacities of high poetry, an extension of the epic tradition, lead Dante to identify himself, in *Inferno* 4, as one of the great poets, a member of the "school" of Homer.

In the years following Dante's death in 1321, there is a steady increase in versions of classical literature, including a number of adaptations of the story of the *Aeneid* that draw directly on Virgil, but only Petrarch sought to rise to the level at which Dante had addressed the epic tradition in the *Commedia*. Like Dante, Petrarch views the challenge of imitating Virgil as both aesthetic and moral. Petrarch's *Secretum* and his famous account of his ascent of Mont Ventoux are charged with allusions comparing his own struggles to the labor and vicissitudes of Aeneas. Like Virgil's, his Latin *Eclogues*, the *Bucolicum carmen*, include a number of reflections on the character and evolution of his life as a poet; and his Latin epic, *Africa*, on the triumphs of Scipio, carries forward the historical narrative begun in the *Aeneid*, consciously building on the tradition of Christian-Virgilian epic inaugurated by Dante.

Boccaccio offers no such monument as these; his classical narrative poems—*Filostrato* and *Teseida*—are in the tradition of the *roman d'antiquité*, and only in the remarkably Virgilian style of his *Eclogues* does he take up a classical model directly. But Virgil emerges as the "hero" of the great defense of poetry in the concluding books of *Genealogia deorum gentilium* (1363-1366), the supreme exemplar of Boccaccio's claim that the dedication, learning, and spirituality of the

greatest poets enable them to express divine truths. The arguments of *Genealogia* reappear in a lecture on *Inferno* 1, as an extended gloss on Virgil's *poeta fui*. Curiously, an accompanying gloss recalls the Virgil of medieval legend (whom Dante and Petrarch had ignored), the "astrologer" who performed wonders on behalf of Naples. At the very end of the Middle Ages, this juxtaposition of popular tradition with lofty humanism provides an apt summary of the fortunes of Virgil during the medieval period.

See also Allegory; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Brunetto Latini; Dante Alighieri; Guido delle Colonne; Petrarca, Francesco; Troy, Legend of; Virgil

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Visconti Family

The Visconti, a Milanese family, established a powerful lordship over Milan and much of northern Italy in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. The Visconti can be traced to the tenth century, when they were a family of *capitanei* linked by ties of vassalage to Archbishop Landulf II of Milan (r. 978-998 or 999). From Landulf, they received the archiepiscopal revenues of the *pieve* of Marliano (today Mariano), which they were recorded as possessing in a judgment of 1157. They held the vicecomital office, which they made hereditary, turning the title into the family name Visconti. An Anselmus *vicecomes*, mentioned in 1067, is the earliest known member of the family.

The Visconti took a leading role in Milanese politics beginning in the thirteenth century, when Otto (1207-1295) was appointed archbishop by Pope Urban IV (1262). The Delia Torre, who then controlled Milan and were rivals of the Visconti, refused to recognize the election; however, Otto, putting together a force of Visconti exiles, defeated Napoleone Delia Torre at the battle of Desio (20–21 January 1277). When he entered the city, Otto was proclaimed lord (*signore*) by the *popolo*. Archbishop Otto ceded the lordship to Marquis Guglielmo VII of Monferrato for reasons of military convenience, but in 1282, Otto reasserted himself, and he was again proclaimed lord of Milan. Before Otto died, a succession to power was arranged for his grandnephew Matteo I (1250-1322), who was elected captain of the people (1287) and was granted the imperial vicariate (1294). In 1302, the Visconti were ousted by the Delia Torre faction (known as the Torriani), but Henry

VII of Luxembourg restored the Visconti to Milan and made peace between the two factions. In 1311, the Visconti instead chased out the Torriani, and in that year Matteo I was given a new imperial vicariate. In these factional struggles, the Torriani were aligned with the Guelf powers—the papacy, the Angevins of Naples, and the French—while the Visconti were staunchly Ghibelline. After the death of Henry VII and the double election in Germany, Pope John XXII declared all of Henry's imperial vicariates invalid; Matteo I then abandoned the imperial title and had the *popolo* proclaim him lord. Matteo greatly extended the Milanese state, absorbing Como, Bergamo, Piacenza, Tortona, Alessandria, and Pavia. This aggressive territorial policy resulted in Matteo's excommunication and a papal interdict, during which (one source tells us) Matteo discussed inviting Dante Alighieri to use necromancy against John XXII. After Matteo's death in June 1322, his successor, Galeazzo I, was forced to leave the city, but that same year Galeazzo was called back and proclaimed lord. In 1327, when Lewis of Bavaria came to Milan and was crowned king of Italy, he imprisoned Galeazzo on suspicion of plotting with the pope against him. However, the two were reconciled, and in 1328 Lewis conferred the vicariate on Galeazzo's son, Azzo (1302-1339), for the price of 60,000 florins. Azzo extended Milanese rule, pacified the factions, and established solid relations with other cities in the Po Valley. The feud with the Torriani having ended, the Visconti lordship became more stable. Milanese communal institutions were transformed, as the older councils became consultative and administrative bodies, while executive functions passed to the Visconti and their appointed officeholders.

When Azzo died with no heir, the Milanese elected as his successors his two uncles, Luchino (1292–1349) and Giovanni (1290–1354, archbishop of Milan). At first, affairs were controlled by Luchino, who took Asri and Parma, won the papal vicariate, and established a hereditary succession for the Visconti house. Then, after Luchino's death, Archbishop Giovanni took charge, acquiring Bologna (1350) and Genoa (1354). Giovanni was succeeded by three sons of his dead brother Stefano: Matteo II (1319-1355), Bernabo (1323-1385), and Galeazzo II (1320-1378). The Visconti lordship reached its highest point with Gian Galeazzo (Giangaleazzo, 1351 — 1402), the son of Galeazzo II, who in 1385 put his uncle Bernabo in prison and became sole lord of

the Visconti lands. Gian Galeazzo extended the control of the Visconti to Verona, Padua, Pisa, and Siena. In 1389, he married his daughter, Valentina, to Louis, duke of Orleans; this match became the basis for the claim of Louis XII to Milan in the sixteenth century. In 1395, Gian Galeazzo purchased the title of duke from the emperor Wenceslas for 100,000 florins. After the dramatic death of Gian Galeazzo from the plague in 1402, and a period of weakness under his brother, Giovanni Maria (1389-1412), the duchy passed to Filippo Maria (r. 1412–1447) who married the widow of the *condottiere* Facino Cane and substantially rebuilt the state. Filippo Maria died without a legitimate heir, and there ensued a brief political experiment known as the Ambrosian republic. The lordship then passed to the Sforza family, after it was seized by Francesco Sforza, who had married Filippo Maria's illegitimate daughter.

In *Convivio* (4.20.5), Dante praised the Visconti lineage, but he denied them nobility, "since the divine seed does not fall on bloodlines . . .; it falls rather on individual persons."

See also Della Torre Family; Henry VII of Luxembourg; Milan

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Visigoths

By the late third century, the loose confederation of tribes that the Romans collectively called Goths had coalesced into two fairly cohesive groups, the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths. In 332, Emperor Constantine I made a treaty between Rome and the Goths, which brought Gothic troops into the Roman army and increased the trade between the two peoples. During these interactions, Christianity spread across the Danube to the Gothic people. At first Gothic leaders persecuted converts, but one chief, Fritigern, supported Christianity and received aid from the Arian emperor, Valens. The famous Gothic bishop Ulfilas (d. 383) forwarded Arian Christianity among the Goths. During his pastorate, he translated the Bible into Gothic. Arianism then became closely associated with Goths, and it was a continuing cause of separation and controversy between the Go ths and Romans for centuries.

In 376, Huns attacked the Visigoths, and the Christian Fritigern received permission to bring his band of Visigoths across the Danube and settle safely in the empire. The land given to the Visigoths would not support the tribe, so Fritigern began a revolt that led to a Gothic victory over the Roman forces at Adrianople in 378; Emperor Valens was killed in this battle.

For the Visigoths, the next three decades involved intermittent wandering and raiding. Fritigern had been searching for land that

would keep his people safe from starvation and marauding Huns, while the empire was looking for a way to keep itself intact from encroaching "barbarians." In 382, Emperor Theodosius I (the Great) made the Visigoths Roman *foederati* and granted them settlement in Thrace. But under their new leader, Alaric, they rebelled and threatened Constantinople itself. The eastern court at Constantinople made efforts to buy them off, but they pillaged their way through Greece and then moved on into Illyricum, territory disputed between the eastern and western courts. Because of the tension between the courts, the western generalissimo Stilicho avoided a decisive confrontation with Alaric's forces, which remained in Illyricum for about a decade, playing off both courts. Alaric had made one unsuccessful foray into Italy in 401, and in 408 he renewed his effort seriously, with menacing effects. The fall and execution of Stilicho that year removed Alaric's one real obstacle. While the vapidity Emperor Honorius remained safely in Ravenna, Alaric advanced on Rome and found it defenseless. For three days in August 410, Alaric's Goths sacked the city without opposition—an episode that was not at all decisive immediately but was regarded as a symbolic calamity at the time and has been considered a pivotal event ever since.

The Visigoths—having no intention of occupying Rome permanently and no capacity to do so—moved south through Italy. Alaric hoped to lead the Visigoths to the rich lands of North Africa, but his plan was foiled when his ships were wrecked in storms before he could cross to Sicily. Alaric decided to move north; however, he died suddenly at the end of 410. His successor, Aistulf, assumed the task of leading the Visigoths out of Italy, and their renewed search for suitable lands brought them to southern Gaul. Aistulf compelled Honorius's sister Galla Placidia to marry him (414), and he received official Roman recognition for their settlement, which, in effect, created what was to become the first of the so-called barbarian successor states replacing Roman rule in the western territories. Entering Spain (416-418) on Roman authority to restore order, the Visigoths made a second effort to reach Africa; they were again unsuccessful, and their regime was consolidated for some years again around Toulouse in southern Gaul, in their capacity as Roman *foederati*. In 451, they supported the Roman government against the penetration of Attila and the Huns into Gaul.

Later in the fifth century, the Visigoths extended their rule firmly in

Spain, but in 507 the Franks deprived them of their original lands in southern Gaul. This confirmed the identity of the Visigothic kingdom as ruling the Iberian peninsula. It was only minimally affected by the reconquest program of Emperor Justinian I. The Visigothic regime survived, in increasing decadence, until the beginning of the eighth century, when it was easily destroyed by the Moorish and Arab invasion of 711.

See also Aistulf; Alaric the Visigoth; Attila the Hun; Galla Placidia; Honorius, Emperor; Justinian I; Ravenna; Stilicho

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Vitale Da Bologna

The earliest document mentioning the painter Vitale da Bologna (died c.

1359 or 1361) refers to his completion of a chapel in San Francesco in Bologna in March 1330. This and another chapel in San Francesco, which Vitale finished in 1340, are now lost; but a fresco of the *Last Supper* and flanking saints in the guest house of that church is apparently mentioned in a document of December 1340. This damaged fresco would be Vitale's earliest datable work. The *Madonna del Denti* in the Davia Bargellini Gallery in Bologna is signed and dated 1345. Two of the four saints that originally flanked this Madonna were formerly in the Lanckoronsky collection in Vienna. This altarpiece came from an oratory adjoining the church of Sant'Apollonia di Mezzaratta in Bologna, where it was accompanied in the seventeenth century by two wings of a polyptych, now in the city collection and once apparently part of the same work. Some detached frescoes in the Pinacoteca, originally in Sant'Apollonia di Mezzaratta, while not strictly documented, are supported by a strong local tradition and may be attributed to Vitale and dated to around the time of the *Madonna dei Denti*. The most important of these frescoes is a large *Nativity*. A payment voucher of 1349 proves that Vitale decorated the Saint Nicholas chapel in the *duomo* of Udine; these frescoes survive in somewhat better condition than the ones from Mezzaratta. An unsigned but documented polyptych of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in San Salvatore, Bologna, was commissioned in July 1353. Other documents establish the date of Vitale's death between June 1359 and July 1361.

Signed, but not dated, are the *Madonna of the Flagellants* in the Vatican Pinacoteca, *Saint George and the Dragon* in the Pinacoteca at Bologna, and some work in Santa Maria dei Servi, Bologna, not done before c. 1345-1348, when the church was built. The frescoes of *Saint Eustace*, *Christ in Majesty*, and other subjects in the apse of the abbey church at Pomposa, possibly 1351 (the inscribed date, which is unreliable), are generally attributed to Vitale. Important among the panel paintings that may be ascribed to him are four panels from the legend of Saint Anthony Abbot in the Pinacoteca, Bologna, possibly from a signed polyptych mentioned in an eighteenth-century manuscript; a diptych of the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Man of Sorrows* now divided between Edinburgh and the Longhi collection in Florence; and two Crucifixions, one in the Thyssen collection in Lugano and one in Philadelphia. Their chronology is uncertain, but all seem to

be mature or late works, with the possible exception of the last. In 1343, Vitale agreed to furnish four polychromed wood statues to the bishop of Ferrara. These are lost or untraced, and no sculpture is currently attributed to him.

Although Bologna had been a major center for the production of illuminated manuscripts since the mid-thirteenth century, it had little indigenous panel or fresco painting when Vitale's career began. Various panels that were once thought to show his influence may in fact be early enough to have affected his style. Some of these, as well as Vitale's juvenilia, were inspired by the School of Rimini, through which the innovations made around the turn of the century at Assisi, and giottesque and Sienese styles, were transmitted to Emilia. A polyptych from Giotto's workshop was in Santa Maria degli Angeli in Bologna and is now in the Pinacoteca. It inspired Vitale's *Madonna dei Dentil*, but despite this and other apparent borrowings from Giotto, Vitale's art is generally more Gothic than Giottesque, and it shows a stronger imprint of Simone Martini and Pietro Lorenzetti.

Many of Vitale's works, particularly his frescoes, are fluidly executed, with sharp contrasts of light and dark. The figures are expressively contorted, with lively flashing glances. The compositions are built up of isolated compartments that are not interrelated by means of a visually consistent figure scale or spatial continuity. Here, parallels to the sculpture of Giovanni Pisano are so close that a strong influence should be assumed.

Similarities have been noted between Vitale's work and the *Triumph of Death* and other frescoes in the Camposanto at Pisa. These frescoes are usually, though not universally, attributed to the Pisan painter Francesco Traini. Their style is shown in some frescoes in the baptistery of Parma, not far from Bologna. Furthermore, some images of the Madonna and child by Vitale resemble a panel at Princeton that is generally ascribed to Traini. It is often claimed that Vitale influenced the painter of the Camposanto frescoes, but it is more likely that the influence went the other way. Proponents of the former theory sometimes hold that the painter was not Traini or some other Tuscan but an Emilian follower of Vitale.

Vitale da Bologna had a profound impact on panel painting, fresco painting, and manuscript illumination in Bologna until the end of the

fourteenth century. His style spread throughout much of northeastern Italy, even penetrating into Bohemia.

See also Lorenzetti, Ambrogio and Pietro; Martini, Simone; Rimini, School of; Traini, Francesco

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Viterbo

Physical Characteristics and Origins

Viterbo, situated about 50 miles (80 kilometers) north of Rome on a major pilgrimage route, was an important regional power in the Middle Ages, the chief local rival to Rome, and a papal resort and stronghold. Although later mythologizers attributed its founding to Hercules and Noah, the first settlement was Etruscan. The site of Viterbo was not a center of habitation in the Roman or early medieval period, but it was

settled by the Lombards in the eighth century as a frontier outpost. Archaeological research has confirmed Viterbo's accounts of its early history, according to which settlement began in three distinct locations that coalesced to form Viterbo.

Viterbo is built on several ridges that bordered a small river (which was buried in the early twentieth century) at the foot of the Cimini mountains. It is in a volcanic plain that slopes to the Tyrrhenian Sea, about 30 miles (48 kilometers) to the west. Via Cassia (the medieval Via Francigena) runs through the city, on its way from Rome into France.

Viterbo preserves many physical traces of its medieval past. Its walls, though early modern in their present form, follow the course of the medieval walls. They and the churches, fountains, and houses were all constructed in a local dark-gray stone called *peperino*. The San Pellegrino quarter of the city is remarkable for its medieval houses. Medieval and baroque fountains—one of Viterbo's distinctive features—are scattered throughout the city. There are a number of small eleventh- and twelfth-century parish churches, as well as the Romanesque cathedral of San Lorenzo. San Lorenzo shares a *piazza* with the impressive thirteenth-century papal palace, which has a lovely Gothic loggia. The important mendicant churches on the edges of Viterbo were extensively damaged in World War II. San Francesco has been reconstructed and preserves two important medieval papal tombs, but the Dominican church of Santa Maria in Gradi remains an inaccessible ruin. Viterbo's thirteenth-century patron saint, Rose, is still an important figure in civic life. Both her (presumed) house and her body are preserved for viewing.

Municipal Institutions

The institutional history of Viterbo centers on the complex interactions of the various powers claiming some authority over the city and its citizens. As a Lombard foundation, it had a count, but by the time Viterbesi documents began to survive in any quantity, in the late tenth century, Viterbo's communal government was already negotiating as the count's equal. Counts disappear from Viterbo's records in the twelfth century, but nobles, especially those based in the country

surrounding the city, persisted. The most prominent nobles in Viterbo's records are the Di Vico, whose center of power was southeast of Viterbo. They were often allied with Viterbo's enemies, the Romans and the emperor, in the thirteenth century, but they became dominant as *signori* of the city's government in the fourteenth century.

Under the Carolingians, Viterbo and its region became a part of the papal state or patrimony of Saint Peter in Tuscia. Papal rule only occasionally affected the internal workings of Viterbo's government, at least until 1285, when Viterbo lost to the popes the privilege of choosing its own *podestà* (city magistrate).

In Viterbo, unlike many other northern and central Italian cities, the bishop was a minor figure in the city's power structure. In fact, during the early years of its development as a commune (a phase when bishops were often particularly influential elsewhere), Viterbo had no bishop; it did not acquire a bishop until the see was moved there from Tuscania in 1193 by Pope Celestine III. Later, the bishops were overshadowed by other powerful figures and even had to move from their residence whenever a pope arrived.

Viterbo's commune first appears in documents in the late eleventh century. At that point it was led by elected consuls, whose number varied between ten and two. The first mention of a *podestà* is in 1170: Ildebrandino, a member of the old comital family of the region. After a succession of consuls and *podestà*, the *podestà* began, c. 1220, to be the usual leader of the commune. Until 1285, the *podestà* and consuls were chosen, through a complex form of election, by the special council. After 1285, the *podestà* was appointed by the popes.

The commune also had three main assemblies of citizens. The general parliament included all citizens but rarely convened except to affirm a major decision. In 1288, it had between 6,000 and 12,000 men (these figures were cited by opposing sides in a lawsuit and therefore presumably represent the extremes). The general and special councils were groups of elected citizens. The general council was larger and was for the most part advisory; the special council, consisting of twenty-six to forty-eight men, had fairly extensive legislative powers.

From at least the mid-twelfth century on, Viterbesi documents mention the existence of a *popolo* as a part of the power structure of the city. At that point its institutional status is uncertain, but in the

thirteenth century it appears clearly distinguished from the commune and in greater detail. The *popolo* was organized by *artes* (guilds), and its leader was initially the *bailivus* of the *artes*, elected by the leaders of the guilds to participate in running the city. In 1254, the *bailivus* was replaced by the captain of the people, an office usually held by a member of one of Viterbo's noble families.

In the 1280s, the *popolo* led rebellions against some of Viterbo's aristocrats, instituting governments led entirely (aside from the *podestà* appointed by the pope) by popular *anziani* or rectors of the guilds. The *Otto del Popolo* survived through the end of the Middle Ages, though its period of greatest power was from its foundation in 1292 through c. 1312. In the early fourteenth century, Viterbo's government was dominated by a single noble, a *signore*, first from the Gatti family, then from the Di Vico. This dominance by a *signore* continued through the fourteenth century; it was only temporarily interrupted by Cardinal Albornoz's conquest of the papal state in mid-century.

Political History

Some of Viterbo's earliest surviving documents record the young commune's acquisition of territories in its vicinity. The city continued to expand its control over the region throughout the thirteenth century, until its *contado* (countryside) became a mosaic of dependent, allied, and independent sites extending from Aquapendente in the north to Sutri in the south, and from the Tiber to the sea. The growth of Viterbo's sphere of influence brought the city into conflict with Rome, which was at that time much closer in size to Viterbo than it is now. Viterbo also was frequently tangled in papal and imperial politics, owing to its size and strategic location. The large-scale conflict between the papacy and the empire had local ramifications, for various reasons—because one of the principals was actually present, or because local forces were marshalling themselves to fight in the ranks of one side or the other, or because factions within the city used the pope or the emperor as a rallying point and became his allies. Viterbo was most frequently an ally of the pope. The city's patron saint, Rose, was celebrated for her vocal opposition to a short period of Ghibelline (pro-

imperial) rule under Emperor Frederick II; and her opposition was considered all the more saintly because Ghibellines allegedly had ties to heretics. (This reasoning seemed easy when supporting the emperor meant challenging the pope.)

After Frederick's death in 1250, Pope Innocent IV reconciled Viterbo's Guelf and Ghibelline factions, and the subsequent history of the city, however acrimonious, shows no reversion to those earlier divisions. The pacification was marked by the codification of Viterbo's statutes of 1251 — 1252, which are an important source for Viterbese history. The popes were frequent residents through the later thirteenth century, importing European political conflicts into the city. Such conflict was particularly evident during two conclaves held in Viterbo. The more famous of the two is the Long Conclave of 1269—1271, during which the Viterbesi—who were irritated, like the rest of Europe, by the cardinals' inability to come to an agreement on a new pope—took the roof off the hall in which the conclave was being held and threatened to give the cardinals only bread and water and no toilets until they elected a pope. In 1281, local people and the Angevins were both hostile to the Orsini, who were represented by three cardinals; consequently, the *podestà* led a violent eruption into the conclave and the Orsini cardinals were kidnaped. Viterbo's conflict with the Orsini resulted in the removal of the city's privilege of electing its own *podestà*.

By the end of the thirteenth century, papal authority in the region was, if not fully effective, a force that Viterbo always had to take into account. With the removal of the papacy to Avignon, that authority diminished, until Cardinal Albornoz arrived to reinforce it. From 1305 until the 1350s, political decisions in Viterbo were made by its *signori*, who led the city into constant wars with other cities in the region. This warfare resumed not long after Albornoz's reorganization, this time exacerbated by another factional division in Viterbo—that between the Gatti and the Mangonesi families.

Economic Life

Viterbo's economy was largely agricultural: olives, wine grapes, grains, pigs, sheep, and chestnuts from the mountains. The statutes and many

agreements with dependent towns (*castri*) are concerned with raising and selling produce, especially grains. Viterbo insisted, when it could, that grain from its *contado* would be sold in the city, so that it would receive the tolls and taxes from the sales.

Linen was a regional specialty, and medieval Viterbo was the center of a thriving industry. Because linen processing creates pollution, this industry had to be extensively regulated, particularly to ensure an uncontaminated supply of water. Overall, Viterbo's water statutes are well developed and thorough, showing that the administration of the water supply was very important and that the commune could claim a great deal of authority in the provision of such a basic necessity.

Viterbo was not a major mercantile or banking center. Though some Viterbesi entered into long-distance trade, most seem to have focused on local exchange. The most important of Viterbo's guilds, judging from the surviving documents, was that of the judges and notaries. Other guilds were formed for trades such as builders, butchers, millers, shoemakers, and innkeepers.

The innkeepers must have been important, for Viterbo's economy was boosted by the streams of pilgrims traveling to and from Rome, and by the frequent presence of the curia. The impact of the curia led (by agreement between the city's *podestà* and the cardinals) to a doubling of the normal rents and food prices that were higher than usual, though not unlimited. The vast throng of curial servants such as cooks and grooms, and the accompanying swarm of petitioners and others who had business in the curia, must have filled Viterbo's lodgings and substantially affected the city's economy.

Art, Architecture, and Literature

Viterbo's Lombard period is represented most purely by the cloister of Santa Maria Nuova; it is also manifest in Lombard-style architectural details such as the external staircases on many medieval houses. Many of Viterbo's churches are Romanesque or have been restored to the Romanesque—the destruction that took place during World War II has enabled restorers to rebuild some churches in their original style, removing the Baroque remodeling that most of them had acquired. The

cathedral of San Lorenzo and Santa Maria Nuova both represent Viterbese Romanesque, as does San Sisto, which also preserves some of its Romanesque bell towers. San Lorenzo and Santa Maria Nuova retain some of their medieval frescoes. San Lorenzo's other interesting medieval features are its Cosmatesque paving and a Siennese-style striped bell tower.

The papal palace, on the same *piazza* as San Lorenzo, was built for the most part in the late 1260s. It is the largest surviving thirteenth-century papal palace, consisting of a large meeting hall, curial offices, storage areas, and private quarters organized in a sequence that generally recalled the Lateran in Rome. It is approached by a large stairway and is flanked by a loggia built by the Gatti family in the 1270s; this loggia has lovely Gothic tracery, an early instance of the style in this part of Italy.

San Francesco, the Franciscan church, was heavily bombed in World War II, but has been restored to an approximation of its original Gothic. It contains two interesting marble-and-mosaic papal tombs: one of these, the tomb of Adrian V, is believed to be by Arnolfo di Cambio; the other is believed to be by an artist working under Arnolfo's influence. Gothic influences are also apparent on facades of several palaces that had belonged to noble Viterbesi families: the Gatti, the Alessandri, and the Chigi.

Viterbo's two most important medieval writers were Godfrey of Viterbo (c. 1125-c. 1202) and James of Viterbo. Godfrey wrote the *Pantheon*, an encyclopedia of theological ideas and history in verse that was drawn on by medieval historians such as Ptolemy of Lucca and Sicard of Cremona. James was a political theorist who wrote on papal and worldly power; he wrote *De regimine christiano* between 1301 and 1303 in support of Pope Boniface VIII.

See also **Godfrey of Viterbo; Latin Literature**

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Viticulture

Paul the Deacon, writing his *History of the Lombards* in the late eighth century, thought highly enough of the wine of Italy to suggest that it caused an invasion: "The reason the Gauls came to Italy is represented to have been this: when they tasted the wine brought from this country, they were enticed by greed for this wine and passed over into Italy." Long before this, the Greeks had named the peninsula Oenotria, the "land of wine"; and in the Roman world Italy was famous for both the quality and the quantity of its vintages. There can be little doubt that

Roman viticulture in Italy was wildly successful, as huge quantities of wine were produced and sent all over the Mediterranean. This commerce, which reached a peak in the late empire, was not restricted to higher-quality wines (such as those of Campania); ordinary wine of no particular quality also found its way out of Italy.

In medieval Italy, viticulture was based on Roman skills such as those recorded by the agronomist Columella, who devoted two whole books of his treatise *On Agriculture* to the cultivation of vines. Viticulture was, and remains, a manual task, and a very specialized and labor-intensive one at that. The size of the crop and the taste of the wine in the first instance depended on care by the farmer during the long time (about five years) before the vines reached maturity. Although it is certain that wine production remained important in the medieval period, no literary discussion of it survives until that of the Bolognese agronomist Piero de Crescenzi, c. 1320. Columella's work was copied in the ninth century (although not in Italy), so Roman viticultural skill was not lost, despite the supposed disasters of the sixth and seventh centuries. From the eighth century on, charter texts record vines all over the Italian landscape, on great estates and tiny peasant plots alike, where they were treated with particular care in enclosed fields (*clausurae*). The Lombard law codes of Rotharius (c. 643) and Liutprand (early eighth century) imposed fines on those who damaged individual vine plants. Such cossetting was the medieval norm; not until later, c. 1300, does the promiscuous cultivation of vines seem to have become especially common.

As the Christian churches began to make more of an impact on the Italian landscape in the eighth and ninth centuries, new uses of wine began to develop. Churchmen were involved with wine not simply as a drink (although Saint Benedict made specific provision in his monastic rule of c. 540 for the monks to drink it), but also in medicine and especially in the liturgy. This interest was reflected in ordinary agrarian contracts between community and peasant in which vines frequently appeared; it was also reflected in documents in which abbots arranged for new vineyards to be planted on monastic lands. The expansion of a vineyard area was reckoned as a noteworthy achievement, as can be seen from the funeral inscription of Peter, abbot of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, who died in 900 and was remembered because

"he built temples, palaces, vineyards, olive-groves, and orchards; he augmented the treasury; and he doubled the lands of the monastery."

Most of the evidence for earlier medieval viticulture in Italy comes from the north—especially from the Po valley, where there seems to have been a lively commerce in wine all along the river. By contrast, much less is known about the great regions of Roman wine growing, Campania, Lazio, and Umbria; and it is unlikely that wine production there continued at Roman levels. Certainly, there is very little evidence that Italian wine was exported beyond Italy between 700 and 1100 on anything like the Roman scale. From c. 1100 on, the great maritime towns of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi do seem to have been trading in high-quality wine, a trend that continued for the rest of the Middle Ages. At this time, demand for wines of quality also began to increase within Italy, especially in the cities that had been the great wine consumers of the Roman world. From c. 1000 on there is evidence that vines were actually being grown in cities (two cases which have been investigated are Bologna and Rimini), possibly to meet an increased demand. It is not clear if this had also been a Roman practice. Tastes began to change, too. Romans, especially the elite, had always drunk wines such as Falernum and Albanum. Medieval Italians preferred younger wine, normally the most recent vintage. New varieties were developed, and wine came to be made from a quite amazing variety of grapes. Even today, Italy preserves by far the largest number of grape varieties of any country, and some of its commonest types (*trebbiano*, *vernaccia*, and *schiaiva*) are medieval, not Roman, in origin.

See also **Agriculture**

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Volgarizzamenti

Properly, the term *volgarizzamenti* refers only to translations from Latin into the vernacular (the *volgare*) until the Renaissance. However, we need to take a much broader view and consider all Italian texts modeled on Latin or French originals until Boccaccio. There are at least three reasons why this is necessary: first, our notion of translation is a humanistic concept; second, there are many different ways of transposing a text (abbreviating, lengthening, rewriting, compiling, contaminating); third, we must take into account the role played by *volgarizzamenti* from French in the divulging of classical texts.

The *volgarizzamenti* reflect a new mode of thought for Italian writers, who were eager to escape the restrictions imposed on them by a closed notion of genres with their corresponding styles. They are interesting because they reflect not only the availability and popularity of texts, but also the changing tastes of a growing audience of middle-class and relatively uneducated readers. Viewed together with other documents from early Italian literature, the *volgarizzamenti* reveal an attempt to create a new literary prose.

Among the models chosen for such an enterprise, the French literature of the *langue d'oïl* was the most easily adapted to Italian: many *volgarizzamenti* show only phonetic changes from the original and a plethora of words copied verbatim; many texts became Italian only gradually. The literature of the *langue d'oc*, mostly in poetry, was widely read and available in Italy (for instance, at the Sicilian court of Frederick II), but it appealed to an aristocratic audience that had little need for Italian versions; very few *volgarizzamenti* from Provençal have come down to us. The frequent and growing commercial relations between Italy and France; the availability and popularity of many French works known in Italy in the original (many French codices which have come down to us from the thirteenth century were written in Italy); and the presence of oral traditions of mixed-language epics in northeastern Italy are all factors in the wide distribution and popularity of the *volgarizzamenti* in Italy.

Although we can surmise that most or the early *volgarizzamenti* from French have disappeared, we can measure the interests of the audience through the number of surviving manuscripts. Virtually all of these are anonymously translated. They reflect the more popular levels of culture; the number of codices is generally inversely proportional to

the length of a text. But it would be wrong to underestimate the influence of these works: in some cases, for instance, a *volgarizzamento* has no surviving antecedent; in others, miscellaneous codices contain otherwise unknown parts of texts of great documentary and linguistic interest.

Only a brief summary of the most representative *volgarizzamenti* is possible here. The Arthurian and Breton legends (*Tristano riccardiano* and *Tavola ritonda*), praised by Dante, constitute remarkable examples of a timeless, magical, dreamlike prose denuded of all but the most symbolic referents (trees, fountains, castles, woods). Narrative works (*Conti morali* by the Anonimo Senese, from the *Vies des anciens peres*; the very popular *Libra dei sette savi*, deriving from a French prose original) show a quest for a literary language modeled on the immediacy and power of the spoken word. Translations of didactic works such as Richard de Fournival's *Bestiare d'amours* and the French version of Egidio Colonna's *De regimine principum* were popular and influential. Books written by Italian authors in French (Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* and Marco Polo's *Divisament don monde*) were translated very soon; many scientific works came through French translations of Latin and Arab works (Zuccherò Bencivenni's fine Italian translation of Aldobrandino da Siena's *Régime di corps* dates from 1310).

The classical heritage exerted a very strong pull on the middleclass audience, especially as the *comuni* developed and sought legitimation in knowledge of the past. Six versions of the popular French text *Li fet des romains* (dated 1213-1214; first translated c. 1260) have survived, in more than sixty manuscripts; Benoit de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* was adapted in a number of works (among which is the *Conti di antichi cavalieri*). The growing interest in history is brilliantly represented by the first translation of Livy in Italy, the *First Decade*, made in 1323, already a sign of a changing cultural climate; the language is effective, and the orations are noble and powerful.

With *volgarizzamenti* from Latin, Italian literature begins to show real signs of the vitality that will lead to humanism. Latin literature provided prestigious models and an abundance of materials that gave an impetus to ever-greater experimentation in genres and styles. We can follow a progression from short and still largely fictionalized texts (*Fiori e vita di filosafi*, *Disciplina clericalis*) toward more ambitious

projects, such as the *Storie de Troia* and the *Miracole de Roma*. Perhaps the central classical author to be translated is Cicero; he is widely present in the romance tradition as a knight or a cleric, and he becomes the master of rhetoric, which gradually took over the old system of knowledge based on the *artes*. Thus Guidotto da Bologna's *Fiore di retorica* (a translation of the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad herennium*) is quickly followed by Brunetto Latini's *Rettorica* (a partial version of *De inventione*, written in France shortly after 1260) and perhaps even more significantly by the three orations (*Pro Ligario*, *Pro rege Deiotaro*, *Pro Marcello*), which were meant to provide models of eloquence for the political world of the communes. Brunetto started to disseminate an idea of the cultured man as one who knows how to express himself. Vocabulary expands greatly with pedagogic works (the scholastic *Disticha catonis*) and scientific texts (notable in this respect is Pier de' Crescenzi's voluminous *Trattato di agricoltura*, written c. 1310), among which medical works attributed to Zuccherò Bencivenni figure prominently. Pious literature represents another tendency and another quest for expression which yielded interesting results in Domenico Cavalca (*Vite di Santi Padri*, *Dialogo di San Gregorio*) and in the *volgarizzamenti* of Albertano da Brescia; the anonymous translation of the *Legenda aurea* is essential reading for understanding the origins of Boccaccio's *Decameron*.

The great role played by Bono Giamboni in the development of *volgare* can be measured by comparing his original work (*il libro de' vizi e delle virtudi*) with his translations from Latin, notably Orosius and Vegetius; although no translation of his from French can be identified with certainty, he is perhaps the most widely attributed translator of the *Duecento*. Around 1310, Bartolomeo da San Concordio's translations of Sallust reveal an author preoccupied with reproducing the concise and powerful style of his original, where the quality of the expression is designed to match the content of the narrative. From here the road to humanism is visible: when we read the translation of Valerius Maximus, it is easy to breathe a new air of respect for the source and its language (*res publico*, is *repubblica*, not *comune*; *legatus* is *legato*, not *ambasciatore*). The figure of Livy casts a gigantic shadow over the cultural landscape when the *Third Decade* and *Fourth Decade* are translated (from Petrarch's emended text),

perhaps by Boccaccio himself, in the mid-fourteenth century; one can find in this work the full balanced sentence, the harmony of the syntactic elements, and the power of expression of a mature literature.

A final word about *volgarizzamenti* of poetry: if prose is truly the bearer of the great novelty represented by the *volgarizzamenti*, then the translations of poetry represent a more specific quest for the expressiveness of the single word; medieval translators experimented with Virgil (1320-1340), Boethius (1330), and especially Ovid (*Remedia amoris*, *Heroides*, and *Metamorphoses*). Recent years have seen a revival of scholarly interest in the *volgarizzamenti*, and a number of much-improved editions, but a great deal of work remains to be done to give us a clearer view of the role played by the *volgarizzamenti* in the development of a consciousness of the unique Italian literary experience.

See also Albertano of Brescia; Arthurian Material in Italy; Bartolomeo da San Concordio; Bencivenni, Zuccherò; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Bono Giamboni; Cavalcanti, Domenico; Disticha Catonis; Petrarca, Francesco; Polo, Marco; Tavola Ritonda; Tristan; Troy, Legend of

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Volterra

Volterra, in Tuscany, was founded on a Villanovian site and was an ancient Etruscan city (Velathri), the northernmost of the twelve cities in the Etruscan confederation. In the third century B.C. it entered into an alliance with Rome, becoming the Roman *municipium* Volaterrae. It retained local rights and liberties and enjoyed considerable prosperity down to the period of the social wars. Then, because of its support of the Marian faction, it was besieged and punished by the supporters of Sulla, who reduced it to a military colony. In this diminished state, it passed through the Roman imperial period.



Palazzo dei Priori, Volterra. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

By the fifth century, it was an episcopal city and a place of refuge for Catholic Christians who were being persecuted by the Vandals of North Africa. Successively, under the Lombards and Franks, it was the residence of a count; but over time the bishops became the true rulers of the city. Their jurisdiction and powers were confirmed successively by emperors Henry III (1052), Frederick I Barbarossa (1164, 1185), and Henry VI Hohenstaufen (1189, 1194). From 1150 to 1239 the powerful office of bishop became a hereditary monopoly of the Pannocchieschi family. As early as 1150, however, a commune had begun to emerge in

the city under its own consuls and eventually (1193) a *podestà*, challenging episcopal authority.

In the course of the thirteenth century, the commune achieved dominance in the city, subjecting powerful feudal nobles in the countryside. However, factional struggles between Guelfs and Ghibellines prompted a brief ascendancy of the supporters of Frederick II in 1245-1250. By the *constitutum* of 1252, provision was made for a *podestà*, a *capitano*, and twelve *anziani* (elders). Nevertheless, continued internal strife made Volterra vulnerable to interventions by the neighboring cities of Florence, Siena, and Pisa. Episodes of revived episcopal leadership alternated with renewed struggles between Guelfs and Ghibellines. Experiments with seigniorial regimes were climaxed by those of Ottaviano Belforti (1340), alternating with those of the duke of Athens (Walter of Brienne, 1342-1343) and his sons (1348). Finally, in 1361, the Florentines seized the city's fortress, imposed their own *capitano*, and excluded all native citizens from political offices. Volterra thus became a part of Florence's progressive absorption of all of Tuscany. Subsequent Florentine rule of the city did not pass, however, without recurrent episodes of rebellion.

Volterra preserves a rich assortment of material survivals from all phases of its history. The massive Etruscan walls are an outstanding example of their kind. The museum (Museo Etrusco Guarnacci) houses one of the finest collections of Etruscan antiquities in Italy. From the Roman period, a splendid theater and adjacent baths have been excavated. The historic center preserves numerous medieval monuments, among which are many ordinary houses and towers of the period. The Palazzo dei Priori (1208-1254) is perhaps the archetypical civic palace in Tuscany. Across the square from it is the Palazzo Pretorio, which, combining various structures of the thirteenth century together with the Torre del Porcellino (or del Podestà), served as the residence of the *capitano del popolo*. The *duomo*, begun in the twelfth century in the Romanesque style, was rebuilt in the Pisan style in the thirteenth century and later underwent extensive internal changes; it houses a celebrated Deposition group by a Pisan sculptor in polychrome woodcarving (1228). The octagonal baptistery with alternating horizontal bands of black and white marble has sculptured heads of Christ, Mary, and the apostles on the architrave over the doorway

(dated 1283). The city's medieval heritage is conveyed not merely by individual buildings but by its character and atmosphere.

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Waldensians

The Waldensians, also called the Poor of Lyon, were a heretical sect founded by the merchant Valdes and were probably the largest medieval heterodox group.

Valdes was a wealthy merchant and usurer of Lyon who experienced a powerful conversion c. 1173. While listening to a jongleur sing of Saint Alexis, an early Christian who had turned away from great wealth to take up a life of poverty and penance, Valdes was suddenly seized by remorse for his own sins and by a realization that his wealth was a hindrance to his salvation. He had discussions with a theologian and contemplated biblical and patristic texts that he had hired priests to translate; all this convinced him that he should pursue the evangelical life of preaching and poverty embraced by the apostles and the early church. After providing for his wife and daughters, Valdes distributed his money to the poor and began to preach and beg in the environs of Lyon. He soon attracted a following who also went about preaching repentance; they called themselves "the poor."

These activities brought Valdes and his followers into conflict with the clergy of Lyon: they were violating church laws that forbade laymen to preach without the permission of the clergy, and they seemed to be usurping the authority of the city's churchmen. Moreover, their emphasis on apostolic poverty was causing laypeople to criticize wealthy clerics. Within a short time, the archbishop forbade the Waldensians to preach. Valdes at first ignored the archbishop's order but then decided to seek approval from Pope Alexander III. In 1179, he appealed to the pope at the Third Lateran Council. Alexander's decision did not resolve the situation, however: he approved the Waldensians' vow of poverty but prohibited them from preaching without the approval of the local clergy.

From this point on, relations between the Waldensians and the clergy

of Lyon worsened. The clergy came to fear that Valdes's followers would be influenced by the heretical teachings of the Cathars; also, zealots claiming an affiliation with Valdes's group created more friction. New attempts by the archbishop to silence the Waldensians brought a staunch refusal from Valdes, who reportedly quoted Saint Peter; "It is better to obey God than men" (Acts 5:29). In 1182, a new archbishop promptly excommunicated the group and drove them from his archdiocese. They quickly spread through southern France and northern Italy, winning many followers. Pope Lucius III condemned them in 1184, but their numbers continued to grow. By the turn of the thirteenth century, Valdes's followers had become well established in France and Italy and were beginning to appear in Germany.

The Waldensians' belief centered on a determination to follow all the commands and precepts given by Christ to his disciples, even those traditionally reserved to the clergy. When clergymen objected, the Waldensians accused them of contradicting scripture and rejected their authority. Some Waldensians, including Valdes, hoped for a reconciliation with the church. Others contended that the Roman church had lost its authority when it embraced wealth in the time of Constantine, and that Waldensians were called by God to reconstitute the apostolic life which the Roman church had abandoned. They developed a "remnant theology"—an image of a few faithful Christians preserving the true faith of the apostles in secret during the centuries between Constantine and Valdes. In place of the Roman clergy, they created their own lay ministry, the "perfect," pious men and women who renounced possessions and marriage to attend to the faithful. Their function was to hear confessions, celebrate the eucharist, preside at baptisms and weddings, and above all preach to the faithful and evangelize among unbelievers. On scriptural grounds, Waldensians rejected Purgatory, indulgences, and the cult of the saints, and they declared legal proceedings, oaths, capital punishment, and warfare to be sinful.

Valdes probably died during the first decade of the thirteenth century. Even before his death, serious tension had developed among his followers; the French and Italian branches of the Waldensians formally split in 1205. This had little effect on the sect's growth, however, because the Waldensians ecclesiastical organization was so

loose. The attempts of the Roman church to combat the spread of Waldensian beliefs also had little impact until the emergence of the papal Inquisition in the 1230s. Then, however, the church made rapid gains. Although the Inquisition was aimed against Cathars in particular, it often caught Waldensians as well. By the end of the thirteenth century, Waldensians had been driven out of most urban centers. They remained active in remote areas up to the Reformation, when many of them joined Protestant denominations. The Waldensians of the Piedmont survived into modern times and were granted equality with Catholics in 1848.

See also Alexander III, Pope; Councils, Ecclesiastical; Heresy and Religious Dissent

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Walter VI of Brienne (d. 1356) was the son of Jeanne de Chatillon and Walter V (d. 1311), count of Brienne and duke of Athens. Walter VI was unable to hold the duchy of Athens after his father's death; he continued to claim the title but fled to the Angevin court at Naples. There he reached maturity and worked in the service of King Robert. Throughout his life, Walter continued, unsuccessfully, to press his claims to the duchy of Athens while accepting numerous signorial and military appointments.

Walter is best-known for his involvement with Florence. In 1325, he served the city for two and a half months. Later, in 1342, the Florentines commissioned him to command their forces, then fighting Pisa for possession of Lucca. Walter accepted and was soon proclaimed *signore* of Florence for life. He was initially championed by the politically dominant patricians, who hoped that he would preserve their power against pressures from a politically weakened nobility and a disenfranchised working class. The nobility implored Walter to repeal the Ordinances of Justice of 1293, which restricted their political activity. Walter did allow the ordinances to fall into abeyance, but he did not repeal them, and he soon lost his support among the nobility. He tried to broaden his support by cultivating lesser Florentine guildsmen and laborers, but in the end he also failed to please them. On Saint Anne's day, 26 July 1343, the Florentines revolted against him. After his expulsion, Saint Anne's day was declared a public holiday.

Walter died fighting against the English at Poitiers.

***See also* Angevin Dynasty; Florence; Ordinances of Justice; Robert of Anjou**

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Weights and Measures

Medieval Italy had more systems of weights and measures and more individual units than any other country in western Europe except the Holy Roman empire. The major reason was that Italian metrology developed without any reference to a commonly accepted set of national standards. In England, the Winchester standards and later the London standards served as prototypes for bringing thousands of local units into eventual alignment. In France, the weights and measures of Paris occupied this position. But Italy, with its many kingdoms, duchies, communes, republics, and the like, was never able to attain any level of metrological standardization outside the confines of severely restricted, small, independent political jurisdictions. Generally, not until the mid-nineteenth century—and as a practical matter not until unification was achieved in 1871—were Italian weights and measures given a totally uniform national character. Then, it was the metric system, not a conglomerate of units rehabilitated from the past, that finally accomplished the task.

General Characteristics

Although no precise boundary can be drawn, weights and measures in medieval Italy tended to be divided into a northern and a southern system. The northern system extended from the famous urban centers of Tuscany to central Italy; the southern system included all of southern Italy and the islands of Malta, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily. Within these two zones, all weights and measures had either local, regional, or interregional applications. Local units (*comune*, *comunitativo*, *da piazza*, or *di città*) used in urban and rural settings dominated Italian metrology. There were several hundred thousand such units, and they rarely had any use outside their immediate environs. Approximately

100 regional units (*delict commissione* or *legale*) were found in the two major systems. Although they rarely crossed the lines of demarcation between north and south, they did provide a modicum of standardization within their respective zones. It was the interregional units that enabled Italy to have at least a semblance of a national system. They were the backbone behind the commercial revolution after c. 1000.

To further complicate matters, among all these weights and measures there were thousands of special units—agricultural (*agrimensorio* or *da terra*); architectural (*architettonica*); scientific (*geometrico*); medical, pharmaceutical, and commercial (*commercio* or *mercantile*); manufacturing (*da fabbrica*); industrial and trade (*da muratore* or *manuale*); forest (*da foreste*); maritime (*della marina*, *geografico*, or *marittimo*); textile (*da cotone*, *da lana*, *da panno*, *da seta*, *da tela*, *da tessitore*, or *della stoffe*); horticultural (*da frantoio*); viticultural (*da vigne*); fishing (*dapesci*), and business—and these bore no relationship to one another either in application or in inter- and intraunit proportions. Hundreds of other units were used specifically for taxes (*censuario*), precious gems, gold, silver, and scale weighings (*da bilancia* or *da stadera*). There were special product and quantity units (for example, *balla*, *ballone*, *bariglione*, *dozina*, and *tonnellata*); there were many units that had multiple names and usages (for example, *cantaio*, *carara*, *carica*, *carrata*, *centinaio*, *coppo*, *decimo*, *decina*, *grannotto*, *grosso*, *lira*, *migliaio*, *mina*, *misura*, *ottavo*, *passetto*, *peso*, *quarta*, *rubbio*, *salma*, *spazzo*, *staiolo*, *staro*, *tavola*, *trappeso*, and *vignale*); and there were numerous diminutives (for example, *baletta*, *bariletto*, *brentina*, *centesimo*, *decimillesimo*, *granottino*, *millesimo*, *quartarella*, and *sedicesimo*) that had no definite sizes or dimensions.

This chaotic state of affairs certainly was a radical departure from the uniform, integrated, and standardized system of weights and measures that Italy had enjoyed from the later centuries of the Roman republic to the declining years of the Roman empire. Roman weights and measures had been the "metric system" of the ancient world. But Italy suffered the same fate as the rest of western Europe when the Roman empire collapsed in the wake of the barbarian invasions after the fourth century. Centralized governments fell, and the cohesive forces of a standard language, law, military structure, coinage system, and weights

and measures vanished from the Mediterranean world. Out of the ashes rose the native metrological systems of Europe. Italy was part of this new order.

Interregional Standards

Despite these grave problems, Italy's interregional standards were used extensively at home and abroad, and they constituted the metrological basis of most important financial and commercial transactions. Following are the principal weights and measures of medieval Italy. Unless otherwise noted, the various weights and measures were used throughout Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Malta. Since so many different standards served as prototypes, the metric equivalents are given only as ranges over which they fluctuated (U.S. equivalents, though not stated, are calculable from the metric values).

Linear measurements. For linear measurement, there were seven major units. The *braccio* ("arm") was the premier industrial and mercantile measure of length, found primarily in northern and central Italy. It was defined originally, in the early Middle Ages, as the length of the two arms extended when measured from the tips of the middle fingers and was reckoned generally between 5 and 6 *piedi* ("feet"), but each *piede*, usually of 12 *once* ("inches"), varied from 0.223 to 0.649 meter; thus the *braccio* could range from 1.115 to 3.894 meters.

The *canna* was the principal unit for textiles, agricultural land divisions, construction, architecture, and forestry. It was usually divided into a diverse number of *braccia*, *palmi* ("palms"), *piedu* or *once* (approximately 0.996 to 7.851 meters); it was sometimes used synonymously with the *pertica* ("perch," "rod," or "pole") or *trabucco*.

Among the smaller linear units were the *punto* ("point"), *piede*, and *palmo*. The *punto* consisted of 12 *atomi* (about 0.00143 to 0.005846 meter) and equaled 1/12 *uncia*. The *piede* consisted generally of 12 *once* (about 0.223 to 0.649 meter), but there were numerous variants ranging from 6 5/6 to 32 4/5 *once*. The *palmo* also consisted of 12 *once* (about 0.1250 to 0.2918 meter), but it had no established set of submultiples.

The largest interregional standard was the *miglio* ("mile"). This was originally based on the Roman mile of 8 *stadii* (furlongs) of 1,000

geometrical paces totaling 5,000 feet (about 1.481 kilometers). However, by the later Middle Ages, a number of important regional standards gained dominance. The *miglio* was generally divided into an irregular assortment of *corde* ("cords"), *canne*, *palmi*, *passi* ("paces"), *perticbe*, *braccia*, *trabucchi*, *orpiedi*, and it varied from about 1.482 to 2.519 kilometers.

Measurements of capacity. Capacity involved the greatest number of interregional standards because of its obvious importance to national and international trade. The *barile* ("barrel") was the major measure for liquids and dry products. This unit was borrowed from the French during the High Middle Ages. It was divided regionally into an irregular number of *rotoli*, *caraffe*, *fogliette*, *pinte* ("pints"), *cannate*, *quartucci*, *misure* ("measures"), *some*, *zucche*, *ambole*, *boccali*, *quarte* ("quarts"), *fiaschi* ("flasks"), *amole*, *rubbi*, *quarteroni*, *quartare*, *libbre* ("pounds"), *libbrette* ("light pounds"), or *secchie* varying in size from about 0.117 to 2.248 hectoliters. For wine, the *boccale* was the most important measure throughout Corsica and northern and central Italy; it varied from about 0.041 to 3.044 liters and was divided into *once*, *quarte*, *mezzi*, *terzetti*, *fogliette*, *rotoli*, *zaine*, *quartini*, *mezzette*, or *quartucci*. In northern and north-central Italy, the *brenta*, usually divided into *boccali*, was the major unit for wine; it varied from about 0.475 to 1.233 hectoliters. In central and southern Italy, the *caraffa* was the major unit for wine; it was calculated in weight content by *once* (about 0.322 to 6.341 liters). The *pinta* mentioned in all these units normally consisted of 2 *boccali* and varied in size from about 0.893 to 2.262 liters.

For grain and other dry products the *moggio*, *quartaro*, *quartarolo*, *quartuccio*, *soma*, and *staio* were paramount. Although these measures could all be applied to liquids and were used occasionally to determine surface or volume specifications, their principal use was for selling or bulk-rating agricultural produce. The *moggio* varied from about 1.393 to 6.633 hectoliters and was usually divided into *sacche* ("sacks"), *staia*, *quarte*, *quartini*, or *scodelle*. The *quartaro*, normally consisting of 4 *meta*, varied from about 0.046 to 0.220 hectoliter. The *quartarolo* and *quartuccio* were divided into a wide variety of local measures; the *quartarolo* varied from about 0.581 to 36.807 liters, and the *quartuccio* from about 0.355 to 6.135 liters. The *soma* was generally divided into

tomoli, quartari, staia, emine, or sacche and varied from about 1.456 to 2.112 hectoliters. The *staio*, normally divided into *mine* or *quarte*, varied from about 0.091 to 2.945 hectoliters.

Measurements of area. In medieval Italy, agricultural land areas were measured using *the giornata* more than any other superficial (surface) unit. Originally the *giornata* was the amount of land covered by a man and draft animal in the course of one workday (the English acre). During the High Middle Ages and the late Middle Ages, it had regional variations ranging from about 0.090 to 0.450 hectare and was usually reckoned in square *passi, palmi, tavole, staia, or canne*.

Measurements of weight. For weights, there were nine principal standards. The largest was the *cantaro*, a hundredweight for bulk rating wholesale shipments of goods carried long distances overland or by sea to foreign markets, especially to the hundreds of *fondacos* or factories established by Venice, Genoa, and other Italian cities in foreign urban centers along the Palestinian and North African coastlines. It varied generally from 100 to 250 *libbre* (about 30.12 to 339.29 kilograms), its exact weight depending on the various local standards for the *libbra*. The *carato* ("carat") was the smallest. A weight of 4 *grani* ("grains"), it was used for gold, silver, and precious gems, and it varied from about 1.770 to 2.135 decigrams.

In between these two extremes were the *denaro*, a weight of 24 *grani* (about 1.075 to 2.432 grams), generally synonymous in name with the *dramma* ("dram") and in size with the *scrupolo* ("scruple"). The *dramma* was a weight of 72 *grani* (about 1.671 to 3.595 grams), generally consisting of 3 *denari* or *scrupoli* equal to 1/8 *uncia*. The *scrupolo* was a weight of 24 *grani* (about 0.891 to 1.198 grams) equal generally to 1/3 *dramma* or 1/24 *uncia*. The *rotolo* was generally considered equal to 1/100 *cantaro* (about 0.475 to 1.019 kilograms).

The standards on which the above weights were based were the *grano*, *uncia*, and *libbra*. The *grano* consisted of 24 *granottini* or *granotti* ("light grains," about 0.000045 to 0.000055 kilogram) and equaled 1/24 *denaro*. The *uncia* generally equaled 1/12 *libbra* (about 0.0245 to 0.0431 kilogram). The *libbra* was the foundation stone for every weight system. Most cities had two *libbre*—a light (*piccolo* or *sottile*) and a heavy (*grosso*). Both *libbre* were often used interchangeably with the *lira* (pound). Each *libbra* normally consisted

of 12 *once* (about 0.239 to 0.980 kilogram), but intraunit proportions of 8, 13 7/8, 14, 15, 16, 18, 24, 28, 30, 32, and 36 *once* were not uncommon.

Most European countries that did not have an axis around which to formulate a national system of weights and measures eventually opted for metric uniformity during the nineteenth century. Italy was no exemption. But during the Middle Ages, despite the formidable obstacles presented to business and financial operations by the metrological vagaries described above, Italy created and sustained the medieval world's greatest commercial empire. That perhaps is the ultimate testimony to the applicability and adaptability of these metrological units to the Italian mercantile machine.

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Wiligelmus

Wiligelmus (Guglielmo, Wiligelmo; fl. c. 1099–c. 1120) is often considered the first great Italian sculptor. His reliefs on the facade of Modena cathedral are among the first important sculptural programs of northern Italy, as part of the early development of Romanesque sculpture. His identity as the creator is known from an inscription held by the figures of the prophets Enoch and Elijah: *Inter scultores quanto sis dignis more—Claret scultura nunc Wiligelme tua* ("How much honor you deserve among sculptors is now shown by your sculpture, Wiligelmo"). Wiligelmus's oeuvre has been identified at Modena and elsewhere through stylistic comparisons with these prophets, carved from the same block as the inscription.

Wiligelmus's principal work is the sculptural assemblage on the west facade of the cathedral of Modena, presumably executed c. 1106-1110, including the inscription plaque; four reliefs from Genesis; two reliefs of *genii* with overturned torches; numerous capitals and decorative reliefs; and the program of the central portal, containing an elaborate scroll motif and twelve reliefs of prophets. The present placement of

some of the reliefs is the result of changes made to the facade in the late twelfth century by the Campionese masters, who added the lateral portals and relocated the first and fourth reliefs from Genesis above them. Some scholars hold that these reliefs were created as part of liturgical furnishings for the interior of the cathedral (Quintavalle 1964-1965), but the evidence suggests that they were originally intended as part of a sculptural program decorating the facade.

The four reliefs from Genesis flanking the central portal serve as a monumental introduction to the cathedral and constitute the first large-scale frieze devoted exclusively to biblical subjects. The general themes are the creation, the fall, and the promise of salvation as revealed in the flood. The frieze concludes with the ark as the ship of salvation—an Old Testament prefiguration of salvation and the mission of the church. *Labors of the Progenitors* and *Cain and Abel Offering to God*, which flank the main portal, present a lesson to the faithful about giving the fruits of one's labors to God (and the church). Textual similarities between the inscriptions and the liturgical drama *Ordo representationis Ade* suggest that performance and image were intended to work together to educate audiences about the roles of church and faithful in the history of salvation. Wiligelmus's Genesis frieze should thus be seen as an important early example of the development of large-scale didactic Romanesque sculptural programs.

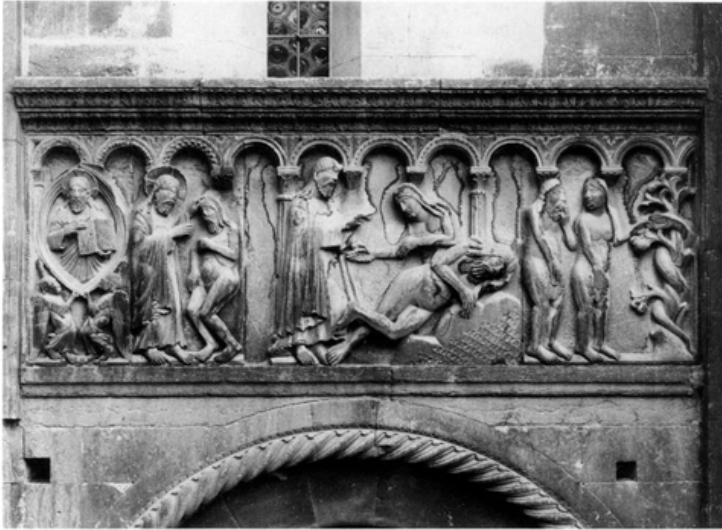
Wiligelmus's figures are conceived as bold, massive, vital forms of great monumentality and plasticity. They convey an impressive sense of weight, as seen in the angels holding God's *mandorla* and Abel's slumping body in *Cain Killing Abel*. Figures emerge from the relief plane and fully occupy the space that is allotted to them, even bursting into the frame of the plaque (e.g., *Enoch and Elijah*). These forms have large heads, hands, and feet; broad faces with lead-inset eyes; hair articulated by long, wavy parallel strokes; and beards punctuated with drill holes. Solemn, full of *gravitas*, these bodies express the narrative action with clear, bold gestures. Wiligelmus animates his figures with palpable human expressions (especially notable is the anguish on Cain's face as he is killed by Lamech). Most of these sculptures make prominent use of inscriptions, either identifying figures or including more extensive biblical, liturgical, or secular texts; the inscription plaque held by Enoch and Elijah is an example.

Numerous sources and models for Wiligelmus's style have been suggested, including ivory, metalwork, and manuscripts as well as early Romanesque sculpture in Aquitaine and Bari. The most direct and most apparent source of inspiration is Roman sculpture. Local, provincial Roman works clearly provided models for several of the reliefs in Modena. The *genii* with overturned torches and the arrangement of the prophets Enoch and Elijah on the inscription plaque are clearly derived from Roman sarcophagi. Wiligelmus's access to these sources can be explained by *Relation translationis corporis sancti Geminiani* (*Account of the Translation of the Body of Saint Geminianus*), which mentions the miraculous discovery of a quarry of building materials, presumably the necropolis or other parts of the Roman city of Mutina (Modena). Wiligelmus adopted not only formal arrangements of figures from these Roman sources but also the sense of solidity and *gravitas* that distinguishes his sculptures. Furthermore, the obvious source of inspiration for the arrangement of the frieze around the central portal is the Roman triumphal arch. This suggests a certain conscious use of antique forms to connote both the venerable antiquity of Modena and the triumph of the church.

In addition to the program at Modena, Wiligelmus appears to have worked at the cathedral in Cremona before the earthquake of 1117. The four large prophets from the jamb of the portal are stylistically analogous to his work at Modena. Fragments of a frieze from the cathedral of Cremona, clearly modeled after Wiligelmus's reliefs in Modena, appear to have been executed by his workshop. Wiligelmus apparently directed a large workshop that trained numerous sculptors who continued his work at Modena and carried his style elsewhere. The two lateral portals at Modena—Porta della Pescheria (north, by the Master of the Artu) and Porta dei Principi (south, by the Master of San Geminiano)—are products of the school of Wiligelmus. These two portals follow Wiligelmus's basic scheme from the west portal, but with smaller, less massive, though more lively figures. The Porta dei Principi is the earliest example of the northern Italian form of a two-story porch-portal supported by lions or *atlantes* bearing columns. That this form developed in the context of Wiligelmus's workshop further indicates his seminal role in the development of northern Italian Romanesque sculpture.

Additional sculpture by the workshop of Wiligelrnus can be found at the Benedictine abbey of Nonantola, the cathedral of Piacenza, the Pieve di Quarantoli, and the Cluniac abbey of San Benedetto Polirole. The most noteworthy pupil of Wiligelrnus is Master Nicholas.

See also Cremona; Modena; Nonantola; Piacenza



Wiligelrnus of Modena, *Creation of Adam, Creation of Eve, Original Sin*.
Modena, *duomo*. Photo: © Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.



Wiligelrnus of Modena, *The Killing of Cain, The Ark, The Debarkation from the Ark*. Modena, *duomo*. Photo: © Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

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William, Duke of Apulia

William (r. 1111-1127) was the son of Roger Borsa and became duke of Apulia on Roger's death. The anarchy and disorder that had prevailed in southern Italy during the reign of his father became even worse during William's rule. Diminished and dismembered, the duchy was now a collection of independent regions. William died childless. The most direct heir was Bohe mond, the son of Bohemond I of Antioch (1058-1111); but Roger II of Sicily (1105—1154), William's cousin, was quick to assert his control over the area and annex it to Sicily. The papacy reacted promptly, organizing a coalition of southern Italian nobles to inhibit this union, but this response was not effective.

See also **Bohemond of Taranto; Normans; Roger II; Roger Borsa**

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William I

William I (1120–May 1166, r. February 1154–1166) was the son of King Roger II of southern Italy and Sicily (whom he succeeded), and Albricia of Castile. Thanks in part to a prejudiced but influential account in a twelfth-century chronicle, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, by the so-called Hugo Falcandus, William I has often been referred to as "the Bad." Loud (1999) suggested that "the Unlucky" might be a more appropriate sobriquet, and Norwich (1970) offered "the Sad" as another possibility.

William I inherited the kingdom created by his celebrated father. This inheritance included a nobility discontented with the rapid changes in royal policy regarding the mainland. At least two rebellions occurred during William's reign, in 1155-1156 and 1161. A number of principal lords were exiled for their opposition and remained a significant threat. William's chief minister, Maio of Bari, aroused much consternation and was eventually overthrown and murdered by the rebels. William I also faced threats from foreign powers, especially from the Byzantines, against whom he battled in 1155. In 1158-1160, he lost the North African holdings that had been won by his father.

William I did not receive adulation—the sources reserve that for his father—but his reign was not a total disaster. Accounts of William's cruelty and paranoia notwithstanding, he did achieve some success in securing peace treaties with Venice, Genoa, the Byzantine empire, and the papacy.

See also **Hugo Falcandus; Normans; Roger II; William II**

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William II

William II (1154-1189, r. 1166-1189) succeeded his father, William I, as king of southern Italy and Sicily. He was twelve when he assumed the throne, and until he reached his majority, his mother, Margaret of Navarre, served as regent. William II is frequently referred to as "William the Good"—in comparison with his father, who is called "William the Bad." William II was celebrated in Dante's *Paradiso* (Canto 20) and Boccaccio's *Decameron* (4.4 and 5.7).

William II was a strong ruler who did little to diminish the model of monarchy established by his predecessors, especially his grandfather, Roger II. William II's reign was notable for his foreign policy. He married Joan, the daughter of King Henry II of England, in 1177. Also in 1177, he negotiated a truce with Frederick I Barbarossa, who had recently been defeated by the Lombard League at Legnano (1176). William II's most enduring accomplishment was contracting a marriage in 1186 between Frederick I Barbarossa's son Henry (later Emperor Henry VI Hohenstaufen) and William's aunt and heir, Constance (daughter of Roger II). This marriage not only gave the Hohenstaufen an undeniable connection to the southern Italian realm but also produced one of the most important medieval rulers: Frederick II.

William II also undertook several military campaigns against the Byzantines and the Muslim North Africans. He launched a massive attack on the Byzantines in 1185 and captured Thessalonica, but his forces were defeated and dispersed before they reached Constantinople.

Another impressive accomplishment of William II was his founding of the extraordinary Benedictine monastery at Monreale in Sicily in 1174. The decoration and architecture of the cathedral at Monreale are regarded as a monument to the multicultural influences that characterized the kingdom of southern Italy and Sicily: Norman, Byzantine, Arab, and Italian.

See also **Boccaccio, Giovanni; Constance; Dante Alighieri; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Monreale; Normans; Roger II; William I**

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William III (late twelfth century) was crowned king of Sicily either shortly after the death of his brother Roger III in late December 1193, while their father King Tancred (Tancred of Lecce) was yet alive, or else after Tancred's death in February 1194; in this matter, as in others, the sources for his poorly documented reign are neither unanimous nor altogether trustworthy. The earliest of William's few known charters is dated June 1194. As he was only a child when he became king, a regency was exercised for him by the queen mother, Sibylla of Acerra. Her government, largely a continuation of Tancred's, prepared for and then resisted the invasion of Henry VI until November 1194, when Henry had conquered most of the kingdom and was now outside the walls of Palermo. In the ensuing negotiations for a surrender, Sibylla obtained Henry's promise to grant William (or perhaps herself; again, the sources differ) the county of Lecce and to make him prince of Taranto, undertakings Henry seems to have honored. Henry's triumphal entry into the city on 20 November marks the official beginning of his reign; by then William's was already over.

In late December, Henry had William, Sibylla, and others politically close to them arrested and publicly condemned for treason. Their conspiracy against Henry has been widely considered a fabrication; its outcome was certainly convenient for him. The now proclaimed traitors were soon (early 1195) sent to confinement in Germany, along with various other captives (including William's three sisters and his sister-in-law, the princess Irene). William seems to have been separated from the rest en route and is said to have been kept in Hohenems castle in present-day Austria. He is also reported to have been blinded and, according to one chronicle (which is not always reliable), deprived of his penis; both mutilations are possible and would have served different though related ends. Pope Innocent III appealed for his release early in 1198, but William was not among the prisoners who were let go that year, and the presumption is that he was already dead.

See also **Henry VI Hohenstaufen; Normans; Tancred of Lecce and Roger III, Kings of Sicily**

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William Durandus

William Durandus (Guillelmus Duranti, Guillaume Durand; c. 1230 or 1231-1 November 1296) is called the Elder to distinguish him from a nephew with the same name. The elder William Durandus was born in Puimisson, near Béziers in Provence. We know practically nothing about his family or early life before his ordination as subdeacon in the cathedral of Narbonne c. 1254 and his enrollment in the list of canons at the cathedral of Maguelonne at about the same time. Not long after taking clerical orders, William began formal legal studies at the University of Bologna; he earned a doctorate in canon law there c. 1263. He may have lectured at the university before he became a papal chaplain and "general auditor" under Pope Urban IV (r. 1261-1264). Early in his long and increasingly difficult career in the service of the

papal curia, William befriended the best-known canonist in Europe, Cardinal Henricus de Segusia (Henry of Susa), known as Hostiensis.

Under Pope Clement IV (1265–1268), William continued his service as papal chaplain and auditor. He also finished the first edition of his first publication, *Aureum repertorium* (c. 1264–1270), a short index and commentary on Gratian's *Decretum* (c. 1140) and on Pope Gregory IX's *Liber extra* (1234). *Aureum repertorium* was soon followed by William's massive and—during the medieval period—definitive textbook on procedural law, *Speculum Iudiciale* (c. 1271 — 1276). The enduring fame of this work earned William the nickname Speculator, by which he was commonly known during and after his lifetime.

In the summer of 1274, William attended the Second Council of Lyon and held the official title of *peritus* (theologian) for Pope Gregory X (1271-1276). William later assisted in the post-conciliar editing of the canons of the council, and some twenty years afterward he published the final version of *In sacrosanctum Lugdunense concilium commentarius* (c. 1293-1294), his long commentary on the council's decrees.

By 1279, William was ordained a priest and was made dean of the cathedral of Chartres by Pope Nicholas III (r. 1277-1280). In 1280, Nicholas appointed him *rector et capitaneus generalis* of a portion of the papal states (including a part of Tuscany and the diocese of Rieti). In 1281, the new pope, Martin IV (r. 1281-1285), added to William's official duties rule of the turbulent Romagna. From 1282 to 1286, William coordinated the war efforts of the papacy in the Romagna, leading the pro-papal Guelfs to a precarious interim victory over the Ghibellines.

In 1285, William submitted his resignation from the papal service to Pope Honorius IV (r. 1285-1287). Within a month, William was elected bishop of Mende in his native Provence by the cathedral chapter. He was consecrated bishop by the archbishop of Ravenna in 1286 but (inexplicably) remained in Rome for another five years before taking up residence in Mende in July 1291.

William's prolific literary production during his episcopacy demonstrates his conscientious application of his learning to pastoral care (not to mention his capability as an encyclopedic polymath). The works he published in this period include the following: *Constitutiones*

synodales (c. 1292), a collection of statutes and instructions for the reform of the clergy of his diocese; *Ordinarium* (c. 1291-1293), a book regulating the liturgical services of the cathedral of Mende; his commentary on the Second Council of Lyon; *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (c. 1291-1296), a long allegorical commentary on the entire liturgy (including the mass, divine office, and church year); and *Pontificate* (*Bishop's Book*, c. 1293–1295), which provided rubrics and prayers for liturgical services performed only by a bishop. Modern scholarship has revealed that William's *Rationale* and *Pontificale* were two of the most important liturgical texts of the entire medieval period in Europe.

William had been a resident bishop for only four years when he succumbed to the persistent entreaties of his friend Benedict Gaetani, now Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303), to return to Rome and assume official duties in the papal states. In September 1295, William was appointed rector of the Anconian March and the Romagna, territories that were in a state of near-anarchy since the Ghibelline faction had mobilized itself for war with the Guelfs. William's command of the papacy's war effort failed, however, when he lost the city of Imola to the Ghibellines and presided over the defeat of a pro-papal Bolognese army in April 1296. By the end of the summer of 1296, William, who was by then in his sixties, seems to have had little if any official responsibility in the papal states. He continued to reside in Rome, where he died.

William Durandus the Elder was buried in the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. A thirty-line epitaph praising his life and works was inscribed there in marble, possibly at the request of his nephew William Durandus the Younger, who succeeded him as bishop of Mende.



William Durandus. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 216v.

There are numerous incunabula and early printed editions of *Aureum repertorium super toto corpore iuris canonici*, but as of the present writing there was no modern edition. *Speculum iudiciale* survives in more than 100 medieval manuscripts; there are numerous incunabula and early printed editions but (again as of this writing) no modern edition. A manuscript (possibly written or corrected by Durandus himself) of *Constitutiones synodales* was published in a diplomatic edition (Berthelé and Valmary 1905). The only known printed edition of *In sacrosanctum Lugdunense concilium commentarius* is that of 1569. The *Pontificate* was published in the magisterial edition of Andrieu (1940). The *Rationale divinorum officiorum* survives in hundreds of medieval Latin manuscripts, as well as numerous medieval vernacular translations; the first modern critical edition is Davril and

Thibodeau (1995, 1998). Although a complete modern biography of Durandus has yet to be written, the bibliography of secondary sources is voluminous; selected references are listed below.

See also Boniface VIII, Pope; Clement IV, Pope; Gratian; Gregory IX, Pope; Gregory X, Pope; Honorius IV, Pope; Hostiensis; Martin IV, Pope; Nicholas III, Pope; Urban IV, Pope

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Wine and Winemaking

See Viticulture

Witches and Witchcraft

See Magic

Witigis

Witigis (d. 542) was an Ostrogoth king of Italy. He was declared king by the nobility in opposition to the ineffectual Theodahad in 536 and immediately ordered Theodahad's death. Amid a circle of raised swords, Witigis was held aloft on a shield and hailed king—a ceremony that may have been Germanic in origin but had by then become essentially a Roman military tradition. He was also formally announced to the Goths by Cassiodorus in the language used to proclaim Roman emperors. Thereafter, Witigis's life was focused on warfare, but he did not abandon the other aspects of Ostrogothic government. He attempted to continue routine government in the areas under his control, and he minted coins in keeping with the issues of Theodoric. He promptly married Matasuentha, who was Athalaric's sister and Theodoric's sole surviving direct heir; the wedding was celebrated with a traditional Roman *laudes* given by Cassiodorus.

Initially, Witigis was fairly successful against the forces of Justinian I, but ultimately he had to withdraw all the Ostrogothic contingents from the borderlands to fight in Italy. The war soon centered on Rome, where Witigis and his forces were besieged. After many months, Witigis fled to Ravenna, where he and his wife were captured. However, Witigis went on to fight for Rome in the east until his death. His widow married Germanus, a nephew of Justinian.

See also Cassiodorus; Justinian I; Ostrogoths; Theodahad; Theodoric

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Wool Industry in Italy

The rise of an export-oriented woolen industry in twelfth-century Italy can first be traced in the prosperous cities of the Po valley. The region was linked to the ports of Genoa and Venice by an efficient and low-cost system of river transport. It was also the southern terminus of the overland connections to the fairs of Champagne, which were a major conduit for the trade in fine Flemish cloth. The progression from rural coarse cloth production on monastic estates to an urban industry based on imitations of some grades of Flemish fabrics was a natural outcome of the growth of the ancillary crafts of dyeing and refinishing of Flemish cloth for reexport, which came to be concentrated in the Italian towns.

In the early stages of industrial development, urban producers drew on superior grades of domestic wool and imported merino wool from North Africa in order to create a line of uniform products which offered a low-cost alternative to Flemish woolens in Mediterranean markets. The spread of the new techniques from the towns of Lombardy and the Veneto (most notably Verona) to other cities in Tuscany and central Italy was effected through the organized migrations of textile workers under the sponsorship of host communes and local merchant entrepreneurs who offered numerous privileges and inducements to those willing to relocate.

The first decades of the fourteenth century witnessed a shift in marketing strategy as leading urban producers reduced their output of the middling and lower varieties of cloth in order to concentrate on higher-profit lines fabricated from imported English wools. This paralleled a similar shift in Flanders, which was a response to heightened competition from the spread of cloth manufacturing in various regions of Europe. It was also an attempt to meet a growing

demand for fashionable luxuries among urban elites, a trend decried by contemporary moralist writers. As noted by the chronicler Giovanni Villani, the rapid rise of the Florentine woolen industry from relative obscurity to a position of prominence in the thirteenth century was due to the adoption of higher-margin luxury fabrics produced in limited quantities.

An exclusive reliance on English wool was undermined in the 1340s, when higher tariffs and reduced supplies forced a turn toward alternative sources of raw materials. Only a limited output of the finest luxury cloth based on English wool was maintained. Instead, prime grades of Spanish, Provencal, and Majorcan wools, improved through crossbreeding and systematic transhumance, were used in a second line of products, the launching of which entailed a substantial realignment of technical prescriptions. These included the application of cost-saving technologies such as the use of the spinning wheel for both warp and weft threads and the adoption of the fulling mill in place of labor-intensive fulling by foot. Experiments with dyestuffs and finishing techniques enhanced the surface characteristics of the fabric. Florence took the lead in the introduction of a fine, lightweight fabric woven from prime Mediterranean wools. Florentine *garbo* cloth, produced in a narrow range of qualities and prices, competed favorably with traditional Flemish and Brabantine fabrics in western Europe. It soon came to constitute the largest single category of Florentine woolen production and the standard that other industrial centers in Italy sought to reach.

Beginning in the 1350s, Florentine woolen artisans were actively recruited by other cities seeking to upgrade their industrial standards—an effort that accelerated after the *ciompi* revolt of 1378, in which woolen workers played a major role. Not all these attempts were successful. After 1400, a visible hierarchy based on specialization and product differentiation developed among textile centers. Leading cloth producers such as Florence, Verona, Bergamo, and Venice opened new markets for their brand-name fabrics among affluent urban consumers in the Ottoman empire and eastern Europe, where Italian woollens challenged and ultimately displaced Flemish luxury cloth. Spanish and other imported and domestic wools were used by towns and expanding industrial villages in Lombardy and the Veneto in the production of

medium grades of cloth that also found outlets in Venetian trade. The position of Italian woolens in these external markets was not challenged until the end of the sixteenth century, when lower-priced English broadcloths and fine Dutch woolens made inroads into transcontinental and Mediterranean commerce.

The woolen industry was the most important industrial sector in medieval Italy in scale of production, level of capitalization, and size of the labor force, and it was a principal source of private and public wealth. Employers' guilds—a prime example of early capitalistic structures—coordinated the labor of thousands of wage earners, most of whom did piecework in their own homes. These guilds also controlled the dyers and finishers who managed their own workshops and employed apprentices and journeymen. An intense subdivision of labor developed, with specialized artisans in charge of each stage of production. Urban woolen guilds also claimed jurisdiction over rural weavers and spinners outside the city walls. Merchant entrepreneurs owned the tools, raw materials, and finished products and made all the decisions regarding investment and production. Loans extended to workers during slack seasons increased their dependence on employers. Infractions and debts of workers were adjudicated in the guild court, where fines and penalties were assessed.

In the 1370s, during a period of civil unrest and economic dislocation, tension within the industry led to citywide workers' revolts in Siena, Perugia, and Florence. Marxist historians have cited these revolts as evidence of an emerging proletarian consciousness; however, the demands of disenfranchised workers for recognition in guilds suggests a political strategy that was closely attuned to the prevalent ethos of urban corporate government. Still, over the long run violent uprisings among the laboring classes contributed to a weakening of communal institutions.

See also Ciompi; Florence; Fustians

MAUREEN FENNELL MAZZAOU

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Z

Zacharias, Pope

Pope Zacharias (Zachary, saint; d. 752, r. 741–752), a Calabrian of Greek ancestry, was a refined scholar and had been an active adviser to his predecessor, Pope Gregory III.

Whereas Gregory had been hostile to the powerful Lombard king Liutprand, Zacharias abandoned that policy and negotiated a firm peace, sealed by a personal interview in the Lombard camp (742). When Liutprand turned his aggression instead against Ravenna, Zacharias mediated a truce (743). After Liutprand died (744), his successor, Ratchis, renewed his treaty with the pope but revived the Lombards' offensive against Ravenna. Zacharias was able to persuade Ratchis to withdraw (in 749), but Ratchis was then replaced (also in 749) by his brother Aistulf, who finally achieved the Lombards' long-standing goal of annexing Ravenna and ending the Byzantine exarchate in northern Italy (751). This triumph emboldened Aistulf to menace Rome.

In the face of the recurrent Lombard threat, Zacharias turned once more to his nominal master, the Byzantine emperor Constantine V (r. 741–775). Constantine was the son and successor of Leo III and was a fanatical proponent of Leo's Iconoclastic policies, which westerners resisted and which the popes continued to condemn. Initially, Constantine's position on the throne was precarious, and this situation impelled him at that point to join in a conciliatory understanding. However, he could not provide the pope with any substantial aid from the east, and there is evidence that Constantine himself may have encouraged the pope to seek help elsewhere.

In any case, Zacharias was caught up in the momentum of active dealings with German regions to the north and, above all, with the powerful Frankish monarchy—dealings that had been established by his two predecessors. Through Saint Boniface, the pope was already involved with programs of reform in the Frankish church; these

programs were likewise supported by the successor of Charles Martel as Frankish mayor of the palace, Pepin the Short. Pepin was at this time seeking to take the full title of king in place of the feeble Merovingian figurehead. In 750, Zacharias effectively authorized Pepin's initiatives and aims. When Pepin formally deposed the Merovingian dynast in November 751 and received an annointment from Saint Boniface, he clearly owed a debt to the papacy; eventually, he would repay it by supporting the beleaguered popes.

Zacharias died the following year, and his successor, Stephen II, would be the beneficiary of Pepin's support. Nevertheless, it was obviously Zacharias who had played the pivotal role in creating the alliance between the papacy and the Franks that would alter the course of subsequent European history.

***See also* Aistuíf; Frankish Kingdom; Gregory III, Pope; Leo III, Emperor; Liutprand; Pepin III the Short; Ratchis; Stephen II, Pope**



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Zanobi Da Strada

The poet Zanobi da Strada (1312-1361) was born in Florence and enjoyed the lifelong patronage of the Florentine Niccola Acciaiuoli. At an early age, Zanobi became friends with Giovanni Boccaccio, Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca), and Francesco Nelli—the men in whose correspondence we find most of our information regarding Zanobi's biography. Of the three friendships, that with Petrarch was doubtless the strongest.

In 1352, following Petrarch's advice, Zanobi moved to Naples, where he joined the Angevin court. Three years later, in Pisa, Zanobi was crowned poet laureate by Emperor Charles IV, who was probably motivated in part by a desire to do Acciaiuoli a political favor. Several of Zanobi's contemporaries, including Petrarch and Boccaccio, felt that the award was unmerited because Zanobi preferred prose to poetry and preferred the vernacular to Latin. Despite the souring of his reputation as a poet after his controversial coronation, Zanobi is still remembered as a respected grammarian, scholar, and teacher; as a collector of manuscripts; and as papal secretary to Innocent VI. Among Zanobi's relatively few extant compositions are a handful of brief Latin poems, some personal letters, and translations of Gregory the Great's *Moralia on Job* and Macrobius's *Dream of Scipio*.

Although we do not know whether Zanobi received holy orders, it is certain that he lived for a time at the monastery of iMonte Cassino.

See also Acciaiuoli, Niccola; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Gregory I, Pope; Macrobius; Monte Cassino, Monastery; Naples; Nelli, Francesco; Petrarca, Francesco

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Zeno, Emperor

Zeno (Tarasicodissa, Tarasikodissa; d. 491, r. 474-491) was born a chieftain of the rugged Isaurian mountaineers of south-central Asia Minor and was among those used for military service in Constantinople. He took his Greek name, Zeno, c. 466, when he became the factional ally and son -in-law of the eastern Roman emperor Leo I (r. 457–474), whom he succeeded.

Zeno was regarded as an alien by the populace, was hated and vilified by his contemporaries, and faced unrest and insurrection throughout his reign. For a brief while (475-476), he was dispossessed of the throne by a rival, Basiliscus. Among the factors in the unrest was the festering Monophysite controversy, which Zeno attempted to neutralize with his arbitrary doctrinal decree, the *Henoticon* (482). This intervention failed to mollify the Monophysites, and it also provoked the first breach between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, known as the Acacian schism (484-518).

In 476, the barbarian commander Odovacar ended the imperial succession in the west (this event is often miscalled the fall of the Roman empire). Zeno then had to recognize Odovacar's usurpation of the rule of Italy and claim to the title of patrician. Apparently, however, it was Zeno's idea to authorize Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, to

invade Italy (489), displace Odovacar (493), and create the Ostrogothic kingdom there, a process that also removed the Ostrogoths as a menace in the Balkans.

See also **Henoticon; Monophysite Controversy? Odovacar; Ostrogoths; Theodoric**

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Zita, Saint

Saint Zita (c. 1208–1278) was born at Pontremoli and spent her life, from the age of twelve on, as a servant in the household of the noble Faitinelli family of Lucca. Her self-sacrifice and devotion, in material conditions that were unusually harsh even by the standards of the time, earned her widespread fame (and, eventually, better treatment from the family). Popular devotion to Zita increased after her death, and a local cult was licensed by the bishop of Lucca in 1282, after numerous reports of miracles at her tomb in the church of San Frediano. By the early 1300s, her renown had grown to the point where Dante used her name as an ironic periphrasis for the city of Lucca itself (*Inferno*, 21.38). However, she was not canonized until 1696.

See also **Lucca**

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Appendix: Popes and Rulers

Popes and Antipopes

Peter (33-67)
Linus (67-76)
Anacletus (Cletus, 76-88)
Clement (88-97)
Evaristus (97-105)
Alexander I (105-115)
Sixtus I (115-125)
Telesphorus (125-136)
Hyginus (136-140)
Pius I (140-155)
Anicetus (155-166)
Soter (166-175)
Eleutherius (175-189)
Victor I (189-199)
Zephyrinus (199-217)
Callistus I (217-222)
Urban I (222-230)
Pondian (230-235)
Anterus (235-236)
Fabian (236-250)
Cornelius (251-253)
Lucius I (253-254)
Stephen I (254-257)
Sixtus II (257-258)
Dionysius (259-268)
Felix I (269-274)
Eutychian (275-283)
Gaius (283-296)
Marcellinus (296-304)

Marcellus I (306-308)
Eusebius (309-310)
Miltiades (311-314)
Sylvester I (314-335)
Marcus (336)
Julius I (337-352)
Liberius (352-366)
Damasus I (366-384)
Siricius (384-399)
Anastasius I (399-401)
Innocent I (401-417)
Zosimus (417—418)
Boniface I (418-422)
Celestine I (422-432)
Sixtus III (432-440)
Leo I (440-461)
Hilary (461-468)
Simplicius (468-483)
Felix III (or II, 483-492)
Gelasius I (492-496)
Anastasius II (496-498)
[antipope Lawrence (498-499, 501-506)]
Symmachus (498-514)
Hormisdas (514-523)
John I (523-526)
Felix IV (III) (526-530)
[antipope Dioscorus (530)]
Boniface II (530-532)
John II (533-535)
Agapitus I (535-536)
Silverius (536-537)
Vigilius (537-555)
Pelagius I (556—561)
John III (561-574)
Benedict I (575-579)
Pelagius II (579-590)
Gregory I (590-604)

Sabinian (604—606)
Boniface III (607)
Boniface IV (608-615)
Deusdedit I (615-618)
Boniface V (619-625)
Honorius I (625-638)
Severinus (640)
John IV (640-642)
Theodore I (642-649)
Martin I (649-653)
Eugenius I (654-657)
Vitalian (657-672)
Adeodatus II (672-676)
Donus (676-678)
Agatho (678-681)
Leo II (682-683)
Benedict II (684-685)
John V (685-686)
Conon (686-687)
[antipope Theodore (687)]
[antipope Paschal (687)]
Sergius I (687-701)
John VI (701-705)
John VII (705-707)
Sisinnius (708)
Constantine I (708-715)
Gregory II (715-731)
Gregory III (731-741)
Zacharias (741-752)
Stephen II (752)
Stephen II (or III, 752-757)
Paul I (757-767)
[antipope Constantine (767-768)]
[antipope Philip (768)]
Stephen III (or IV, 768-772)
Hadrian I (772-795)
Leo III (795-816)

Stephen IV (or V, 816-817)
Paschal I (817-824)
Eugenius II (824-827)
Valentine (827)
Gregory IV (827-844)
[antipope John (844)]
Sergius II (844-847)
Leo IV (847-855)
[antipope Anastasius Bibliothecarius (855)]
Benedict III (855-858)
Nicholas I (858-867)
Hadrian II (867-872)
John VIII (872-882)
Marinus I (882-884)
Hadrian III (884-885)
Stephen V (or VI, 885-891)
Formosus (891-896)
Boniface VI (896)
Stephen VI (or VII, 896-897)
Romanus (897)
Theodore II (897)
John IX (898-900)
Benedict IV (900-903)
Leo V (903-904)
[antipope Christopher (903-904)]
Sergius III (904-911)
Anastasius III (911-913)
Lando (913-914)
John X (914-928)
Leo VI (928)
Stephen VII (or VIII, 928-931)
John XI (931-936)
Leo VII (936-939)
Stephen VIII (or IX, 939-942)
Marinus II (942-946)
Agapitus II (946-955)
John XII (955-964)

Leo VIII (963-965)
Benedict V (964)
John XIII (965-972)
Benedict VI (973-974)
[antipope Boniface VII (974, 984-985)]
Benedict VII (974-983)
John XIV (983-984)
John XV (985-996)
Gregory V (996-999)
[antipope John XVI (997-998)]
Sylvester II (999-1003)
John XVII (1003)
John XVIII (1003-1009)
Sergius IV (1009-1012)
Benedict VIII (1012-1024)
[antipope Gregory (1012)]
John XIX (1024-1032)
Benedict IX (1032-1044, 1045, 1047-1048)
[antipope Silvester III (1045)]
Gregory VI (1045-1046)
Clement II (1046-1047)
Damasus II (1048)
Leo IX (1049-1054)
Victor II (1055-1057)
Stephen IX (or X, 1057-1058)
[antipope Benedict X (1058-1059)]
Nicholas II (1058-1061)
[antipope Honorius II (1061-1064)]
Alexander II (1061-1073)
Gregory VII (1073-1085)
[antipope Clement III (1080, 1084-1100)]
Victor III (1086-1087)
Urban II (1088-1099)
Paschal II (1099-1118)
[antipope Theodoric (1100-1101)]
[antipope Albert (1101)]
[antipope Silvester IV (1105-1111)]

Gelasius II (1118-1119)
[antipope Gregory VIII (1118-1121)]
Calixtus II (1119-1124)
Honorius II (1124-1130)
[antipope Celestine II (1124)]
Innocent II (1130-1143)
[antipope Anacletus II (1130-1138)]
[antipope Victor (1138)]
Celestine II (1143-1144)
Lucius II (1144-1145)
Eugenius III (1145-1153)
Anastasius IV (1153-1154)
Hadrian IV (1154-1159)
Alexander III (1159-1181)
[antipope Victor IV (1159-1164)]
[antipope Paschal III (1164-1168)]
[antipope Calixtus III (1168-1178)]
[antipope Innocent III (1179-1180)]
Lucius III (1181-1185)
Urban III (1185-1187)
Gregory VIII (1187)
Clement III (1187-1191)
Celestine III (1191-1198)
Innocent III (1198-1216)
Honorius III (1216-1227)
Gregory IX (1227-1241)
Celestine IV (1241)
Innocent IV (1243-1254)
Alexander IV (1254-1261)
Urban IV (1261-1264)
Clement IV (1265-1268)
Gregory X (1271-1276)
Innocent V (1276)
Hadrian V (1276)
John XXI (1276-1277)
Nicholas III (1277-1280)
Martin IV (1281-1285)

Honorius IV (1285-1287)
Nicholas IV (1288-1292)
Celestine V (1294)
Boniface VIII (1294-1303)
Benedict XI (1303-1304)
Clement V (1305-1314)
John XXII (1316-1334)
[antipope Nicholas V (1328-1330)]
Benedict XII (1334-1342)
Clement VI (1342-1352)
Innocent VI (1352-1362)
Urban V (1362-1370)
Gregory XI (1370-1378)
Roman Line:

Urban VI (1378-1389)
Boniface IX (1389-1404)
Innocent VII (1404-1406)
Gregory XII (1406-1415)

Avignon Line:

Clement VII (1378-1394)
Benedict XIII (1394-1417)
Clement VIII (1423-1429)

Pisa Line:

Alexander V (1409-1410)
John XXIII (1410-1415)

Martin V (1417-1431)
Eugenius IV (1431-1447)
[antipope Felix V (1439-1449)]
Nicholas V (1447-1455)

Roman Emperors from Constantine the Great

Constantine I (306-337)

Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans (337-340)

Constantius II (340-361)

Julian (361-363)

Jovian (363-364)

Valentinian I and Valens (364-375) with Valens from 367

Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian II (375-378)

Theodosius I the Great (378-395)

with Gratian and Valentinian II (378-383)

with Valentinian II and Arcadius (383-392)

with Arcadius and Honorius (392-395)

Split between Western and Eastern Empires (395)

Western Emperors

Honorius (395-423)

Valentinian III (425-455)

Petronius Maximus (455)

Avitus (455-456)

Majorian (457-461)

Libius Severus (461-472)

Anthimus (467-472)

Olybrius (472)

Glycerius (473-474)

Julius Nepos (474—475)

Romulus Augustulus (475-476)

Byzantine (Eastern) Emperors

Valens 364-378)
Theodosius I (378-395)
Arcadius (395-408)
Theodosius II (408-450)
Marcianus (450-457)
Leo I (457-474)
Leo II (474)
Zeno I (474-491)
Basiliscus (475-476)
Anastasius I (491-518)
Justin I (518-527)
Justinian I (527-565)
Justin II (565-578)
Tiberius II, Constantine (578-582)
Maurice I (582-602)
Phocas (602-610)
Heraclius (610-641)
Constantine III (641)
Heraclonas (641)
Constans II "Pogonatus" (641-668)
Constantine IV (668-685)
Justinian II, "Rhinotmetus" (685-695)
Leontius II (695-698)
Tiberius III (698-705)
Justinian II (restored, 705-711)
Philippicus (711-713)
Anastasius II (713-715)
Theodosius III (715-717)
Leo III, the Isaurian (717-741)
Constantine V, Copronymus (741)
Artabasdos (742)
Constantine V, Copronymus (743-775)
Leo IV (775-780)
Constantine VI (780-797)

Irene (797-802)
Nicephorus I (802-811)
Stauracius (811)
Michael I, Rhangabe (811-813)
Leo V, the Armenian (813-820)
Michael II (820-829)
Theophilus II (829-842)
Michael III (842-867)
Bardas (842-866)
Theophilus II (867)
Basil I, the Macedonian (867-886)
Leo VI, the Wise (886-912)
Alexander III (912-913)
Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus (913-959)
Romanus I, Lecapenus (919-944)
Romanus II (959-963)
Nicephorus II, Phocas (963-969)
John I, Tzimisce (969—976)
Basil II, Bulgaroktonus (976-1025)
Constantine VIII (1025-1028)
Zoë (1028-1050)
Romanus III, Argyrus (1028-1034)
Michael IV, the Paphlagonian (1034-1041)
Michael V, Calaphates (1041-1042)
Constantine IX, Monomachus (1042-1054)
Theodora (1054-1056)
Michael VI, Stratioticus (1056-1057)
Isaac I, Comnenus (1057-1059)
Constantine X, Dukas (1059-1067)
Andronicus (1067)
Constantine XI (1067)
Romanus IV, Diogenes (1067-1071)
Michael VII, Parapinakes (1071-1078)
Nicephorus III, Botaniates (1078-1081)
Alexius I, Comnenus (1081-1118)
John II, Comnenus (1118—1143)
Manuel I, Comnenus (1143—1180)

Alexius II, Comnenus (1180-1183)
Andronicus I, Comnenus (1182-1185)
Isaac II, Angelus (1185-1195)
Alexius III, Angelus (1195-1203)
Alexius IV, Angelus (1203-1204)
Isaac II, Angelus (1203-1204)
Alexius V, Murzuphlus (1204)
Theodore I, Lascaris (1204-1222)
John III, Ducas Vatatzes (1222-1254)
Theodore II, Lascaris (1254-1258)
John IV, Lascaris (1258-1261)
Michael VIII, Palaeologus (1259-1282)
Andronicus II, Palaeologus (1282-1328)
Andronicus III, Palaeologus (1328-1341)
John V, Palaeologus (1341-1391)
John VI, Cantacuzenus (1347-1354)
Andronicus IV, Palaeologus (1376-1379)
John VII, Palaeologus (1390, 1399-1402)
Manuel II, Palaeologus (1391-1425)

Kings of the Visigoths

Alaric (395-410; m. Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius I)
Athaulf (410-415)
Theodoric I (419-451)
Theodoric II (453-466)

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